

THE NEW GROUNDWORK
OF BRITISH HISTORY

THE NEW GROUNDWORK
OF BRITISH HISTORY
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COMPLETE --- 55 B.C.-A.D. 1939.
BOOK ONE --- 55 B.C.-A.D. 1603.
BOOK TWO --- 1603-1939.
SECTION TWO --- 1485-1714.
SECTION THREE --- 1603-1783.
SECTION FOUR --- 1688-1939.
SECTION FIVE --- 1783-1939.

THE NEW GROUNDWORK OF BRITISH HISTORY

(THE NEW "WARNER AND MARTEN")

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

The first edition of Warner and Marten's *Groundwork of British History* was published in 1911, and the book has been a standard text-book in schools ever since. It has been revised several times, through its many editions and impressions, and now advantage has been taken of the years of the war to carry out a *complete overhaul* of the work, so as to bring it into line with the current requirements of *School Certificate Examinations* and with the most recent historical research.

The revision has been carried out by Mrs. D. Erskine Muir, with the approval of Mr. Warner's Trustees and of Sir Henry Marten, who has made many valuable suggestions and read the proofs. Mrs. Muir possesses high qualifications for her task and wide experience as a teacher and examiner in History.

The period from 1830 to 1939 is entirely new. The text up to 1830 has been rearranged so as to assist those working for School Certificate Examinations and certain chapters have been revised in the light of modern historical views. The text of Book One, however, is still substantially as written by Mr. Warner and of Book Two up to 1830 as Sir Henry Marten wrote it.

Notes, Time-Charts, and other teaching equipment have been provided by Mrs. Muir, who has also provided a selection of questions from actual School Certificate papers.

The book is arranged in twelve sections each corresponding to a recognized "period" in British History.

NOTE

For permission to include questions from past School Certificate examination papers, grateful acknowledgment is made to the following Examination Boards: the University of Bristol [B], the University of Cambridge (Local Examinations Syndicate) [CL], the Central Welsh Board [CWB], the University of Durham [D], the University of London -- General School Examination [LGS], and Matriculation Examination [LM], Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board [NUJB], the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board [O & C], the Oxford Local Examinations Board [OL], and the University of Wales [UW]. The letters in square brackets are the abbreviations that have been used in the Examination Questions throughout the book.

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BOOK ONE

FROM THE COMING OF THE ROMANS TO
THE UNION OF THE CROWNS
55 B.C. A.D. 1603

PERIOD ONE

THE INVADERS OF BRITAIN

55 B.C.—A.D. 1066

CHAPTER I

BEFORE AND AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

55 B.C.—A.D. 410

Of those who lived in Great Britain in very far distant ages we know very little. There was, however, in 1912, discovered at Piltown in Sussex an almost human skull, but the experts differ as to its date, some putting it at 50,000 years old and some at 500,000, and as to its character, all agreeing that it is not quite man, or *Homo Sapiens* as he is called, but disagreeing as to how near to him its original owner was. Nor can anyone say with any certainty when man — *Homo Sapiens* — began to exist in our islands, though, according to some estimates, it was not less than 30,000 years ago. Nor have we any written records of the character and language, or of the customs and usages of our first human inhabitants.

Nowadays, however, we rely less than before upon written records for knowledge of our own or other people's earliest days. We can learn much from archaeology — the study of the actual remains of the past, houses, tools, weapons, shrines, burials, revealed by excavation. And so those who are skilled in such matters are able to distinguish various ages in the early history of mankind in this country. There

Old Stone-age was, for instance, what is known as the *Old Stone-Age* (Palaeolithic Age), so named because man used to use rough stone -- generally flint -- implements and weapons. This age existed at a time when Britain was joined to the continent, and the North Sea was a swampy region into which both the Thames and the Rhine flowed, and when certainly for one, and perhaps for two periods this island -- down to the Thames -- was covered with an ice-cap. Hunting and fishing no doubt were the chief occupations of the men of that age. Their clothes were the skins of wild beasts, and their homes often caves.¹

New Stone-age The Old Stone-Age was succeeded by the *New Stone-Age* (the Neolithic Age), and by this time Britain had become an island. The men of this age used more polished stone weapons and implements than their predecessors, and had a greater variety of them. A Neolithic household might have chisels and knives, axes perforated for the insertion of a handle, hammer stones, pestles, and whetstones -- there were mines for the manufacturing of such articles at Grime's Graves at Brandon in Suffolk, and at Chesham in Sussex. Neolithic man was not only a hunter and a fisherman, but he was also a herdsman -- and oxen and sheep and pigs began to appear. Moreover, he became in the late Neolithic Age a tiller of the soil. The earth no doubt was tilled at first in very primitive fashion, with a bent stick or a deer's antler, and some of the ridges, or lynchets, as they are called, on some of our hills, may be due to the cultivation of this time.² With the Neolithic Age, too, came the beginnings of the making of pottery, of house-building, and of the making of textiles. The Neolithic period is best represented in Great Britain by the burial mounds, or Long Barrows as they are called, egg-shaped in plan, and consisting some-

¹ Kent's Cavern in South Devon, and the Pin Hole in Derbyshire, have the best claim to be the most ancient dwellings yet discovered in Britain.

² Most of the lynchets, however, probably belonged to the early Iron and the Roman period (roughly 600 B.C. to A.D. 400), and some of the others are remains of the old English open-field system.

times of a burial chamber and corridor, both built in stone — in England they are found most frequently in Wiltshire and Dorset, Somerset and Gloucestershire.

Late Neolithic man must have had very considerable technical ability if the building of that very remarkable stone circle at Stonehenge, and the grandest sacred site in Britain at Avebury are to be attributed to him.¹ It is possible, however, that they are due to some new invaders called the "Beaker"-people, so called from their beaker shaped pots. It was during the supremacy of these people that Britain passed into the *Bronze Age* somewhere between 2000 and 1500 B.C. — though stone implements were still used, and, indeed, some of the finest specimens belong to the so-called Bronze Age. To the "Beaker"-people belong many of the "round" barrows dotted over so many parts of England.

Bronze
Age

For the means of communication in these early days, various *track ways* were made, of which the most famous is the *Icknield Way* which connected south west England and the east coast; it began from what was then the shore of the Wash in Norfolk and ran to the Chilterns, and then crossed the Thames to the Berkshire Downs, whence a track ran to Dorset.

"The early history of Britain is essentially," it has been said, "the history of our invaders." We must imagine successive waves of emigrants coming over to these Islands in the earliest times by land and in later times by sea — such as the people whom we call the "Beaker"-people. And then, sometime, not long perhaps after 600 B.C., though the dates are highly problematical, began to arrive several streams of invaders to whom are given the name of "Celts". They were fierce fighters, artistic in their tastes, but backward in political development, organized not as one nation but in tribal states, living in villages, not in towns. Their

Celtic
Britain

¹ Other stone circles are in England, the Rollright Stones in Oxfordshire, at Arbor Low in Derbyshire, Stanton Drew in Somerset, in Scotland at Callanish in Lewis, at Inverness, and near Aberdeen; in Ireland at Lough Gur near Limerick.

"British" language, a Celtic tongue, the parent of modern Welsh, was spoken over most of Britain. Ireland (but not Scotland) had also a Celtic population who spoke another Celtic language, Gaelic, which was later carried by settlers to Scotland and is still to be heard in the Highlands and western isles. After the arrival of the "Celts", the use of iron was discovered, and there comes the beginning of what is called the Iron Age, roughly somewhere between 500 and 400 B.C. --and to that Age belong the Somerset lake villages of Glastonbury and Meare and many of the pre-historic camps. Britain as the centuries proceeded became more and more civilized, the south-east of the island being probably the most advanced.

Pytheas of
Marseilles

It was not till after the arrival of the "Celts" that there was written the first account of Britain of which we know. The name of the writer was Pytheas, a Greek of Marseilles, and he lived at the same time as Alexander the Great and the philosopher Aristotle. He arrived at Land's End and seems to have travelled round to the east coast and may even have got right round Britain. Unfortunately his account has been lost and we only know of it from the brief extracts given by later writers.¹

Julius
Cæsar

The latest Celtic arrivals, the Belgæ, had not been long settled in Britain when our island came into contact with the Roman Empire. Rome had been founded, so the Romans believed, by Romulus in 753 B.C. By degrees she had established her supremacy in Italy, and shortly before the middle of the first century B.C. she had acquired an Empire which included not only Italy but a large part of the land bordering the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Ægean Seas, including Spain and Greece and a large part of Asia Minor. And then in 58 B.C. Julius Cæsar, to be perhaps the most famous of Romans, began the conquest of Gaul. It was only natural that the Belgæ should send help and give shelter to their

¹ A later traveller shortly before the arrival of the Romans was Pseudoanthes of Rhodes.

kinsfolk in Gaul when Cæsar's conquest reached the Channel. This, and the rumours of British wealth, brought about Cæsar's expeditions to Britain.

Cæsar's first expedition (55 B.C.) was little more than a reconnaissance; the Britons showed fight, storms hampered his transport arrangements, and he stayed but a short time in the island. In the next year he came with a larger force, landed in Kent, and moved northwards. *Cassivellaunus*, head of one of the greatest tribes, the *Catuvellauni*, tried to organize a combined resistance, but the British were unused to common action, and the other chiefs were jealous of his power. One important tribe, the *Trinobantes*, thought it wise to join the invaders. Cæsar's legions stormed the British camp near the modern St. Albans, and Cassivellaunus offered to submit. Cæsar, who had many weightier matters than the conquest of this remote island on his mind, accepted the submission and withdrew his troops. ✓

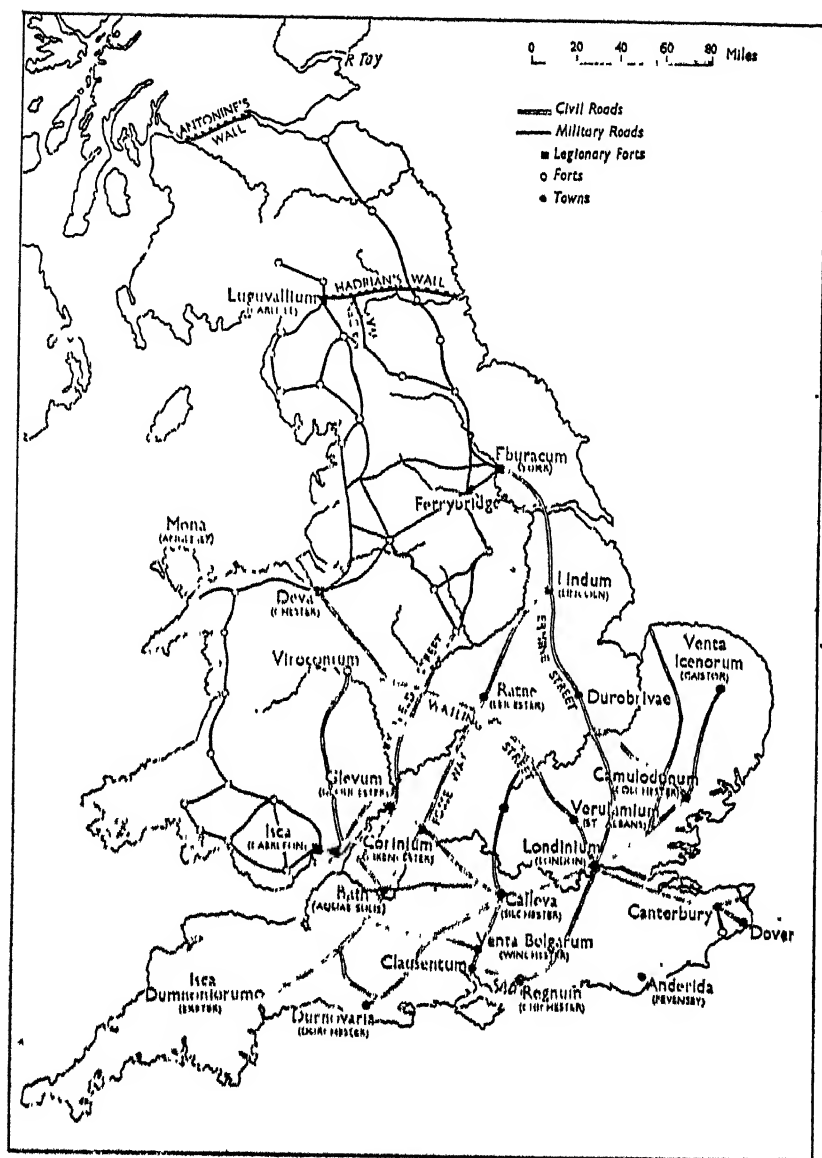
For nearly a hundred years Britain was left to itself. During that time important events happened. Julius Cæsar after his conquest of Gaul had made himself the master of Rome, only to be murdered a few years later (44 B.C.). After the Civil War, Augustus, the heir of Cæsar, became supreme. For a long time Rome had been a Republic, but though the forms of a republic survived, Augustus was, as a matter of fact, "Master of all things", and he was in reality, though not in name, the first Roman Emperor. Augustus did a great work not only in extending but in organizing the Empire. It was during his rule (29 B.C. to A.D. 14) that Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem, and during the reign of his successor Tiberius that He was crucified. During these hundred years southern Britain was still in close touch with Gaul -- now a Roman province -- and through trade and intercourse was becoming "Romanized". For example, British kings began to issue gold coins imitated from classical models. And then, in A.D. 43, another emperor, *Claudius*, decided to carry out the long-postponed annexation, and sent

The
Claudian
Conquest

an expedition under Aulus Plautius to begin the conquest.

The advance of the legions across the south and east of Britain was rapid, and many tribes made peace. But the most warlike of the British kings, *Caratacus* the son of Cymbeline, after being defeated by *Aulus Plautius*, retired to Wales and stirred up the hill-tribes to a stiff resistance. He was again defeated, by the second Roman governor *Ostorius Scapula*, and took refuge with the great tribe of the Brigantes in northern England, whose queen, more loyal to the conquerors than to the national cause, handed him over to the Romans (A.D. 51). He died, a captive but honourably treated, in Rome. In the meantime, the Britons carried on the struggle in North Wales until *Suetonius Paulinus* drove them back into Mona (Anglesey), and in a great battle completely overthrew them (A.D. 61). As the Druids had done their best to inflame the Britons against the invaders, they were all slaughtered, and their altars and sacred groves destroyed. The full fruits of this victory could not, however, be gathered, as during the absence of the legions a formidable revolt had broken out in the east. *Boadicea*, the deposed queen of the Iceni, had been flogged; this roused the indignation of her former subjects, who having had their lands taken from them, and being made to pay heavy taxes, were only too glad of the chance of rising against their oppressors. Rebellion spread fast; Colchester, London, and St. Albans were sacked and burned; all the Roman officials were massacred; the Ninth legion was cut to pieces. *Suetonius Paulinus* hurried back, only just in time. Once again the Roman discipline proved too strong for the Britons to contend against; the rebels were defeated, and *Boadicea*, seeing that all was lost, poisoned herself. She had, however, brought the Roman power in Britain to the very verge of ruin.

With the coming of *Julius Agricola* as governor in A.D. 78, we pass from the stage of conquest to the stage of settlement. Not that *Agricola* had not some stern fighting to do. He had again to penetrate to Anglesey, his light-armed men



ROMAN BRITAIN

swimming the straits to reach the enemy. Having struck down Wales, he marched north and overthrew the Caledonians at the battle of the "Graupian Hill" (Mons Graupius), near the River Tay. But he was more than a mere soldier. The Roman historian Tacitus, his son-in-law, speaks of him as knowing that "Conquest can never be secure while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression". He was ruthless to those who resisted, but he strove by kind treatment to win the love of those who yielded. He made the taxes less oppressive; he arranged that the forced service with the army should be as little burdensome as possible, and in a short time was rewarded with a willing stream of levies; he encouraged the Britons to set up courts of justice, and to build better houses; he did all he could to spread the use of the Latin tongue; he checked plundering raids by building a line of forts from the Clyde to the Forth, and by leaving strong garrisons on the Welsh border; in short, he did all that he could to bring to the Britons that peace which was usual in a well-ordered Roman province.

Romanization of Britain

The process of "Romanizing" Britain, which Agricola encouraged, was carried on by his successors. The condition of the people improved. Peace brought prosperity. The *Roman roads* which were stretched over the face of the country served to convey more than Roman legions. The chief ones deserve notice. The Watling Street ran from Dover to London, and thence to Wroxeter (Viroconium); the Ermine Street ran from London to Lincoln and York, with branches going to Carlisle and Newcastle; the Fosseway went from Lincoln through Leicester, Cirencester, and Bath to Ilchester, Axminster, and Exeter; another road went from London to Silchester, whence branches went on through Winchester and Salisbury.¹ A busy trade sprang up. To get plenty of corn, and get it cheap, was always an important object in Roman policy; it was needed for the

The Roman Roads

Corn-growing

¹ The Roman roads — some 2000 miles of them — radiated from London. The main roads were about 20 to 24 feet broad, had gravel on the top, and for rivers or streams bridges or paved fords were provided.

troops in the island, for the Roman camps on the German frontier, and for the free gifts of corn made to the ^{lazy} populace at Rome. Britain was well suited to growing corn. Its fertility was a source of wonder to writers of the time; one speaks of it as "a land wealthy from its heavy crops, its rich pastures, and its veins of metals"; another assures us that on one occasion 800 vessels were sent thither to convey the corn. All agreed that it deserved the title of the "Granary of the North".

Along with this active corn trade came progress in the mining of tin, lead, and copper, in the making of weapons and iron implements, and in industrial arts such as weaving, dyeing, and pottery. Numbers of Romans and foreigners settled in Britain. ^{Industries and towns} Towns sprang up with well-built houses. London was the largest of these, and next in order of size came Cirencester and Verulam (St. Albans); others were Bath, Colchester, and Lincoln. Chester, Caerleon, and York were great garrison towns. Many of the important Roman towns are still the great cities of to-day; some are now but small places, and a very few have entirely perished (Wroxeter, Silchester, Caistor-by-Norwich). Excavation shows that the cities were highly civilized communities, with markets and shops, inns, temples, public baths, and sometimes theatres. An excellent example of an excavated town is Corbridge, near Hadrian's Wall. Roman ^{villas} *villas* (country houses and farms) were scattered all over the south-east of the country; conveniently planned, with a better heating system than most modern English houses, often having fine mosaic paving and cheerfully painted walls, they show how large was the number of wealthy men, and how orderly and peaceful life had become.

The history of the island flowed on in a fairly peaceful course. Now and again there came a raid from the north or west; now and again an emperor appeared to visit his distant province. *Hadrian* came in A.D. 121 and built the ^{Hadrian (A.D. 121)} wall from Solway to Tyne that bears his name. Nearly a

hundred years later (A.D. 208) *Severus* strove to complete the conquest of Caledonia, but died at York. Again a hundred years pass, and we find the most interesting connection between Britain and the Roman Empire in the fact that it was from Britain that Constantine, himself the son of a British mother, started on that memorable expedition which was to end in his becoming the first Christian emperor. Again another hundred years, and Rome, struggling with invaders nearer home, had to withdraw her legions from her distant colony. In 410 the Emperor Honorius told the Britons that they must in future provide for their own defence. (*Note 1.*)

Henceforth the Britons were to stand or fall alone. Yet the power to stand alone was no longer in them. They had been civilized into an orderly community, and they had copied Roman habits, worn Roman dress, spoken the tongue of their conquerors, dwelt in Roman villas, bathed in Roman baths, tasted Roman luxury. But they had not absorbed the qualities that had made Rome great. They had leaned on the might of Rome, till they had lost some of the rough vigour and love of independence that had marked Boadicea and Caractacus; and when deserted by the power that had first tamed and then protected them, they were to fall a prey to the fierce invaders who were pressing westwards. (*Note 2.*)

Effects of
Roman
Civiliza-
tion

Weakness
of the
Britons

CHAPTER 2

THE SAXON INVADERS

The story of the Roman occupation is interesting historically, but it is not perhaps of great importance. It is a thing by itself. In France and Spain, for example, the effects of the Roman occupation lasted on and have made deep marks on their history. The very language of these countries is descended from the tongue of their conquerors.

But in Britain what the Romans did perished after they left. Our language and our institutions are Saxon. It is, therefore, with the coming of the Saxons that the continuous history of our country begins. Since that time there have been many changes but no violent break.

The Britons did not remain long unmolested. Raids of Picts from the north and Scots from Ireland grew more frequent, and a new terror was added by the appearance (446) of *Saxon* sea rovers from the shores of Germany and Frisia. An appeal for help was made to Aëtius, the Roman commander in Gaul: it bears the pathetic title of "The Groans of the Britons"; they prayed Aëtius to deliver them, "for", said they, "the barbarians drive us to the sea and the sea drives us back to the barbarians". No help, of course, came from Aëtius, who had his hands full with the Huns, and the British ruler, *Vortigern*, in despair hired a band of people whom Bede called *Jutes*, but whose place of origin is disputed, to war against the Picts. Saxon
Pirates

This was a copy of Roman policy, but it was an unsuccessful copy. Rome, until later days, could keep her mercenaries in order; *Vortigern* could not. The Jutes turned against him, and under their leaders seized the Island of Thanet (449). Tradition gave these leaders the names of "Hengist" and "Horsa". (They mean "Horse" and "Mare"). The conquest had begun. More than a hundred and fifty years were to pass before it was complete. (Note 3.) Landing in
Thanet
(449)

Starting from Thanet the Jutish conquest spread along the coast of Kent. Fresh hordes came over to aid their comrades; *Vortigern* and the Britons were driven back; the fortified towns along the shore were starved into surrender. Twenty years saw *Kent* completely conquered. Kent

A few years later a band of *Saxons* overran *Sussex*, giving the land their name; while another force, starting from Southampton, fought their way inland and occupied what is now Hampshire, but was called after them *Wessex*. A fourth band appeared off the mouth of the Thames and Sussex,
Wessex,
Essex,
East
Anglia

seized *Essex*. Another tribe — the Angles — descended on what has been called from them *East Anglia*,¹ and spread north over the coast of Lincolnshire to the Humber mouth.

The process of conquest was slow; it was not done by large forces working in combination. The country was reft from the Britons piecemeal. Each set of invaders came, coveted land, and had to press farther into the country, or along the coast, to get it. The fortune of war wavered. At Mount Badon, in 520, the West Saxons met with a crushing defeat which checked their advance for years, but on the whole the Britons lost ground steadily. The fighting was fierce; neither side spared the other; step by step, as the Saxons advanced, the Britons who were left alive withdrew. Few stayed to be slaves to the victors. Indeed between Britons and Saxons there could be no peace; year after year saw the Britons squeezed, first into the centre of the country, and then by degrees steadily westward: the Britons were falling back towards the mountainous country where they had fought their last fight against the Romans.

Two battles are usually taken as marking the end of the Saxon conquest. These are the battle of Deorham in 577 and the battle of Chester in 613.

The victory of *Deorham* was won by the West Saxons under their King Ceawlin. The site of the battle is not far from Bath, and as a fruit of it, that city with Gloucester and Cirencester fell into Saxon hands. Yet the importance of the battle lies not in the extent of the conquest nor in the richness of the plunder, but in its locality. It gave the Saxons command of the Severn mouth, and so cut the Welsh of Wales off from the Welsh of the South-west of Britain. Precisely the same work was done in the north by the battle of *Chester*: this was won by an Anglian king, Ethelfrith of Northumbria, who, after hurling back an

¹ It is perhaps scarcely necessary to point out that as *Sumex* is the land of the South Saxons, so *Essex*, *Wessex*, and *Middlesex* are the lands of the East, West, and Middle Saxons, while Norfolk and Suffolk are the north and south folk of the Angles.

invasion of Picts at Dawstone near Jedburgh, fought his way westwards. The Welsh mustered all their forces against him. Twelve hundred monks came from the monastery of Bangoriscoed to pray for victory while the "Comrades" fought. *Ethelfrith* was victorious, and remorselessly slew the monks, just as Suetonius Paulinus had massacred the Druids. "Whether they bear arms or no," said he, "they fight against us when they pray to their God." As by Deorham the Saxons won the Severn line, so Chester gave them the Dee. The Welsh were again divided. The men of Wales were split off from their kinsmen in Lancashire and Cumberland.

Of course, it is not true to say that, with these battles, fighting between Briton and Saxon comes to an end. Nor were the "Welsh", as the Saxons termed the Britons,¹ subdued. Nearly another seven centuries had to pass before this was accomplished, but after these two battles there was no longer any question of which power was dominant in England. There was no hope of the Britons recovering their lost ground.

Little surprise need be felt that the Britons preferred to flee for refuge to the hills of the west rather than, by submitting, to live on in their old homes. In their eyes the Saxon was a barbarian, speaking an outlandish tongue and worshipping heathen gods. Yet, barbarians though they were, the Saxons are of great interest to us, for their language has become ours, and amongst them were perhaps germs of some political institutions and ideas that are our own peculiar pride to-day.

Subjection to the
Saxons

Tacitus, who tells us of their ways when they were still living in their homes in Germany, more than three hundred years before the first of them set foot in England, makes much of their freedom. Doubtless he did so because he wished to sharpen a contrast between what he regarded as

Tacitus' account
of the
Saxons

¹ "Welsh" was the word the Saxons used to denote foreigners. The Britons called themselves "Cymry" (comrades).

"degenerate Rome" and the "noble savage". But he did not invent the account he gives. Hence he is a good enough authority for things existing among them, though it is true that by the time the Saxons were established in England, many of these institutions had decayed.

The Saxons kept some slaves, but did not depend on them to do the bulk of their work, as the Athenians and later Romans did. They drove out the Britons from their lands, and, in the main, tilled them for their elves, though doubtless as the invasion went farther west more Britons survived, and the race-blood was more mixed.¹

They also had the practice of governing themselves by an assembly. In these assemblies *folk-moots*, meetings of the people — grave matters were discussed, leaders were elected, questions of peace and war were decided. Yet we are told "no man dictated; he might persuade but he could not command". If the tribesmen agreed, they shook their spears, or clashed them on their shield; if not, they were not slow to express disapproval by loud shouts.

Folk-moots decayed as kingdom grew. By degrees, as England became united, and the petty Saxon Kingdoms, such as Essex, Sussex, and Kent, were changed into Shires, the folk-moots became *shire-moots*, courts held twice a year in which suits were heard and justice was done before the Ealdorman (the Shire officer), the Sheriff (*Shire-reeve*, the King's officer), the Bishop (the Church officer), and the

¹ The Saxons settled down in family groups or were the dependents of some chief; this is shown by their place names. The syllable *-ing* in a place name denotes kindred or common dependence on someone. Thus Wokingham, Nottingham, Billingshurst, Wellington, all indicate that the original settlers in these each traced descent back to a common ancestor. Further, the common terminations *-ham* and *-ton* stand for village or homestead or enclosure round a house. Nottingham, for example, means "the ham or village of *not*'s people". A third Saxon ending, which takes the form of *-burh*, *burgh*, *borough*, is derived from the *burh*, or more elaborate entrenchment with a mound and a ditch. Hosts of examples occur, such as Bury St. Edmunds, and Edinburgh (Edwin's borough). These should be contrasted with Roman place names, usually distinguishable by the termination *-aster*, *-chester*, or *-castra* (Latin, *castra*, a camp), such as Tadcaster, Winchester, Gloucester, or *-coln* (Latin, *colonia*, a colony), such as Lincoln. British place-names are rare in England, except in Cornwall and in the names of rivers and streams, hills and forests. As we approach Danish times we shall also have to note their place-names, of which the commonest ending is "by", e.g. Derby, Whitby, Selby.

representative men of the Shire. And below the shire was the smaller division of the *Hundred*, with its hundred moot, Hundred and below the hundred was the Township. Here again we must notice another mark of our national character, the love of managing our own law courts. It is true that the Saxons did not use a "jury" to declare a verdict, but the plan whereby justice was done in each division before the representative men of the division is something of the same nature.

The Saxons also had a system under which "sureties" were pledged to appear and answer for others. This system was codified under Edgar, who laid down that every man must have a surety to answer for him in cases brought before the law. The Saxon institution, the *frithborh*, developed under the Normans into the *frankpledge*. Under this, all men were members of little groups, and if one member did wrong, the others were responsible for him. If the evil-doer fled, the members of his group had to appear, and answer for him, and pay the fines imposed as punishment for his wrong deed. Frank-pledge

Folk-moots were indeed a sort of primitive governing assembly, though they were doubtless disorderly gatherings where every freeman thought he had a right to air his own noisy opinion. But these general meetings are only possible for small tribes; kings will employ a council of picked men, more manageable and orderly. So grew up the Assembly of the Wise Men or the *Witan*. In it sat the "ealdormen", The Witan the rulers of the shires, and the "thegns", or chiefs of the king's bodyguard, who were the nobles and great men of the time; and when the Church was established in England, the archbishops and bishops took their places there also. This body more resembled the House of Lords than Parliament as a whole, for there were no commons to represent the people. Still, it had some of the powers which Parliament wields now. It made laws; it was consulted about affairs of state, on questions of peace and war, of treaties,

of religion; it could elect a king, observing certain rules of "kinship"; it could depose a king. Under a strong king it was mainly consultative. But when a king was feeble, or when the succession was in doubt, it could interfere.

Tacitus tells us that the Germans had no kings; but even if some bands of Saxons were without kings when they settled in England, it is certain that kings very soon became general. The title King (Cyning), which is probably connected with "kin", shows us that the man stood as the head of his race or kindred. His chief duty was at first to lead the people in war, and accordingly no child could make an efficient king. Hence the office was not strictly hereditary. When a king died, if his eldest son was of sufficient age and a suitable man he would be made king to succeed his father; but if not, some capable man who was "kin" to the late ruler would be chosen. A brother was often made king instead of a son. For example, Alfred himself was not the direct heir. His elder brother Ethelred left sons, but Alfred was put on the throne in preference.

Kings, once made, rapidly acquired great power. One cause lay in the union of the smaller kingdoms, till at last all England came under the sway of one house, the Kings of Wessex. Another source of strength, however, came from the *Gesiths*. When there was need, the whole mass of the people turned out to fight; a general levy of this kind was called the *Fyrd*. But besides the "fyrd" there was a special set of men, the "gesiths", who bound themselves by an oath to fight for the chief. They were his war band, his bodyguard; he was their lord, their bread-giver; they dwelt in his hall, shared his booty, and lived on food of his giving. To the "fyrd" war was an occasional necessity, to the "gesith" it was the business of life. As the chiefs became kings, the "gesiths" also grew more powerful. They were called by a new name - *thegns*; they formed a sort of nobility, not of birth, but of service; and speedily became more important than the *athelings* (descendants of

the royal blood) and *eorls* (men of noble birth). They held places in the Witan; they were the king's councillors; they held grants of king's land; and just as the king, by growing in power, had raised their position, so they in their turn helped to exalt the position of the king.

Summing up these matters in more technical terms: the Saxons were a people with kings, but the power of these was limited partly by custom, partly by an Assembly which took a great share in the government; succession to the throne was not strictly hereditary; justice was "popular", and the sphere of local government was large. (*Note 4.*)

It is convenient to give this account of the chief Saxon institutions here at the outset, since an understanding of them will be valuable in what comes later. But it should not be thought that all of them as described here were in use among the Saxons on their arrival. The kings amassed their powers gradually; shires could not exist till the smaller kingdoms were joined into larger ones; the Witan developed as the king needed its counsels, when his kingdom became large and the distance too great for all the warriors to assemble. Political institutions are generally of slow growth and slow decay, and we must picture some growing and others decaying during the course of events which we have next to follow.

CHAPTER 3

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

Although little is known of the way in which the Britons had been converted to Christianity under the Roman rule, yet there is no doubt that many of them had become Christians. We hear of Alban, the first man to die for the Christian faith in England, who gave his name to St. Albans, and of three British bishops who visited a Council at Arles in 314. Indeed, when the Roman Emperor Constantine accepted Christianity, it was natural that it should be adopted in

Chris-
tianity
under the
Romans

British Christianity in British eyes was that they were heathens. Britain, as a Christian Roman province, had felt itself a part of Europe; when it was overwhelmed by hordes of savage pagans it sank back into outer darkness. Its history, its religion, its life seemed all alike to have been swallowed up in the wave of invasion. Nothing shows more clearly the horror and loathing which the Britons felt for the Saxons than the fact that for so many years they made no attempt to convert them. It was not that there were no British missionaries: *St. David* preached in South Wales; *St. Patrick* converted Ireland; *St. Ninian* spread the Gospel in Galloway, *St. Kentigern* (Mungo) laboured in Strathclyde, with *Cathure*, (now Glasgow) as his centre, and spent many years in Wales where he founded a monastery at *St. Asaph*. *St. Columba*, a Scot from Ireland, founded the great monastery in Iona, whence for centuries flowed a stream of missionary enterprise which in the reign of Oswald reached Northumbria and Christianized the North of England (see p. 11). *St. Guthbert*, too, was of the Church of Columbia. For, across the sea in Ireland the Church had flourished, and Irish art and Irish culture were full of vitality, through the influence of the Irish monks.

What they left undone, Rome did. Everyone knows the story of Bede which tells how the first impulse was supplied, how the little fair-haired boys from Deira (Northumbria) attracted the notice of the abbot Gregory in the slave market at Rome; how he declared that they were "not Angles, but Angels", fit to be rescued from "the wrath"¹ to come; and vowed, when he heard the name of their king, Aetha, that "Alleluia shall be sung in the realm of Aetha". Years passed by, and Gregory, now made Pope, was able to keep his promise. It happened that King Ethelbert of Kent had married Bertha, a Christian princess from France. Gregory seized the chance thus offered to him. He sent *Augustine*,

¹ In Latin, *De Ira*.

with forty followers, to preach the Gospel in England. They landed in the year 597 at Ebbsfleet, the very landing place to which, many years before, the first band of Jutes had come. A fresh Roman conquest was to begin; this time, however, it was not by Roman legions for a Roman Emperor, but by Roman missionaries for the Roman Church.

Augustine
lands in
Kent (59)

Augustine and his followers were monks; they belonged to the order founded in the fifth century by St. Benedict of Nursia. Benedict, while wishing that his monks would set an example of holy lives, did not mean them to be idle. *Laborare est orare*, "to work is to pray", was his maxim for his followers' guidance. Consequently, though Augustine was come to teach the Saxon warriors that there was more serious business in life than fighting and feasting and drinking, they did not incur the contempt which they would have done had the Saxons found them what they would have considered idlers, persons who gave up their whole lives to meditation and prayer. And so, though Æthelbert received them with caution—"Your words", he said, "are fair, but they are new, and I cannot yet forsake what I have so long followed"—yet he gave them leave to preach and gain as many as they could to their religion. The earnest and simple teaching of the monks soon won converts, and amongst them Æthelbert himself. The king bestowed on Augustine a ruined church at *Canterbury*. Augustine named it "Christ Church"; it thus became, as it has remained, the first church in England—first both in time and in importance. On that site stands now the Cathedral of Canterbury; its Archbishop is the head of the Church of England.

Conversion of
Kent

Just as a marriage brought Kent to Christianity, so another marriage carried the faith northward. Æthelbert's daughter, Æthelburga, married *Edwin*, the powerful King of Northumbria (617-633). As the princess was a Christian, it was agreed that she should be free to keep her faith. And with her went a new missionary, *Paulinus*.

We are told of Edwin that he "commanded all the nations of the English as well as of the Britons save only Kent". He was worth winning as a convert, and Paulinus set to work to win him; his wife besought him; even the far-distant Pope wrote him letters and sent presents. Edwin was moved by their pleading and by what he thought to be the special favours of Heaven which came to him at that time: he escaped from a treacherous attempt to murder him, he won a great victory over the West Saxons, his wife bore him a daughter. He consulted his Witan as to whether they should accept the new faith. One of his councillors spoke to the king a parable, in which he likened the life of man to the swift flight of a sparrow, "flying in at one door and straightway out at another; whilst he is within he is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space, he immediately vanishes out of your sight into the dark winter from which he had come. So this life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or of what is to follow, we are ignorant. If therefore this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." Paulinus was called in to address the Council, and at once persuaded them to become Christians. Coifi, the heathen high priest, was the first to destroy the old idols. Edwin's subjects followed their king's example, and were baptized in thousands.

Edwin no doubt was sincere enough, but the zeal shown by priests like Coifi and sudden wholesale conversions such as those of the Northumbrians did not amount to much. Those who abandon one faith for another so readily are not likely to be very firm in holding to any faith. If a time of persecution comes they will fall away again. This is exactly what happened in Northumbria. Edwin went to war with Penda, King of Mercia, and was slain at *Heathfield* (633). Paulinus and Ethelburga fled. Penda was a heathen, and his heathen warriors overran Northumbria. Many of the hasty Northumbrian Christians hastily gave up their Christianity.

Conversion of
Northumbria

Edwin and
Paulinus

Penda of
Mercia
wins
Heathfield
(633)

This is made clear by the fact that *Oswald*, who came to the throne some years later, had to get teachers to preach Christianity afresh. This time, however, he got help from a Celtic source. While Penda had been ravaging Northumbria, Oswald had taken refuge among the monks of Iona for whom he conceived a great admiration. Accordingly he now applied to *Iona*. The first monk who was sent returned saying that the heathen were too stubborn to be converted. "Was it their stubbornness or your harshness?" inquired one of his brother monks named Aidan. "Did you forget to give them the milk first and then the meat?" Aidan was at once chosen to take the other's place. He speedily showed that he would not make the same mistake. By his efforts Northumbria was again converted, Aidan taking the Island of Lindisfarne as the seat of his bishopric. It is true that so long as Penda reigned, the new faith was always in danger. He struck down Oswald in battle at Maserfield (642), as he had slain Edwin. Not until Penda himself fell, in 655, by the River *Winwaed* (see p. 31), was Christianity in Northumbria secure. The old Mercian king had indeed been no savage persecutor of the Christians. "He only hated and scorned," says Bede, "those whom he saw not doing the works of the faith they had received." Yet so long as he was alive, the cause of the old gods was not lost. When he died it perished with him. After that even the Mercians were converted, and soon the whole island was Christian. Sussex was the last to receive the faith.

Oswald of Northumbria and Aidan

Battle of Winwaed field and death of Penda (655)

A new trouble speedily arose. Some of the Saxons had been converted by Roman missionaries, others by Celtic. Wessex was converted by Birinus from North Italy, East Anglia by a Burgundian, St. Felix, Northumbria and Mercia by Irishmen, Essex and Sussex by Cedd and Wilfrid. All these teachers were striving for the same good end, but unfortunately they themselves were not agreed. The island, though one in faith, seemed likely to be divided in practice.

Struggle between Roman and Celtic missionaries

The difficulty indeed was not a new one. Even Augustine himself had met the British bishops and tried to persuade them to adopt Roman practices, and they had refused. In his time it was not so serious a matter, since it was the Britons who held to their own practice and the Saxons to the Roman teaching. But when the Saxons became a house divided against themselves there was grave danger. Accordingly in 664 a Synod was held at *Whitby* to settle the points of difference.

Synod of
Whitby
(664)

The champion of the Celtic or British practice was *Colman*, who had come from Iona, and had succeeded Aidan in Northumbria. The chief upholder of the Roman view was *Wilfrid*, Abbot of Ripon. Wilfrid had been trained in Lindisfarne, Aidan's own monastery, and might have been expected to take Aidan's views. But he had been on a pilgrimage to Rome, and had come back full of zeal for the Roman Church and Roman ways. The two argued it out before King Oswy of Northumbria, who presided at the Synod. The points of difference were not great. The Britons did not keep Easter on the same day as the Romans, they adopted a different tonsure, and had one or two other customs peculiar to themselves. Colman maintained that they should keep to the practices they had learnt from their fathers. Wilfrid urged that the Britons stood alone in their habits, and that all the rest of Christendom followed Rome.

Oswy de-
cides in
favour of
Rome

At length Oswy asked Colman if the Keys of Heaven had been given to Columba as they had been given to Peter. Colman replied, "No." "Then," said the king — one may presume with a smile on his face — "if Peter is the door-keeper I will never contradict him, lest when I come to the gates there should be none to open them." He decided for Wilfrid and the Roman practice, and the Columban teachers returned to Scotland where, in 710, Nectan, King of the Picts, decided to conform to Roman usage. Shortly afterwards the Scots of Dalriada, and probably the British of Strathclyde, followed his lead.

The great work done by the Columban Church in the conversion of a considerable part of England must not be forgotten, even though in the event the whole country came under the Roman Church. But had England followed the Celtic practice, she would have cut herself off from Rome and the rest of Western Europe, and would have lost touch with the art and learning which emanated from Rome. Wilfrid put the matter in a nutshell: "To fight against Rome", said he, "is to fight against the world." By deciding to accept the Roman view, England came once more into cultural union with Western Europe.

The fruits of Oswy's decision were soon gathered. The archbishopric of Canterbury being vacant, an Englishman was sent to Rome to be consecrated. He died in Rome, however, and the Pope chose as Archbishop a Greek monk, *Theodore of Tarsus*. Theodore justified the Pope's choice as thoroughly in 668 as we shall see another archbishop justify it in 1206. He set himself to unite the Church into one, and to organize it under bishops, each of whom was to be responsible for his own diocese. In the Celtic Church the monastery had been the centre on which all turned. The abbot was all-powerful, the bishop merely his subordinate, whose chief work lay in ordaining clergy. Hence bishops wandered up and down the land with no settled sphere of authority, and often quarrelling; monasteries, owning no master but their own abbot, divided the Church rather than united it. What the results of the Celtic system were may be seen in Ireland, where, in the dark days before the English conquest, the Church fell entirely into the hands of the chiefs, lost its power, and merely gave an example of disunion to a people who already thought more of their own tribe than of their nation. But Theodore by setting up the Roman system with its grades of rank — the priest in the parish, the bishop in the diocese ruling over the priests, the archbishop in his province ruling over the bishops, and the Pope as the head of all — united the land into

Theodore
of Tarsus
(668)

the
reform

one.¹ When all met together in a national synod they no longer thought of themselves as men of Northumbria, Kent, or Wessex, but as members of a United Church. (*Note 1.*)

A National Church an example of a united nation

If we look for the results of the conversion upon our country, the first is here. A united Church gave the example for a united people; union under one archbishop accustomed men to think of union under one king; if they were alike in religion, they might well be alike in law and government. And we shall see that this soon came to pass. Another result was that English missionaries crossed to the continent — St. Wilfrid preached to the Frisians, St. Boniface laboured in Germany, and St. Willibrod carried on Wilfrid's work.

Teaching and example of the Church

The Church offered an example of union; it also offered an example of peace. Among the Saxons men had been chiefly thought of for their valour. Their system of justice was based on the ideas of private vengeance or of fines paid in compensation for wrongs done. When a murder, a theft, or some deed of violence had been committed, the accused person had to be produced by his kindred. If he did not appear he was declared outlawed, and the injured man or his relations could exact what vengeance they pleased, if they found him. If he pleaded that he was innocent, he was required to support his oath by men who would swear to his being an honest man, and one to be believed. These were called *compurgators*. If he could not get sufficient

Ordeal

compurgators, he had to go through the *ordeal*, an appeal to the judgment of Heaven. He put his arm into boiling water, or had to walk over red-hot ploughshares or carry a red-hot bar three paces. If within three days the wounds were not clean he was judged guilty. In that event he was dealt with as if he had pleaded guilty; that is to say, he was fined according to his crime. Part went to the king, as a compensation for a breach of the king's peace; part went to the injured man, or, in the case of a murder, to his

¹ The work was not completed by Theodore. He, however, began it. He increased the number of dioceses from eight to fifteen.

kindred. The amount of this fine partly depended on the gravity of the injury done, but partly also on the rank of the man injured. To kill a thegn was more serious than to kill a ceorl, and therefore a higher *werigild* had to be paid.

The Church held that misdeeds were not merely wrongs to a person, they were also sins on the part of the doer. Theodore and his priests taught that such acts must not only be *compensated* by fines, but atoned for by repentance and penance. Till the penance was discharged, the guilty man was outside the pale of the Church and beyond its protection. Thus the penitentiary system not only checked misdeeds, but strengthened the idea that such wrongdoers were offenders against the whole community. When this point is reached, we get a much higher standard of justice, in which certain offences are treated as *crimes*, and dealt with by the state as offences against itself.

Views of
the
Church

To the Church, too, we owe the beginnings of our learning. The Abbey of Whitby gave shelter to a cowherd who had become a lay brother. This man was *Cædmon*, the first English poet. His great religious poem seemed to those of his time to be sent direct from heaven. "Others after him strove to compose religious poems, but none could vie with him, for he learnt not the art of poetry from men, or of men, but from God." *Bede*, another monk the "Venerable Bede" is the respectful title which has been bestowed on him, and which is written on his tomb in Durham Cathedral is a type of the great teachers whom the Church gave us. "My constant pleasure," he says, "lay in learning, or teaching, or writing." At his school of Jarrow six hundred monks learned from him. He was our first historian; and, indeed, it is he who tells us almost all we know of this time. And yet more than this, he translated into English St. John's Gospel, devoting the last days of his life to the task. He was urged to rest from the work that was killing him, but he refused, saying: "I don't want my boys to read a lie, or to work to no purpose when

The
Church
and
learning;
Cædmon
(664)

Bede,
d. 735

I am gone." When the last chapter of the Gospel was finished the great scholar died.

Another, and a very different type, from among the men the Church gave us was *Dunstan*. He, too, was a monk; but while Bede was a scholar, Dunstan was not only a scholar but a statesman also. He was the adviser of two kings, and practically regent for a third; he went with the king on campaigns against the Danes; he kept the royal treasure. As in addition he was Archbishop of Canterbury, we can understand that he was much the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was the first man to be great both as a cleric and as a statesman. But there were many who followed in his steps. In fact, until the reign of Henry VIII, the greatest ministers of our kings were almost always clerics. There were many things that commended them. No cleric could be suspected of aiming at the throne, nor could he found a family, and therefore he was presumably less greedy for lands and honours than a baron, who could leave such things to his son. Again, clerics were far more able and enlightened than the ignorant warriors and nobles who formed the king's court, and they did a great work for England. As we shall see later, one of these Church-statesmen, Stephen Langton, had much to do with obtaining for us our Magna Carta.

The Church, then, gave us the beginnings of our national unity; it did much to give us peace at home, and a better sense of what was lawful and right; it gave us scholars, and it gave us statesmen. It also encouraged art, and to it we owe, besides many beautiful buildings, the famous tall churchyard crosses of wonderfully sculptured stone, and, perhaps loveliest of all, the early illuminated manuscripts. The *Lindisfarne Gospelbook*, written about 700 A.D. "for God and St. Cuthbert", is considered the finest example of these, and is a great work of art with its splendid lettering and its pictures, its glowing colours enhanced by the use of gold leaf, and its rich ornamentation of intricate patterns of

wonderful interlacing curves, plant-designs, and quaint beasts and birds.

CHAPTER 4

THE EARLY KINGDOMS: KENT, NORTHUMBRIA,
MERCIA, AND WESSEX

The period of Saxon history which ends with the coming to the throne of the West Saxon King *Egbert* (802), who united all Saxon England under his sway, is sometimes called the period of the *Heptarchy*, the Rule of the Seven Kingdoms. The Seven Kingdoms Seven kingdoms may, indeed, be counted—Northumbria, Wessex, Mercia, Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia—though even here the description is not satisfactory, for Northumbria itself was made up of two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira. But the term *Heptarchy* implies seven kingdoms independent of each other, whereas, in fact, these kingdoms were very rarely quite independent. As we shall see, sometimes one, sometimes another, had a sort of overlordship over the rest. A king who had this overlordship was often Overlordship of Britain called a *Bretwalda*. Yet, again, this title must not be pressed too far. The name *Bretwalda* seems first to have been taken by Edwin of Northumbria to commemorate his victories over the Welsh. Other kings took the name without as much reason as Edwin had, and later writers have applied it as a convenient name for the powerful monarchs whose overlordship was admitted by the other kingdoms. Yet when we read that Edwin of Northumbria was *Bretwalda*, we must not imagine that the other kingdoms were really subject to him, any more than when we speak of the *Heptarchy* we must think of them as being quite independent.

Just as the kingdom of *Kent* under Ethelbert was the first to accept Christianity, so it was the first to exercise an Kent overlordship over the rest. Ethelbert's authority reached as far north as the Humber. He did not conquer the other

kingdoms, at least there is no record of his warring against them, but they regarded him as their chief and fought under his banner. He was admitted to be the most important king in England.

The overlordship of Kent was, however, shortlived. It rose with Ethelbert, and fell at his death in 616. From that time the Kings of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex in succession were regarded as overlords. It is tempting to wonder why the kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex, and Sussex never rose to this position, seeing that the south eastern part of the country was richer and more fertile than the rest, and had been in Roman days more populous. The answer is probably this. When the Welsh were driven into the west, only the Saxon kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, who still had to hold their borders against them, remained good fighting men. The rest, being less disturbed by wars, settled down to the arts of peace. They may have grown richer, but they grew weaker. The battle was not in those days to the wealthy, but to the strong.

Northumbria
(616-688)

Again, as Christianity passed from Kent to Northumbria, so also did the overlordship of England. Ethelric had formed Northumbria by uniting Bernicia (Lothian and Northumberland) and Deira (Yorkshire and Durham) in 588. Ethelfrith had, as we have seen, won the battle of Chester in 613, and had driven thereby a wedge of Saxon power between the Britons of Wales and Strathclyde. Great as Ethelfrith was, he was defeated and killed by a usurper, a son of the man whom Ethelric had driven from the throne of Deira when he added it to his own Bernician realm. Yet this usurper became even more powerful than Ethelfrith. He was *Edwin* the Bretwalda.

Edwin of
Northumbria
the Bretwalda

Edwin, in the years before he was converted to Christianity, had already made himself very powerful. He was King of the whole northern area between the Forth and the Trent, and he drove the Picts across the Forth. Though to-day it is considered unlikely that "Edinburgh" derives

its name from "Edwinsburgh", still it is probable that his power was in fact established as far as the Forth. He also drove the Britons of Strathclyde away to the west of the Yorkshire hills. Having thus made his northern and western borders safe, he made an ally of Kent by his marriage with Ethelburga. Mercia and East Anglia were friendly. Wessex was hostile, but was conquered and forced to accept him as overlord. He was thus the most powerful ruler England had seen. He even extended his authority by building a fleet, which commanded the Irish sea and gave him control of the islands of Man and Anglesey.

That this great king had become a Christian no doubt helped the cause of Christianity in England, but his Christianity did not help Edwin. All who remained heathen were set against him, and when Edwin accepted a religion that preached peace rather than a sword, his foes thought he was growing weak and unwarlike. An alliance was formed against him by Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, who, calling in to his aid Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd (the Snowdonian district of Wales), overcame Edwin's army at *Heathfield*¹ in 633 (see p. 22). Edwin fell in the battle.

Edwin becomes a Christian

Now followed a long struggle between Northumbria and Mercia which ended in the triumph of Mercia. *Penda* conquered East Anglia, and joined it to his Midland Kingdom. He was then faced by a joint attack from Northumbria (where Oswald ruled) and Wessex, but he defeated Oswald at the great fight at *Maserfield* in 642 (p. 23). His Northumbrian foe was now weakened by a quarrel between its own people (the rival houses of Bernicia and Deira). It was not till Oswy united the two factions that he could withstand Penda, and in 655 Oswy won a complete victory at *Winwaedfield* (possibly near Leeds).

Triumph of Penda of Mercia

With Penda fell heathendom; but the cause of Mercia survived. Just as Northumbria had been weakened by

¹ *Heathfield* in Yorkshire.

being the one Christian country in the midst of heathen foes, so Mercia was strengthened by abandoning the old religion which had separated her from the rest. Three years after Penda's death, his son once more threw off the yoke of Northumbria, and Oswy could not subdue him. Indeed the days of Northumbrian greatness were drawing to an end. Yet the last days were almost the brightest. Egfrith, who came to the throne in 670, conquered the Strathclyde Britons, and added Cumbria as far north as Carlisle to his dominions. He grasped, however, at a still wider power, and led an army north of the Forth. During his absence an uneasy dread lay on Northumbria. St. Cuthbert, Abbot of Lindisfarne, was at the time at Carlisle. He shared the anxiety of the people. "Let us watch and pray," said he to some questioner. The fears were justified. While St. Cuthbert was praying at Carlisle, Egfrith and his army were cut to pieces by the Picts in the battle of *Nectansmere*. With this defeat the Northumbrian power fell for ever.

Fall of
Northumbria

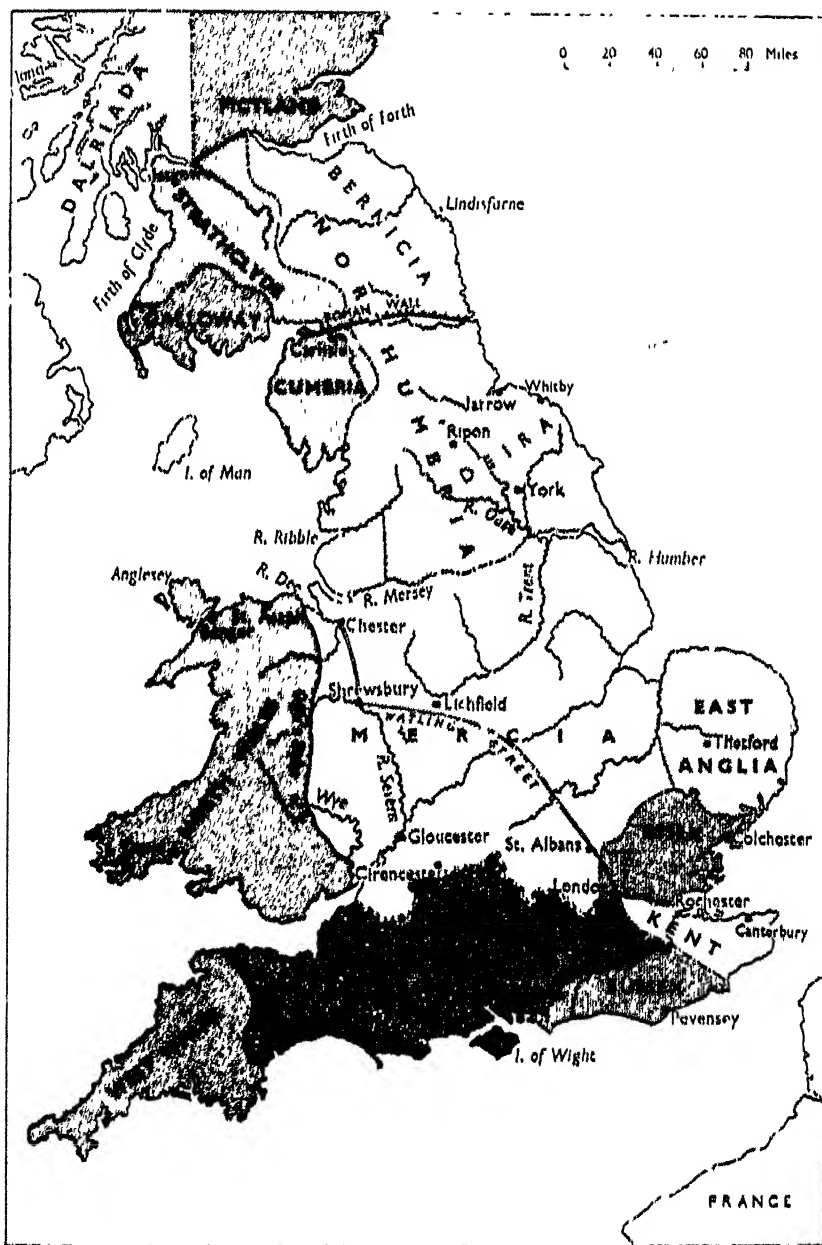
Nectansmere (685)

For more than a hundred years Mercia held the overlordship which Northumbria had lost. She had, it is true, many struggles with Wessex, but on the whole kept the advantage. At first Ine, King of Wessex, seemed likely to unite and extend Wessex into a kingdom too strong for Mercia to overcome, but in 726, when Ine was absent on a pilgrimage to Rome, Ethelbald, King of Mercia, seized the chance to invade Wessex, and by 733 had subdued it. The Mercian overlordship lasted for twenty years, till the West Saxons rose and defeated Ethelbald at Burford. Under Ethelbald's successor, *Offa*, Mercian power rose to its zenith. He overcame Kent and Essex, advanced the Mercian frontier to the Thames, pushed back the Welsh, and built the great rampart, "*Offa's dyke*", from the Dee to the Wye, to confine them within narrower limits. He persuaded Pope Hadrian to make Lichfield the see of an archbishop, so that Mercian Christians should not be under

Mercian
supremacy
(685-796)

Offa
(787-796)

Power of
Mercia



the rule of Canterbury. He corresponded on terms of equality with the most powerful monarch of the time, the Emperor Charlemagne. Yet his power was no more secure than that of Edwin, or Oswy, or Egfrith. When he died, Mercian supremacy crumbled away.

The story of the rise and fall, first of Northumbria and then of Mercia, is apt to seem tiresome. After battles and conquests there is nothing permanent to show for it all. One fabric, laboriously raised, tumbles to the ground, and nothing is left but confused ruins. Then another is begun only to collapse like its predecessor. We shall now have to follow the building up of a third power, that of Wessex. This time, however, it is more interesting because it proved permanent.

We have seen from time to time a little of the early history of Wessex. The West Saxons were certainly the most powerful kingdom in the south. Twice they had seemed to be on the verge of great things, first when Cæawlin won the victory of Deorham (p. 14), and again when Ine conquered Somerset, Sussex, and Kent, thus becoming master of all England south of the Thames. But Cæawlin was checked by quarrels at home, and the West Saxon power had been overshadowed by the growth of Northumbria, while Ine was compelled to yield to Ethelbald of Mercia. Offa's death, however, gave a fresh opportunity; and with the hour came the man.

Rise of
Wessex

Egbert had already made one attempt on the West Saxon throne, but the influence of Offa had been too strong for him. He had taken refuge with Charlemagne, and had no doubt learnt at that monarch's splendid court the value of a united realm, and something of the art of ruling one. In 802 the West Saxons offered him the crown. The growth of his power was rapid. He subdued the British of Cornwall, defeated the Mercians at *Ellandun* in 825, tore from them the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, which they had held subject, and two years later, invading Mercia itself,

Egbert
(802-839)

made the Mercians accept him as overlord. His name was now so great that Northumbria submitted to a mere threat. Thus before his death in 839, although he did not actually displace the Kings of Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia, he had wider power than any previous king in Britain.¹ (*Note 6.*)

So far there is nothing to suggest to us that the overlordship of Wessex will differ from those of Mercia or Northumbria. We may expect to see it fall, as they fell. Indeed, on Egbert's death we may fancy that we see the fall beginning: Wessex went to one son, Ethelwulf; Kent, Essex, and Sussex were given to another son, Athelstan. Disunion appears close at hand. Yet there was a new factor in English politics. Efforts at union had hitherto failed, because so soon as one kingdom became great, it was the interest of the rest to pull it down. Such union as there was must be union of force, not of hearts. Ever since the Welsh had been tamed, England had lacked the strongest motive towards union, namely, the presence of a powerful foreign foe. In Egbert's reign this foreign foe was already at the gates. England had to face the invasions of the Danes.

CHAPTER 5

ALFRED AND THE DANES

Traditionally we are accustomed to think of *Alfred* and the Danes together. The name of the great hero-king at once raises in our minds the memory of a desperate struggle between the English and the invading sea rovers. Yet we must be on our guard lest we make too much of this. The Danes had begun to harass England long before Alfred's

¹ The spread of Christianity over Saxon England and the changes of the overlordship follow nearly the same course. If on a map of England a "horse-shoe" line be drawn, starting in Kent and travelling through Essex, East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, back to Saxony, this traces the course of Christianity, save that Wessex was converted before Mercia; omitting the kingdoms in italics it also traces the "overlordship".

day; and though Alfred certainly checked their conquests for a time, he did not in any sense end the struggle. His sons and grandsons had to carry on his work, and even after their time the trouble broke out afresh. Indeed, for nearly two hundred years English history is full of the Danes, plundering, fighting, conquering and being conquered, rebelling against their Saxon rulers, and at last reaching their final triumph when a Danish king, Canute, rules England. Of these two hundred years it is plain that the reign of Alfred can occupy only a small part. None the less, it is a distinguished part.

Again, though Alfred was great as a leader against the Danes, it is only a small part of his greatness. There were many stout warriors among the Saxon kings, but only one Alfred. Had he never fought a battle he would yet have deserved a place among the greatest rulers of the world. He was the first English king who gave up his whole life to the welfare of his country. Other kings had regarded their kingship largely as a position to be used for their own pleasure and ambition. Alfred treated his solely as a duty which he owed to his people. He was not content to be merely a king; he was a father to his fatherland, a servant to his own subjects.

Alfred's
greatness

Before Alfred could carry out any of his schemes of good government it was needful that the country should be at peace, and no peace was possible until the Danes were overcome. The Danes, then, were his first task.

Precisely the same cause which had brought the Saxons on the Britons was now driving the Danes on the Saxons. The *Danes*, as we are in the habit of calling them, did not come from Denmark alone, but from all North Germany, Scandinavia, and all the coasts of the North Sea. If we call them not Danes, but *Northmen*, we are reminded that they did not raid England only, but the north of France too, and gave their name to the province of Normandy.

Danish
invasion

- * They went still farther afield, however. They made a settlement in South Italy and founded a kingdom in Sicily, twice attacked Constantinople, conquered Iceland, sailed from there to Greenland, and even perhaps reached the coast of America at Vinland, which is thought to be Labrador, centuries before Columbus. In this restless career of adventure, driven from their homes by the same pressure of westward-moving races which had urged the barbarians against the Roman Empire and the Saxons into Britain, we may find repeated the same stages of progress which had marked the Saxon invasion. The first object was plunder; the second stage, settlement; the final stage, conquest.

¹ The first
raids (787)

1st stage:
plunder

The year 787 saw the first Danish raid into England; on the eastern coasts fell the earliest gusts of the coming storm; since the Danes were heathen they had no scruple in sacking the rich monasteries of Lindisfarne and Wearmouth. As time went on the raids became more numerous, the raiders more daring. Egbert was beaten in 828, but in 837 he won a victory at Hengist's Down. Yet one victory was of little use. In the course of the next three years every summer brought a fresh horde of plunderers, and London, Rochester, and Canterbury were all pillaged.

2nd stage:
settlement

The middle of the ninth century saw the Danish invasions passing from the first to the second stage. In 851 some Danes, instead of returning home, wintered in Sheppey. This example was soon followed. In 866 an army, greater than any of its predecessors, landed in East Anglia. The next year it ravaged Northumbria; then it advanced into Mercia; checked there, it returned to East Anglia, and slew King Edmund, whose name is commemorated in Bury St. Edmunds.¹ The year 871 saw it again push southwards into Wessex. If Wessex fell, the Danes would be indeed masters of England.

Danish
attack on
Wessex

It was this crisis that Alfred had to face. His grandfather,

¹ Edmund, who according to tradition was tied to a tree and shot to death with arrows, was later recognized as a saint, and many churches in East Anglia were dedicated to him.

Egbert, had died in 839, leaving a son, Ethelwulf, who had reigned till 858. He left behind him four sons, of whom Alfred was the youngest. By 866 the two elder ones had passed away, and the third, Ethelred, was on the throne. Aided by Alfred, he prepared to drive back the invaders.

This was no easy task. Men who had the daring to face the storms of the North Sea, and even to round the wild western coasts of Iceland in their low, undecked vessels driven by oars, were not likely to want courage on land.

Ethelred and Alfred did not make a promising beginning. They tried to storm the Danish camp situated in the tongue of land between the Kennet and Thames, near Reading. The assault failed, and though the Danes, being emboldened by success to abandon their usual tactics and risk a battle in the open, were routed by Alfred at *Ashdown*, yet the English lost so many men that they were beaten at Basing, and again at Marden in Wiltshire, in which latter fight Ethelred was killed. He left children, but Alfred was chosen to succeed him. It was no time for a child on the throne. Alfred tried his luck once again at *Wilton*, but although his men at first forced the Danes back, yet they rallied and once more were victorious.

Efforts of
Ethelred
and
Alfred

Battle of
Ashdown
and Wilton
(871)

Danish
advance

This was desperate fighting. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says, "Nine battles were fought this year south of the Thames", and the balance of victories did not rest with Alfred. But though the English did not win the battles, yet they won the campaign, for in the next year the Danes, having no stomach for more of such bloody work, withdrew eastward and northward to regions where they met less stout foemen, and Alfred had a little breathing space.

In 877 the storm gathered afresh. In the depths of winter the Danish leaders Guthrum and Hubba declared war. Guthrum swooped down on Alfred's royal town of Chippenham before Alfred could gather a force. The King himself, almost without followers, had to take refuge in the isle of Athelney,

Guthrum
taken
Chippen-
ham

Alfred at
Athelney

a marshy stronghold protected by the waters of the Tone and Parret.¹ Never before or after were his fortunes at so low an ebb, but he did not despair. By degrees men joined him. He fell on the Danes at *Ethandun* (Edington), and drove them in headlong flight to their stockade. There they were surrounded and starved into submission.

Battle of
Ethandun
(878)

It would, no doubt, have been a more effective blow had the stockade at Chippenham been stormed. A crushing defeat might have struck such terror into the Danish counsels that they might well have judged it wise to leave Alfred alone for the future. But the risk of defeat was great, and it was not Alfred's policy. He no longer hoped to clear the Danes out from England altogether. To carry on war to the death might be attractive to a king, thirty years old, at the head of a victorious army. But Alfred never made war for his own glory. He was a statesman who looked to the good of his people. So he put aside glittering dreams of conquest, and was ready to allow the Danes to settle down in the north and east, provided they would be quiet neighbours. This is clear from the terms he made with Guthrum, in the *Treaty of Wedmore* (879).

Alfred and
Guthrum
come to
terms

The first condition of this treaty was that Guthrum and his men should become Christians. Thus one great hindrance in the way of a peaceful union was removed; and, as the Danes were of much the same race as the English, spoke a kindred language, and had very similar institutions, there was no race-hatred between the two, such as had prevented the Saxons and Britons from living together in amity. The Saxon had hated the Dane, not because he was a Dane, but because he plundered and robbed. When he gave up these habits he could be tolerated.

Treaty of
Wedmore
(879)

The line of division settled in the *Treaty of Wedmore* was the Watling Street; but a few years later Alfred got a better frontier. Henceforth the line ran up the estuary of the

Boundary
between
Danes and
English

¹ "Alfred's Jewel", now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, was found here.

Thames to the Lea, along that river to Hertford, and across to Bedford, then followed the Ouse till it struck the Watling Street, and from there to Chester. Roughly speaking, the north and east lay in Guthrum's hands; the south and west remained to Alfred. He lost in the extent of his territory, but the hold of Wessex over Northumbria and Anglia had not been firm. In the end he was stronger in a more concentrated kingdom, and he retained London and most of the larger towns.

The Treaty of Wedmore freed Alfred from Guthrum, but at any moment a fresh band of marauders might come. To guard against this danger was Alfred's next care. He improved his army by increasing the number of the thegns, thus strengthening its leadership. Further, he arranged that the fyrd should be divided into three parts, each of which would serve for a month at a time, thus securing a more permanent force from this somewhat disorderly and untrained body.¹ He also in towns and elsewhere made "burhs", or fortified posts, on the Danish frontier for checking raiders. But, best of all, he was the first to see that England's safety lay in a *fleet*: the best way to meet the Danes was to fight them at sea. He built, as the *Chronicle* tells us, "long ships that were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars,"² some more; they were both swifter and steadier than the others". It is somewhat curious that though the English had themselves in early days been sea rovers, yet they had lost their taste for the sea, and Alfred had at first to employ Frisians to man his ships. Soon, however, the English became good seamen, and the fleet, the importance of which was first realized by Alfred, became England's best safeguard.

The wisdom of these precautions was shown when, at the end of his reign, Alfred had to meet a fresh invasion of Danes led by Hastings, "the worst man that ever was

¹ The members of the fyrd were always anxious to return to the duties of their farms.

² The usual Danish ship had thirty-two oars.

horn". Alfred's new army was able to storm the Danish camp on the Lea, to shatter another force at Buttington in Montgomery, and finally by a great stroke to blockade and capture the Danish fleet in a narrow part of the river Lea. In 897 the Danes gave up the game and made off to join their kinsmen in Normandy, where we shall hear of them again. In England, for the present, they had found that, as a Norse poet sang:

" They got hard blows instead of shilling;
And the axe's weight instead of tribute".

and they judged it best to leave Alfred alone.

Alfred deserves to be remembered for what he did to keep his realm safe, yet no less honour is due for what he did to make it well governed. He set in order the law, and took such good care that the reeves and aldermen should enforce them, that in later days when troubles came again men longed for the " laws of King Alfred ". From his youth up he had been a scholar, always anxious to learn and ready to teach. It was his wish that every freeborn youth " should abide at his book till he can well understand English writing ". That his people should have books to read in English, he translated from the Latin not only books on religion - the *Consolation* of Boethius and the *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory - but also books on history and geography, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* and Orosius' *History and Geography*. At times, too, he did more than translate; he added to the books whatever seemed interesting to himself. Thus he put into Orosius' book the accounts of two voyages northwards to the White Sea and eastwards along the Baltic, made by Othere and Wulfstan, whom Alfred had himself sent out. Even more valuable was the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was begun at this time. This chronicle, which began its story with the coming of the English, and was continued year by year from Alfred's time, is the best record we have for what happened before the Norman Conquest.

Danes defeated by Alfred (897)

Policy at home

Learning

English books

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle



ENGLAND AFTER THE TREATY OF WEDMORE (880)

A king who was so fond of learning was sure to attract scholars to his court. Nor did Alfred neglect the Church. The plunderings of the Danes had left churches in ruins and monasteries desolate. He gave largely from his own income to rebuild them; he even went further, setting up an abbey for monks at Athelney to commemorate God's mercies to him there, and another religious house for nuns at Shaftesbury. His own daughter did not disdain to be Head of this. Further, the churchmen themselves were in nearly as evil plight as the churches. At the beginning of his reign Alfred tells us that even south of the Humber there were "few priests who could render Latin service book into English", while in the north the state of the church was still worse. Thanks to Alfred's efforts this situation was amended. He took care to choose good bishops and trusted them to make the lower clergy do their duty. (Note 1.)

The Church

Monasteries

Priests

Bishops

However we look at Alfred, whether as a warrior, as a statesman, as a lawgiver, as a scholar, as a reformer, he appears equally great. Yet with all his greatness he kept real through his life the nature of a modest and simple man. "I desire," said he in his latest days, "to have to them that come after me a remembrance of me in good work. So long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily." None can doubt that the task which this great king set himself was nobly done.

CHAPTER II

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE SAXONS

Alfred died in 901¹; Ethelred II, whose reign marks the downfall of all that Alfred had done, came to the throne in 978. This chapter passes in review the seventy-eight years

¹ Alfred probably died in 900 (see H. A. Frey, *Alfred the Great*) but the date usually accepted is 901.

himself to recover the *Danelaw*, that district which his father had been forced to give up. The task was easier than it might seem, since the Danes of the Danelaw were not united under one ruler. None the less Edward had to proceed with caution. Aided by his warlike sister, Ethelfleda, who ruled the Midlands for him under the title of the "Lady of the Mercians", he first completed the series of fortified posts which Alfred had begun. Then moving over the border he attacked the group of Danish towns on the Upper Ouse. One by one, Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Cambridge, yielded to him. Ethelfleda led an army against the Five Danish Boroughs in the valley of the Trent, and captured Derby and Leicester. She died in 918, but Edward carried on the work. At length, in 925, when he was setting out on a final invasion of the north, he was met by envoys from all the northern powers, from the Danes of Northumbria, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the Angles of Bernicia, who swore to take him to "father and lord". Constantine, King of the Scots, is also said to have made an agreement with him, not improbably a military alliance. The point would have no importance but for the circumstance that four hundred years later King Edward I (Plantagenet) interpreted this agreement as evidence that the King of Scots had become the vassal king of Edward the Elder, and used this to support his claim to overlordship of Scotland. The chronicle entry is of doubtful authenticity.

Attempts
to recover
the Dano
law

Danish
boroughs
taken

Agree-
ment with
Scots

That the submission of the various peoples was merely nominal became clear enough in the reign of Edward's son, *Athelstan*. Athelstan first married his sister to Sigtric, Danish king of Northumbria, but on the death of that king did not hesitate to drive out his kinsman's sons and seize the kingdom for himself. Conduct of this kind made the other northerners uneasy. Constantine gave help to Sigtric's sons, and got together a vast league against Athelstan. Danes of Northumbria and Britons of Strathclyde (the great

Athelstan
(925-940)

League
against
Wessex

lordship of Scotland which Edward I was to put forward.

Edmund had reigned only six years when he was murdered by an outlaw whom he was endeavouring to drag from his banqueting-hall. His younger brother, *Edred*, had also a short, but not an inglorious reign. Three things about him deserve note. First, as was always the case when a brother succeeded in place of the late king's young son, the crown was given to him *by a decision of the Witan*: but in this particular Witan sat, not only Englishmen, but Danes and Welshmen. The complete union of England was apparently not far off, when men of three races could meet in one assembly to choose their ruler. Second, after suppressing the usual rebellion in Northumbria, Edred divided it, not into shires, which would have been ruled by ealdormen, but into two huge *earldoms*. This creation of "earls" ¹ with wide dominions was a dangerous policy, from which were to come serious troubles in the future. And third, Edred's friend was the great churchman, *Dunstan*.

Edred
(946-955)

Chosen by
Witan

Division of
Northumbria

Dunstan

Recalled
to power
by Ed-
mund

Although Dunstan had been brought up in the abbey of Glastonbury, he had no wish at first to enter the Church. He came to seek his fortune at King Athelstan's court. The other courtiers were jealous of his learning or annoyed by his wit, and they resolved to make him ridiculous. As he was riding across a marsh they threw him from his horse and rolled him in the mire. Dunstan left the court in disgust, fell sick of a fever, and when he recovered became a monk. Athelstan, sorry for his courtiers' rudeness, recalled him to court. Edmund again dismissed him, but two days later changed his mind. The reason is given us in a well-known story. Edmund was hunting near Cheddar; the chase swept to the edge of Cheddar cliffs; stag and hounds went headlong over, and the king seemed unable to check his horse. In the agony of the moment he vowed to make amends to Dunstan if he was saved, and the horse just pulled up on the edge. In gratitude for his escape Edmund

¹ Danish, *jarl*.

made Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury. Edred took him for his chief adviser.

Dunstan had won the confidence of one king, but this was no guarantee that he would be equally favoured by the next. He was again to experience the uncertainty of fortune. *Edwy* (955-959), who succeeded Edred, fell into the hands of the party who hated the monks. Consequently he soon quarrelled with Dunstan. Dunstan rebuked him for affronting all the nobles of his court by leaving the table at his coronation-feast, and even led him back by the hand like a silly boy. Edwy retorted by driving Dunstan into exile. This angered all the monkish party, but they were still more set against the king for marrying a wife who was within the "prohibited degrees" in relationship. Archbishop Odo declared it no marriage; all Edwy's most powerful subjects revolted, and set up his brother *Edgar* as king. Edwy was left merely the part of England that lay south of the Thames. It seemed that England might be split up over again, but fortunately Edwy's death put an end to the difficulty. The whole realm came under Edgar's allegiance.

This prince is aptly called the "Peaceful". While Edgar was on the throne, the long term of Saxon prosperity that had had its spring with Alfred, and its summer under Edward and Athelstan, remained unbroken. It was indeed drawing to an end; Edgar's reign wore the peacefulness of an autumn, so calm and fair that it leads men to forget how soon it must pass away. Since Edgar's first act was to recall Dunstan, and as Dunstan remained his trusted minister throughout, we may find in the events of the reign the best example of Dunstan's policy.

Dunstan, we have seen, was a monk; Edgar made him Archbishop of Canterbury (960). Thus the first field for his activity lay in Church affairs. It happened that at this time there was a great revival in monastic affairs going on on the Continent. The Benedictine monks of Cluny, who led stern, hard, self-sacrificing lives, were everywhere taken

as models. In one respect the secular¹ clergy were not doing what the Church expected them to do. It was thought right that they should remain, like the monks, unmarried. At this time, however, this rule was badly kept. Many of the seculars had wives, and this gave great offence. Dunstan did his best to encourage the reforms. He tried to make the seculars remain unmarried, but he was not altogether successful. Under these circumstances it became the fashion to think a great deal of monks and less of the secular clergy. This showed itself not only in the revival of old monasteries and the setting up of new ones, but also in the practice of turning out the seculars from positions of dignity and putting monks in their places. Thus the secular canons of the Cathedral of Winchester were turned out, and monks installed instead of them. The same thing was done at Worcester. No doubt, in some respects, the change was for the better; the monks led stricter lives, and they were more learned. But it raised a great jealousy between regulars and seculars. Although Dunstan, as head of the Church, may be said to have approved of those changes which some of his bishops made, he did not make them in his own see. The real reform that he was anxious for was that the clergy should be better educated.

Cluniac reforms

Monks replace canons

Education of clergy

It would be a mistake to look on Dunstan merely as a churchman. He was more than that. He was a great statesman. To him we may attribute the wise policy by which Edgar made friends of the Danes settled in England, making some ealdormen, others bishops, and admitting many to his Witan. He also continued to keep on good terms with the kings of the Scots. Indeed, just as Edmund is said to have handed over Strathclyde to Malcolm, so Edgar, we are told, gave Lothian to Kenneth. But there is little evidence to support this assertion and Lothian was conquered by the Scots fifty years later.

Dunstan's policy

¹ Monks, friars, and others who lived under a rule like that of St. Benedict, or in later days like those of St. Francis or St. Dominic, were called "regulars" (Lat. *regula*). The rest of the clergy were called "seculars".

Edgar's
reforms in
adminis-
tration

Though we may give Dunstan the credit of much that was done in Edgar's reign, yet the King showed himself a capable ruler. He issued improved laws, and travelled frequently over his realm to see that they were kept. More than that, he made the inhabitants of each "hundred" responsible for any misdeeds committed there. He enlarged the fleet and himself made frequent voyages with it. And even if we distrust the old story that he was rowed across the Dee by six vassal-kings, yet none the less we may find a truth expressed in it. It is a picturesque way of saying that he was a prosperous and powerful monarch, and there was none found in Britain to rival his greatness.

CHAPTER 7

THE SAXON DOWNFALL

The
Saxon
downfall
(975-1066)

From Egbert to Edgar may be called the Golden Age of Saxon history. King and people alike were vigorous; enemies abroad were beaten off, rebellions at home crushed, law and justice enforced, learning encouraged. We have likened Edgar's reign to a fine autumn: we may go further, and say that after him came winter fierce and stormy. In the next ninety years, from the reign of Edward the Martyr till the death of Harold (975-1066), Saxon England went from one calamity to another. The kingdom could not even preserve itself from foreign conquest; we shall see a time of Danish attack ending in a Danish monarch on the throne, and then a time of Norman interference ending in the Norman Conquest. It will be convenient to divide the whole period into two parts corresponding to these two foreign influences, but through the whole we can trace in many of the chief men a decay of the old Saxon valour and self-reliance, and a new growth of indecision, discontent, treachery, that gave the foreigner his oppor-

Foreign
invasions

Internal
collapse

tunity. There are brilliant exceptions: Edmund Iron side and Harold must not be forgotten. But fate was unkind enough to cut off both of them before they could do more than show their budding promise, while it left the incapable Ethelred and the feeble Edward the Confessor ample leisure to reap the whole harvest of their own incapacity. Feeble kings

The grouping of the events of this time shows a certain symmetry which it is well to bear in mind. From the accession of Ethelred the Unready to the Norman Conquest is a period of eighty-seven years. The middle part of it (1017-1042) is occupied with the Danish kings on the throne (Canute and his sons); the beginning part and the end part are covered by Saxon kings. Further, the beginning and end parts have a strong resemblance. Each period starts with a *long* reign of a *feeble* king followed by a very *short* reign of a *vigorous* king; each alike ends in a *foreign* conquest.¹

I. THE DANISH CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

(978-1042)

The story of the Saxon downfall opens ominously with murder. The young King Edward, riding past his step-mother's castle at Corfe, halted at the door and asked for a cup of wine. The treacherous queen brought it herself, and while the king was drinking it made one of her men stab him in the back, that her own son, *Ethelred*, might get the throne. For eight-and-thirty years England was to regret that deed, for Ethelred's reign proved one of the worst in her history. Murder of Edward

¹ PERIOD I (Saxon kings):

Long reign of *Ethelred the Unready*,
978-1016,

Short reign of *Edmund Ironside*,
1016,

Ending in Danish conquest
and Danish kings, 1016-
1042.

PERIOD II (Saxon kings):

Long reign of *Edward the Confessor*,
1042-1066,

Short reign of *Harold*, 1066,

Ending in Norman conquest,
1066, and Norman kings.

Ethelred's name of the Unready or Redeless — that is to say, "the Man Lacking in Counsel" -- fitly describes him. He was selfish, idle, weak. He had not the vigour to control the great earls and ealdormen in whose hands a strong king like Edgar had been able safely to leave so much of the government of the country. Instead of being useful servants of the state, these men became jealous and quarrelsome, struggling for their own power, and neglecting their duties. The Danes swooped down upon an England in the hands of an incapable king and disloyal officials, and by this time the Danes were even more formidable than they had been in Alfred's reign. Norway and Denmark were now each of them kingdoms. The invaders were no longer plunderers, but trained warriors, obeying the commands of a king who, being sure of help from a mass of his kinsmen already settled in the country, aimed at nothing less than a complete conquest.

England's need was desperate; yet never was she left so utterly without help by her king and leaders. There was only one remedy; it was to fight, and fight hard. Yet when the invaders came they found England an easy prey, for, as the *Chronicle* says, "no shire would help other". Then, by the advice of Sigiric, who had succeeded Dunstan, Ethelred made another plan for dealing with the Danes: instead of hard blows he gave them money; he tried to buy them off with the *Danegeld*, a tax which he made his luckless subjects pay. This policy, however, only put off the evil day to a still worse to-morrow. The Danes, paid once, came back again and again for more, and they brought fresh swarms with them. Danegeld, first imposed in 991, was taken again in 994, in 1002, and in 1011. As Ethelred's Witan approved of the tax, it is plain that it was not the King alone who had fallen from the valour of the old days. We feel that England has come on evil days when we read of one army "that it was the leaders first who began the flight"; of another, "when they were east, then men held our force west; and

Ethelred
the "Un-
ready"
(978-
1016)
an in-
capable
ruler

Fresh
Danish
invasions

Saxons
divided

Danegeld

Witan
agrees
Danegeld
to be paid

when they were south, then was our force taken north"; of another, "through something was flight ever resolved upon, and so the enemy ever had the victory"; or, again, that the King's most trusted ealdorman, Eðric, betrayed his plans to the enemy; or, again, that after more than twenty years' harrying, the Witan had no more practical advice to recommend than a three days' fast and a daily chanting of the third psalm, "in order that God may grant us that we overcome our foes"; and, finally, that Eðthelred himself would never risk his own person in a battlefield.

Cowardice
of Saxons

Unfortunately, Eðthelred's feebleness was not the worst of him: having by one act brought the Danes into England, he made them his lasting foes by another. He had recourse to treachery. Suddenly, in a time of truce, when he had got rid of the Norwegians by a treaty with their king, Olaf, and pacified the Normans by a marriage with Emma, the sister of their duke, he caused a number of Danes, including some of his own Danish mercenaries and hostages, to be murdered. This "*Massacre of St. Brice's Day*" drew down on him the whole might of Denmark, for among the victims so slain were the sister of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and her husband.

Treachery
of Eðthelred

Massacre
of
St. Brice
(1002)

Eðthelred, like all weak kings, was a prey to bad favourites. He chose as his friend Eðric, Earl of Mercia, and married him to his sister Eðith. Eðric may at the outset have meant to act with vigour against the Danes, but he turned out a very prince of traitors. His nickname of Stræona, "the Grasper", shows that his guiding star was avarice and selfishness. He soon appeared in his true colours. His rivals at home he got rid of by murder, and he was perfectly ready to betray his country to the enemy. In 1013 Sweyn invaded England in person: there was nothing to stop him; he swept through Northumbria, the Midlands, the west. Eðric betrayed his master and persuaded the Witan to offer Sweyn the throne. London alone stoutly held out for Eðthelred, till it heard that the miserable man

Evil coun-
sellors:
Eðric
Stræona

Sweyn of
Denmark
invades
England

Flight of
Eðthelred

had deserted his post and fled to Normandy. He came back to England after Sweyn's death, but two years later he died himself.

After his death the greater part of England, being in Danish hands, acknowledged Sweyn's son, *Canute*, as king. There was one honourable exception. London held true to the line of Alfred, and chose Ethelred's son, Edmund.

Edmund, who gained by his bravery the name of "Iron-side", was of very different mould from his feeble father. He gathered an army, and twice fought with Canute's men at Penselwood and Sherston. Neither battle was decisive, but gathering fresh forces Edmund drove the Danes off London and won a victory at Brentford; a fourth hurled a number of them into the isle of Sheppey; these successes brought the traitor Edric over again to Edmund's side to be a fresh curse to his race, for in the fifth fight, when Edmund was engaged against the whole weight of Canute's forces at *Assandun* (Ashington in Essex), the day was lost only because Edric again deserted on the battlefield and went over once more to the Danes. Some months later Edmund died suddenly — possibly he was murdered by Edric — and in despair the nation took Canute as king. There is a certain just retribution in the fact that one of the first things Canute did was to have Edric put to death.

Canute, though a foreign conqueror, was a good king. He was infinitely more powerful than any king of the house of Wessex, for England was merely a province in his dominions. The King of Scots is said to have done homage to him, though the grounds for the assertion are doubtful. He was also King of Denmark, and in 1028 he subdued Norway, so that he seemed to be on the way to become an emperor of the north, a northern Charlemagne. But his might gave England that peace of which she stood sorely in need. War came to an end with the triumph of the enemy, and the enemy turned into a good friend. No rebellions broke the serenity of his reign. Towns grew rich

The Danish Conquest

Resistance of Edmund Ironside (1016)

Defeated at Assandun by treachery

Death of Edmund

Victory of Canute

Canute King of England, Denmark, and Norway (1016-1035)



CANUTE'S EMPIRE

Prosperity of England under Canute and prosperous, for the Danes were great traders, and Canute's wide possessions gave merchants new chances for trade. He ruled sternly but fairly. He married Æthelred's widow, and so joined himself to the old royal family. He employed Danes and English alike; the Earls of Northumbria and East Anglia were Danes, those of Mercia and Wessex were Englishmen. The name of the last officer, Godwin, we shall have occasion to remember. Canute felt so certain of the loyalty of his new subjects that he was able to send home all his Danish army, save only a small body-guard of "house-carles", and even this consisted in part of Englishmen. This shows that he was loved, just as the old story of his rebuke to the flattering courtiers, who urged him to forbid the tide to come any farther, shows that he had a reputation for wisdom.

His Laws Canute's "Laws" show how he welded the country together, and how Danes and Saxons were settling down into a community with a written code of laws which all were to obey. (*Note 7.*)

Canute's eldest son Sweyn succeeded him in Norway. The two others, *Harold Harefoot* and *Hardicanute*, divided England, the north obeying Harold, Wessex and the south Hardicanute. The latter spent most of his time in Denmark, so that the chief power fell into the hands of his mother, Emma, and as Hardicanute tarried long in Denmark the whole realm came into Harold's hands; but Harold dying in 1040, Hardicanute became king. He in his turn did not survive long, and with him the Danish dominion in England came to an end.¹

¹ It is interesting to speculate what would have been the history of England had Canute's descendants been "three generations of strong kings" -- as Alfred's were.

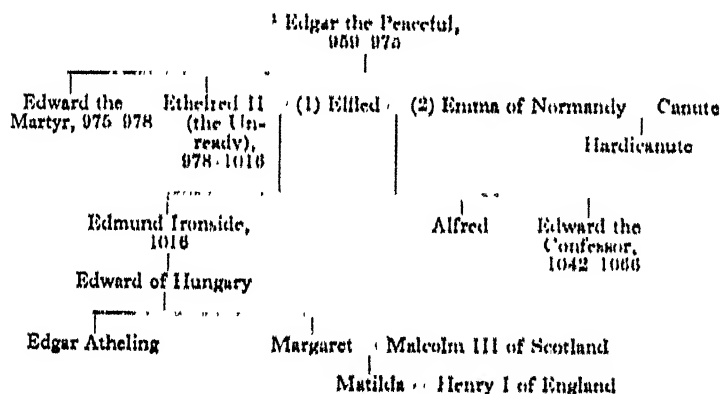
2. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND THE NORMANS

When Hardicanute died, the Witan had to choose a fresh king. They went back to the old West Saxon house, and giving up the Danish dynasty chose *Edward*, second son of Ethelred the Unready.¹ Since this King's reign saw the rise of Norman influence in England, our first task is to trace the chief links that were drawing England and Normandy into closer connection.

The Witan chooses a Saxon king
Edward the Confessor (1042-1066)
Norman influence on Edward

The Normans were in origin Northmen, just as were the Danes who had so long harassed England. For many years they had raided the north of France under the leadership of Rolf the Ganger. In 913 the French King, Charles the Simple, had "granted" to the Danish leader the land which he could not keep. Thus began the line of the great Dukes of Normandy. Once settled in France the Northmen soon grew very different from their Danish kin. They began to use the French tongue and French customs, and became much more polished and civilized. It has always been a curious mark of the Northmen that wherever they went, when once fighting was over, they were ready to adopt the customs and generally the language of the place, and thus got on well with the original inhabitants. Though by nature

Normans and Normandy



rough and wild, they could, it seemed, put on any civilization, as if it were a garment.

Northman in Normandy would naturally be ready to help Northman in England; and we have seen that the Danes often used Normandy as a base from which to attack, or as a shelter when beaten. But the earliest connection between England and the Norman house was made when Ethelred married Emma, daughter of Richard I of Normandy. A Norman queen is the first link in the chain of events that led, some sixty years later, to a Norman king. Emma's influence, however, went over to the Danish side. After Ethelred's death she married the Dane, Canute, and devoted herself to placing her Danish son, Hardicanute, on the throne. But her second son by her first husband was destined to draw still closer the bond between England and Normandy.

This second son, Edward the Confessor, was indeed more of a Norman than an Englishman. He came to the throne at the age of about thirty-five. The past twenty-five years of his life had been spent continuously in Normandy. Norman speech was at least as familiar to him as English. All his friends and habits were Norman. England knew nothing of him; and he knew nothing either of English statesmen or English ways. Above all he favoured churchmen.¹ When he became King he wanted to surround himself with his Norman friends, and to raise them to posts of honour. Thus Robert, Abbot of Jumièges, who, we are told, was trusted by the King "as no other man was trusted", became successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury; another Norman followed him in the see of London; a third, the King's nephew, was Earl of Hereford; another, Richard Scrob, was the first to make the English acquainted with a Norman novelty which was to be the source of much suffering in the days to come: he built

¹ He founded Westminster Abbey (1065), and his shrine is one of the chief ornaments of the later building erected by Henry III on the old site.

the first castle in England. All this of course was unpopular. Castles
 Two parties arose: one the King's friends, Normans and
 their followers; the other the national or Saxon party at Opposi-
tion to
Edward
 the head of which we find Edward's opponent, *Godwin*.
 Edward, indeed, owed Godwin an old grudge. In Harold
 Harefoot's reign Edward's elder brother, Alfred, had landed
 to try to seize the throne. Godwin had been sent against Godwin
 him. Since he was Harefoot's officer Godwin was only doing
 his duty in capturing Alfred. He did his duty, but certainly
 in a most treacherous way. He met Alfred, pretended to
 join his side, and then made him and his followers prisoners
 while they were in their beds. Harold Harefoot caused
 Alfred to be put to death by thrusting out his eyes. Family of
Edward
 Edward could hardly forgive Godwin for his share in this
 brutality.

Thus the history of England from the accession of Edward
 the Confessor to the Norman Conquest is a struggle on the Godwin's
side
 part of Godwin and his sons, Harold at the head of them,
 to maintain their power against the King and his Norman
 friends. Like all periods where a family is of great impor-
 tance the story is confusing, because it demands a knowledge
 of relationships. It somewhat resembles the early part of
 the Wars of the Roses, save that there is no fighting. Edward
 the Confessor is not unlike Henry VI either in position or
 character. Just as in Henry VI's reign we hear little of the
 King, and much of Richard of York, Warwick, Salisbury,
 and Somerset, so here there will be much to say of Godwin,
 Harold, Tostig, and William of Normandy, while Edward
 the Confessor plays a very small part.

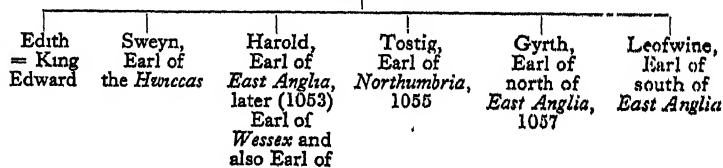
At first Godwin's position was enormously strong. He
 himself was Earl of Wessex; his eldest son, Sweyn, was Family
influence
of Godwin
 Earl of the Hwiccas, covering the counties of Oxford,
 Gloucester, Hereford, Berkshire, and Somerset; his second
 son, Harold, was Earl of East Anglia, which included not
 only the East Anglia of our day, but Cambridge, Hunting-
 don, and Essex as well; a nephew, Beorn, held an earldom

covering Dorset and part of Wilts. To crown all, Godwin's daughter, Edith, was Edward's wife. There was no one to equal the family in power.¹ Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumbria, could scarcely be called rivals.

By degrees this power began to break up. The King disliked it. His Norman friends tried to thwart Godwin whenever they could. Godwin's eldest son, Sweyn, behaved badly. He fell in love with an abbess, and carried her off. He was outlawed, and his possessions shared between Harold and Beorn. Three years later he came to the English coast, invited Beorn on board his ship, and had him murdered. Godwin's influence was strong enough to get him forgiven after this monstrous offence, but men were offended. Their confidence in Godwin was shaken. His enemies looked out for a chance to overthrow him.

The chance was not long in coming. The King's brother-in-law, Eustace of Boulogne, crossed over from France to see him. On his way back his followers tried to quarter themselves by force on the townsmen of Dover. One man refused to receive these unwelcome guests. Blows were struck, a riot began, and seven of the Frenchmen were killed. Eustace complained to the King, and Edward ordered Godwin to ravage the town as a punishment. Godwin, however, had the good English notion that trial should come before punishment. The men of Dover had not been heard in their own defence. He flatly refused to obey the King's order. The King, urged on by his Norman friends,

¹ Godwin, Earl of Wessex, d. 1053



determined to treat this conduct as rebellion. He summoned a meeting of the Witnagemot at Gloucester, and bade Godwin attend it. Godwin came indeed, but with Harold, Sweyn, and all his armed men at his back. As Leofric and Siward had called out their Mercian and Northumbrian forces on the King's side, it looked as if civil war would break out.

Edward
treats
Godwin as
a rebel

It is, however, the distinguishing mark between this time and the Wars of the Roses, that whereas in the later period any excuse was made to do for war, in the earlier men again and again advanced to the very verge of it, but shrank from taking the fatal step over the verge. The Witan was adjourned to London. Godwin came there protesting his innocence; day by day his followers melted away, "and ever the more the longer he staid". At length Godwin saw that the game was up. He and his sons all fled from the country. They were outlawed; their earldoms given to their enemies.

Flight of
Godwin
(1051)

This of itself was enough to make the year 1051 of no pleasant memory, for the fall of Godwin meant the triumph of the Norman party. But another event, more ominous still, was to mark it. This was the visit to England of *Duke William of Normandy*.

Visit of
William of
Nor-
mandy to
England
(1051)

It will be more convenient to make a fuller acquaintance with Duke William later, at a time when England was to know him only too well as William the Conqueror. But there is scarcely any doubt on the object of the visit. It was no accident that he came at a time when Edward the Confessor's Norman friends were supreme. The King had no son, and there was no obvious heir. The duke came to spy out the land; and we are told that Edward made him some sort of promise that he should succeed to the throne. Of course Edward had no right to do this. The Crown of England was his, but it was not his to give. None the less, William had got what he wanted; when the time came he would be able to call himself rightful heir to the throne. He had, it must be remembered, some sort of family

Edward
promises
William
the throne

claim, for he and Edward the Confessor were cousins.¹

Revival of
Godwin's
power

Return of
Harold

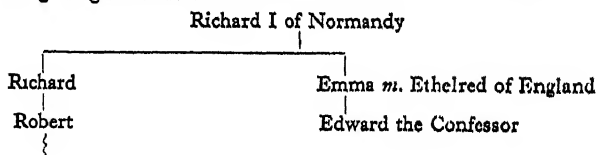
This time, however, was not yet; Godwin had been driven out, but his power was not broken. In 1052 his sons, Harold and Leofwine, landed in the west, where he soon joined them. Again one part of England was arrayed in arms against the other, and once again there was no fighting to speak of. Men "were loath to fight against their own kin"; it was a pity "that Englishmen should destroy one another to make room for foreigners". So, we are told, Edward pardoned Godwin and his sons, and received them back again. Edward was too weak to do anything else.

Popular
support
for
Godwin

Godwin's forces were stronger than his; the people vowed that "they would live or die with Godwin". If we look for a reason for this sudden devotion to the man from whose side they had melted like snow the year before, it may well be found in William of Normandy's visit and Edward the Confessor's promise. If news of that had leaked out, the people of England were wise in supporting Godwin; perhaps Robert of Jumièges, who had arranged the promise, was wise too. Under usual circumstances an Archbishop of Canterbury would be safe from violence whatever he had done, but it seems that Robert had done something that made him nervous, archbishop though he was, for he fled to the Continent, and two Norman bishops fled with him.

Close on Godwin's restoration came his death. Unfortunately *Harold* was no better able than his father to resist grasping at land and power for the family. By doing so, he made enemies who were sure to do him an ill turn when

¹ Edward's mother was the daughter of Richard I of Normandy, who was William's great-grandfather.



the chance came. Thus, when Siward of Northumbria died, Harold secured the earldom for his brother *Tostig*, although Siward left a son. Further, he did his best to get hold of the earldom of Mercia, thereby incurring the enmity of Elfgar and his sons, *Edwin* and *Morcar*.¹ Probably in doing so Harold was himself aiming at the throne, yet he was digging the ground from beneath his own feet; his chance of resisting the Normans lay in having England united in his defence; and when the time came it was precisely these three — *Tostig*, *Edwin*, and *Morcar* — who failed him. For the time, however, Harold's prospects were bright. But two misfortunes, towards the end of the reign, weakened him. The first was a stroke of pure ill-luck. A boat in which he was sailing was driven by the weather to the shores of Ponthieu. This was indeed a windfall for the Duke of Normandy. Following the usual uncourteous habit of the time, Harold was made prisoner, and William would not let him go till he had sworn to recognize his claim to the throne. It seems that William saw plain enough who was likely to be his most dangerous rival. The second trouble came from the Northumbrian earldom. There was no prosperity in that ill-gotten gain. The Northumbrians had rebelled against *Tostig* and driven him out. Harold tried vainly to patch up the quarrel, but was obliged in the end to allow them to have as earl *Morcar*, son of *Elfgar*. This boded ill. *Morcar* was no lover of the house of *Godwin*; and *Tostig* went off to the Continent vowing vengeance on the brother who had, as he thought, basely deserted him. (*Note 8.*)

When Edward the Confessor died, on 5th January, 1066,

¹ The shifts among the earldoms are very confusing. Harold succeeded to his father's earldoms in Wessex; by doing so he left East Anglia vacant, and it was given to *Elfgar*, son of *Leofric*, Earl of Mercia. When *Leofric* died, *Elfgar* got Mercia, but could not retain East Anglia, which was shared between Harold's younger brothers, *Leofwine* and *Gyrth*. After that came the struggle in which Harold got *Elfgar* outlawed and seized Mercia. *Elfgar* recovered it, and it eventually passed to his son *Edwin*. The main point to remember is that until *Tostig* was cast out by Northumbria, *Godwin's* sons ruled practically all England, except Mercia. (See table, p. 58).

Harold
His
seizure of
Earldom of Nor-
thumbria

England
divided

Harold's
misfor-
tunes

Ship-
wrecked
in Nor-
mandy

Rebellion
in Nor-
thumbria

Death of Edward the Confessor and the Witan chose Harold to succeed him, it was clear that the new king would have need of all his valour and wisdom to keep his throne secure. Edwin and Morkere were jealous of him, since he was not of royal blood. Harold becomes king (1066) Tostig was beseeching king after king on the Continent for help against his brother; and, most dangerous of all, William of Normandy was gathering a host to assert his claim to the kingdom.

Career of William of Normandy William had already given proof that he was not the man to put his hand to the plough and turn back. Born in 1027 he had succeeded as a boy of seven to what seemed an inheritance of woe. As was always the case under the feudal system, a minority meant a time of wild disorder. Four of the young duke's guardians were assassinated, one after the other. In the midst of battle and murder William formed that strong, relentless character which marked him. In 1047 the whole of the western part of his duchy revolted but William, with the aid of the King of France, overthrew the rebels at Val-ès-dunes. Step by step his power went forward; he married Matilda, daughter of the Count of Flanders, and so gained a useful ally; he humbled his fiercest rival, Geoffrey of Anjou, and wrested Maine from him; he even beat the armies of his feudal superior, the King of France, and forced him to sue for peace. Harold had to deal with a ruler who, though in name a vassal, was more powerful than his master.

Preparations for invasion (1066) In making ready for his invasion, William left nothing to chance. Not only did he gather his own barons, but he invited help from other parts. The Counts of Brittany and Boulogne joined him, and warriors came from Aquitaine, Anjou, Flanders, and even distant Naples and Sicily. The prospect was attractive. Men were ready for an adventure under the banner of a renowned leader, all the more since they were likely to win lands or plunder by doing so. While

¹ He was Edward the Confessor.

this great force of the most warlike fighters in Europe was trooping in, William busied himself in the spring and summer of 1066 in building a fleet. In order to justify his invasion he put forward a solemn claim to the throne, reciting the promises of Edward and Harold, and even persuaded the Pope to give his benediction to the enterprise. He had thus enlisted all sorts of forces on his side — love of adventure, the authority of law, greed of gain, and the blessings of the Church.

William's
fleet

While knights were assembling and ships were building in Normandy, Harold had called out his army to guard the southern shore. Months passed, and the invaders did not come. The Saxon ships that had guarded the Channel were laid up. The old weakness of the fyrd showed itself once more. Men grew tired of waiting, and were beginning to disperse, when the storm burst where it was least expected. Tostig, aided by the King of Norway, landed in Yorkshire, and scattered the army with which Edwin and Morcar sought to resist him. Dangerous as it was to leave the south, Harold had to hurry north. His bodyguard, the house-carles, went with him, and men of the fyrd joined him on the march. He met the invaders at *Stamford Bridge*, in the Derwent, and overthrew them. Tostig and the Norwegian king were both slain. The vast army, which had come in three hundred ships, was so shattered that twenty-four were enough to carry it away.

Harold
attacked
in North
by Tostig
and
Hadrada

Battle of
Stamford
Bridge
and
victory of
Harold

It was a great victory, but it was Harold's last. The friend, which so often in later years was England's best ally,¹ on this occasion turned traitor. Blowing from the north, it had brought Tostig with it. While Harold was encountering him, it veered to the south, and wafted Duke William over to Pevensey (28th September). "Had I been there," cried Harold, "they had never made good their landing." He hurried his army southward. In nine days they had travelled the 200 miles northward: they fought Stamford Bridge on

William
lands

¹ " *Affavit Deus*. 1588."

25th September, started southwards again on 2nd October were marching out of London by the 11th, and in two days more had covered nearly another 60 miles to the south. Harold invades south headlong speed left the northern levies under Edwin and Morcar far behind; but the earls were not, it would seem, doing all they could have done to support Harold.

It might have been better strategy to wait near London for reinforcements, and compel the enemy to advance and give battle far from his base; but Harold could not do so calmly while the Normans laid the countryside waste. Besides, the reinforcements hoped for from Edwin and Morcar might join the foe, and not him. He marched south to fight it out once and for all.

The battle that was to decide England's fate was fought on 14th October, 1066. Harold drew up his men on a hill eight miles north of Hastings: through his position ran the road to London; his rear was covered by the woods, in which his men, if beaten, might gather again. His soldiers fought on foot; the house-carles in the centre were armed mostly with two-handed axes or long swords; but on the wings he had some hastily raised levies, some armed with clubs, some with spears, some with scythes.

William, well pleased that his fortnight's ravaging of the country had drawn his enemy southward and saved him from the difficulties of an advance northwards, through the Weald, moved his men forward to the attack. As they topped the rise of one hill they came in sight of the Saxons drawn up on an opposite slope at Senlac. The Norman strength lay chiefly in the mail-clad cavalry, a force that and for long after held to be superior to any infantry. But the Duke did not rely on his cavalry alone. He had with him a large body of infantry and a number of archers. His men advanced to the attack across the valley in three lines: the archers in front, the infantry behind them, and the horsemen in the rear. The battle began with a volley

throwing axes, and other missiles. This proved too hot for the archers, and William pushed his infantry up to the attack. These reached the firm line of Saxon shields, but could not break it. The real weight of William's forces was then flung into the battle. Up the slope, already dotted with corpses, rode the horsemen; with a tremendous crash they came on, some of them, like Taillefer, penetrating the line and only being struck down inside it. Still the Saxons held firm, and plied their axes vigorously till even the horsemen recoiled, the Breton knights, who formed the left wing, retreating in great confusion. A portion of the shire levies thought the battle was won, and ran down the hill to pursue the foe. But their rash courage proved their ruin. William turned on them with his unbroken centre and destroyed them. They were, however, but a small part of the Saxon force. The rest were still strong and undaunted in their position.

Saxon line
holds firm

Indeed, so far William had made but little real progress. His attacks on the main Saxon position had been beaten off. He had won only a small success over an ill-disciplined portion of the enemy. Yet this small success proved the key to victory.

A second charge and a prolonged and furious hand-to-hand struggle had cost both sides dear, but the shields still remained steady round the English standards of the Dragon and the Fighting Man. Morning had worn to afternoon when William decided on a stratagem. He ordered a feigned retreat. The Normans appeared to fall back. Again the Saxon levies of the fyrd repeated their mistake. This time a huge mass of them poured from their position, and were again trampled and cut down in the open. All that remained to Harold was his guard, the trustworthy body of house-carles in the centre.

William's
stratagem

Saxons
leave their
position

The last stage in the battle was to overcome this stubborn body. They were subjected to the fiercest trial which soldiers can have to undergo; in turn plied with arrow fire

Harold's
house-
carles'
last stand

NOTES ON PERIOD ONE (55 B.C.—A.D. 1066)

IMPORTANT RULERS IN ENGLAND

OFFA (757–796) King of Mercia

EGBERT (802–839) King of Wessex
became King of England in 827

ALFRED (871–901)

EDWARD THE ELDER (901–925)

ATHELSTAN (925–940)

EDGAR THE PEACEFUL (959–975)

ETHELRED THE UNREADY (978–1016)

CANUTE (1016–1035)

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042–1066)

HAROLD (1066)

IMPORTANT RULERS IN SCOTLAND

KENNETH MACALPIN (844–859)
King of Alban

DUNCAN I (1034–1040)
First King of Scotland

MACBETH (1040–1057)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

POPE: GREGORY THE GREAT (590–604)
Founded the power of the Papacy

EMPERORS: CHARLEMAGNE (768–814)
Emperor of the west (800)
OTTO THE GREAT (936–973)
Founder of Holy Roman Empire (962)

NOTE 1.—THE STAGES IN THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN

1. **Julius Caesar's** two expeditions (55 and 54 B.C.); very brief occupation of Britain, meant chiefly to demonstrate the far-reaching power of Rome.
2. Conquest under the Emperor **Claudius** (A.D. 43); defeat of Caratacus. Britons defeated by **Suetonius Paulinus**. **Boadicea's** rising.

3. Settlement under **Agricola**; Britain now Romanized (A.D. 78).
 - (a) Britons enlisted in the Roman army.
 - (b) Roads, forts, and towns built.
 - (c) Trade developed.
4. Britain under the later Emperors.
 - A.D. 121. Hadrian's great Wall built, from Solway to Tyne.
 - A.D. 140. The Antonine Wall built from Forth to Clyde.
 - A.D. 208. Severus attacks Caledonia.
 - A.D. 410. Romans released Britons from allegiance.

NOTE 2. — CHARACTER OF THE ROMAN INVASION

1. The occupation lasted for over three hundred years, and many towns were built and the country enjoyed prosperity. These towns showed a high level of civilization, with shops, law courts, and manufactures. Trade flourished, and Britain exported corn, iron, copper, tin, lead, and bricks. She imported fine luxury goods, pottery, and metals.
2. The extent and character of the occupation was obliterated by the later conquest of Britain by the barbarians. Roman culture disappeared, and only the Roman roads remained visible. Modern archaeologists have dug up the buried cities and showed us what had existed (villas and camps), and have thoroughly explored the Walls.

NOTE 3. — THE ANGLO-SAXON INVASIONS

1. Early attacks through raids, during the Roman occupation. Driven off by the "Count of the Saxon Shore".
2. Invasion from "Scotland" (tribes from North Britain broke through Hadrian's Wall. 387).
3. Arrival of bands of warriors, followed by regular settlements (A.D. 449), the Saxons reach Sussex and take Anderida, and later Essex and Wessex. The Angles come to East Anglia -- the Jutes to Kent.
4. Resistance of the Britons overcome. Britons defeated at *Dregham* (577), and *Chester* (613). This meant that the Britons were driven back and cut off in Cornwall and Wales.

NOTE 4. — CHARACTER OF THE SAXON SETTLEMENT

1. Saxon laws and customs, which were based on the "folk" customs, became basis of our institutions. They accustomed the people to local courts, and to take part in local administration (sureties, shire moot, witenagemot).
2. Saxon ranks showed a movement which tended towards the later feudal system. Earls, and *gosihs* and *churls* shows it.

3. Saxon tribal chiefs developed into kings, ruling with the help of councils or assemblies.

NOTE 5. — THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE RISE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH

1. Christianity was introduced to Britain by the Romans. *St. Alban* the first Christian martyr in England. The Saxons stamped out Christianity in England (but not in Wales)
2. **Celtic Church** sent missionaries (*St. Columba*, etc.) from Ireland. They worked chiefly in the north and west (Iona, Cornwall, and *St. Asaph*). This Celtic Christianity spread into Northumbria (*St. Cuthbert*).
3. The **Roman Church** sent a mission.
 - (a) Pope Gregory I sent *Augustine*, who landed in Kent (597), and southern England was gradually converted.
 - (b) Edwin of Northumbria married Ethelburga of Kent, and *Paulinus* went north with her. Northern Christianity overthrown by the heathen King Penda of Mercia
 - (c) Oswald of Northumbria sent for *Aidan*, a Celtic saint from Iona. Struggle between Celtic and Roman Christianity. At **Synod of Whitby** (661) Northumbria adopted the Roman Church. Thus Britain accepted the control of the Papacy
4. *Theodore of Tarsus* sent in 668 by the Pope to reorganize the Church in Britain; dioceses set up. Influence of the Church in softening the penalties of the laws, and in spreading culture.
5. During the Danish conquests, much of England became heathen again. Then, under King Edgar (959-75), *Dunstan* revived and reorganized the Church. Brought about great reform of the monastic life.

NOTE 6. — THE RISE OF THE SAXON KINGDOMS (THE HEPTARCHY)

1. **Kent** was the first Kingdom to rise to power under Ethelbert (d. 616), but was speedily overshadowed by Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex.
2. **Northumbria** became powerful when its province or *Bernicia* (i.e. Northumberland and Durham) united with *Deira* (Yorkshire) under Ethelfrith (613). *Edwin*, converted by Paulinus, defeated the Scots, and conquered Wessex. Penda attacked him and killed him at *Heathfield* (633). Penda also defeated and killed *Oswald* at *Maserfield* (642). *Oswy* defeated Penda at *Winwacafeld* (655). Penda's son carried on the war and defeated and killed Oswy's son Egfrith at *Nectansmere* (685). After this Northumbria gradually weakened and decayed.
3. **Mercia**, the Midland Kingdom, remained heathen under Penda, and defeated Northumbria. She became Christian and under *Offa*

(who built Offa's Dyke) rose to supremacy. He conquered Kent and Essex and drove back the Welsh (757-796). He was recognized as a great King by the Pope, and by the Emperor Charlemagne.

4. After the death of Offa, Mercia fell to pieces, and **Wessex** now rose, and was to become permanently great. *Egbert* (802-39) defeated the British of Cornwall, defeated Mercia, and became overlord of Mercia, Kent, Northumbria, Sussex, Essex.

NOTE 7.—THE DANISH INVASION OF ENGLAND

1. The Danes first began to raid England in 787, and raids continued for fifty years. These were plundering raids.
2. In 851 the Danes first began to settle in the country (Sheppey), in 866 they invaded East Anglia, and in 868 killed King Edmund and ravaged Mercia and Northumbria.
3. 871. Danes attacked *Wessex*, the only Kingdom to hold out. **Alfred the Great** fought *Ashdown* (871) and many other battles, till at *Ethandun* (878) he defeated Guthrum. *Treaty of Wedmore* (879), divided England into two, *Wessex* and the *Danelaw*. Alfred also built a fleet; organized the army (*fyrd*); encouraged learning.
4. After Alfred's death his successors struggled against the Danes. *Aethelstan* defeated them at *Brunanburh*, and his heirs continued to oppose them. Under *Edgar*, *Wessex* flourished (959-975), but after his death, the reign of *Ethelred the Unready* marks decline of *Wessex*. Fresh Danish invasions came from overseas. The payment of *Danegeld* only encouraged further invaders, and in 1013 *Sweyn* invaded and conquered England.
5. **Canute** became the Danish King of England (1016-1035), and was also King of Denmark and Norway. England was now united and prosperous. Canute employed both English and Danes; encouraged the Church; encouraged trade between the parts of his Empire; and codified the laws. At his death, his empire was split up, and the English, after the deaths of his sons, eventually chose a successor from the old Saxon house — Edward the Confessor.

NOTE 8.—ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. *Edward the Confessor* had been educated in Normandy, while the Danish kings ruled in England, and was completely Norman in tastes and sympathies.
2. He quarrelled with the English party headed by *Godwin* and his family, who held the earldoms of the Midlands, East Anglia, and *Wessex*. Finally *Godwin* was overthrown and exiled (1051). *William of Normandy* then visited England, and Edward possibly promised to make him his heir.

3. Godwin returned, restored to power, but shortly after he died and his place was taken by his son *Harold*. Harold quarrelled with the earls of Mercia (Edwin and Morcar) and with his own brother Tostig, earl of Northumbria. On the death of Edward the Confessor, *Harold* chosen as king, but neither Northumbria nor Mercia supported him.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD ONE 55 B.C.-A.D. 1066

Sovereign.	Events in Britain	Dates.	Events Abroad.	Dates.
	First landing of Julius Caesar in Britain Second landing of Caesar.	B.C. 55 54		B.C. 44 30 A.D. 41
	Aulus Plautius conquers South Britain. Revolt of Boadicea	A.D. 43 61	Murder of Julius Caesar. Augustus Emperor. Claudius Emperor.	
	Britain ruled by Agricola. Battle of Mons Graupius.	77-85 84	Vespasian Emperor. Domitian Emperor.	69 81
	Hadrian's Wall begun, from Solway to Tync. Antonine Wall built between Forth and Clyde. Romans abandon North Britain.	129 140 150	Hadrian Emperor. Antoninus Pius Emperor.	117 138
	St. Ninian preaches in Britain. Romans leave Britain. Jutes land in Kent under Hengist and Horsa.	430 410 410	Constantine, First Christian Emperor. Goths revolt, led by Alaric.	312 410
	Scots from Ireland settle in Dalriada. Angles settle in Bernicia. St. Columba lands on Iona. Victory of West Saxons at Battle of Dorestan.	430 440 563 577	Honorius Emperor; Sack of Rome by the Goths. Sack of Rome by the Vandals.	410 455
	Augustine's Mission lands in Kent. King of Kent, Death of St. Columba. Battle of Chester; Victory of Alfred; Northmen burn supremacy broken.	597 601 878 878	Gregory the Great, Pope.	590

Sovereign.	Events in Britain.	Dates	Events Abroad	Dates
	Edwin defeated at Heathfield Aidan's mission to Northumbria. Penda defeated at Winwaedfield. Synod of Whitby; King of Northumbria accepts Roman Christianity. Theodore of Tarsus Archbishop of Canterbury. Merican supremacy begins, Death of Bede	633 634 655 664 663 735	Death of Mohammed.	632
Offa King of Mercia, 757-796.	Building of Offa's Dyke; First Danish raids.	787		
Egbert King of Wessex, 802-839.	Egbert King of Wessex becomes King of Eng- land; Supremacy of Wessex begins. Kenneth MacAlpin King of Picts and Scots Danes winter in England. Edmund of East Anglia slain; Battles of Ashdown and Wilton	827 834 851 870 878	Charlemagne Emperor of the Romans. Haroun al-Raschid (Arabia)	800 786-809
Alfred the Great of Wessex, 871-901.	Battle of Ethandun; Treaty of Wedmore.	910-26	Cluniae reforms; Duchy of Normandy founded.	910
Edward the Elder, 901-924.	Reconquest of the Danelaw.	987		
Athelstan, 925-940.	Battle of Brunanburh.	980	Otto of Germany Holy Roman Emperor.	962
Edgar the Peaceful, 959-975.	Dunstan Archbishop.	980 1002 1009 1016		
Ethelred the Un- ready, 978-1016.	Danish raids begun again Massacre of Danes on St. Brice's Day. Invasion of Sweyn Murder of Edmund Ironside (England under Danish Kings.) Duncan becomes King of all Scotland.	1034	William Duke of Normandy.	1035
Canute, 1016-35.		1042 1051 1066		
Edward the Confes- sor, 1042-66.	(English line of kings restored) Godwin exiled Battle of Stamford Bridge; Battle of Hastings; Norman Conquest.			
Harold, 1066.				

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD ONE

55 B.C.—A.D. 1066

- 1 Give a description of town life in Roman Britain. (NUJB 1935)
- 2 How far was Britain Romanized during the first four centuries
A.D. ? (LGS 1935)
- 3 By what means did the Romans secure their position in Britain?
(B 1931)
- 4 Describe the condition of the country (a) at the time of the
invasion by Julius Cæsar, and (b) at the end of the Roman occupation.
(NUJB '31)
- 5 What part did the following play in the history of the Roman
occupation of Britain. Caractacus, Boadicea, Agricola, Hadrian, the
Count of the Saxon Shore? (OL 1925)
- 6 Why was the Synod of Whitby called, and why was the decision
taken so important? (D 1931; OL 1920)
- 7 State the main facts concerning the establishment of Christianity
in Saxon times. (NUJB 1936)
- 8 Describe the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain. (NUJB 1935)
- 9 Describe the effects in Anglo-Saxon England of the Danish in-
vasions of the ninth century. (NUJB 1936)
- 10 Describe the life and work of Alfred. (LGS 1937)
- 11 Give an account of the aims and achievements of Willrid or
Theodore of Tarsus. (LGS 1936)
- 12 How far was the conversion of England due to St. Augustine of
Canterbury? (LGS 1937)
- 13 Give an account of the career and character of Canute.
(LGS 1936)
- 14 What does England owe either to King Alfred or to St. Dunstan?
(D 1931)
- 15 "Dunstan is the most important figure between Alfred and the
Norman Conquest." Discuss this statement. (LGS 1932)
- 16 Give an account of the reign of Edward the Confessor
(NUJB '31)

PERIOD TWO
THE GROWTH OF THE NATION
1066-1216

CHAPTER 8

ENGLAND UNDER FOREIGN KINGS

I. THE NORMANS AS FOREIGN KINGS

The reigns of the first four Norman kings have a peculiarity common to them all, and yet possessed by no reign which follows. Each of the four kings has the character of a *foreigner* ruling by right of conquest over a conquered people. The kings were Norman, and the people Saxon; Saxon subjects held down by Norman conquerors. It is true that Saxon revolts were not quite so common as might be expected, but the Saxons learnt that to rebel was hopeless. In addition, they speedily found that, hard master as the king was, the Norman baron was worse, and so they supported the Crown against the "petty tyrant". Yet it was a sullen support, given from self-interest, with no motive of loyalty or affection about it. Kings and barons alike were hateful to them as foreigners: they submitted to the rule of a foreign king as being better than that of foreign barons. But their real desire was to be rid of them all.

England
under
foreign
kings

Supported
by English
through
fear of the
barons

By the time Henry II's reign was reached this feeling of antagonism was dwindling. Henry II was no longer regarded as a foreign king; the division between conquerors and conquered was growing less sharp; even the barons were taking a more national character. We shall have to dwell more upon this; for the present it is enough to draw

a mental line of division between Stephen and Henry II. On one side of it are Norman kings, on the other English kings.

Remembering, then, that we have to deal with kings who were foreigners, we must see:

1. What the Norman Conquest meant for England, and how William I established and kept up his power; how also his sons continued his policy; and

2. What happened when the king, instead of being strong like William I and Rufus and Henry I, was weak.

In tracing these events we shall see the Feudal System at its best, and also at its worst.

2. THE MILITARY CONQUEST

The victory of Hastings laid the south and east of England at William's feet, but it did not touch the north and west. Edwin and Morcar's forces were still dangerous. William's conduct, indeed, shows that he did not expect the country of Alfred and Edmund Ironside to submit after one defeat only. But the English were still quarrelling among themselves; so, though the Witan chose *Edgar Atheling*, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, to succeed Harold as king, yet in a short time they found it hopeless to resist further. William, indeed, was anxious for them to submit of their own free will. He had moved cautiously towards London, and had burned Southwark; but then, instead of besieging London, he had crossed the Thames and moved his army to Berkhamstead. Thither an embassy came to William with the Atheling himself at the head of it, and offered him the crown. Thus he was able to say that he ruled not as conqueror, but as the lawful king of England elected by the Witan. Canute, and even Alfred, his two greatest predecessors, had owed their crown to the same title. By the famous *Oath of Salisbury* in 1086 (see p. 86), he made "all the landowning men of property all over

English
disunion
and sub-
mission

William
offered
the Crown
of Eng-
land

England " swear fealty to him, and this was recognition of his Kingship.

Being able to say he was lawful king was a great advantage, but William was still in an extremely difficult position. He had two things to do: the first, to subdue the English thoroughly; the second, to keep his own Norman followers contented and obedient, to reward them, and yet not make them so strong that they could revolt against him. He had, in fact, to keep himself master of both Normans and English.

William's difficulties

His first stroke was to declare that all those who had fought against him at Hastings were rebels, fighting against their lawful king, and that their estates were forfeited to him. Thus he became master of almost all the land in the south of England. It was not long before he got hold of the rest. In 1067, when the Conqueror had gone back to the Continent, leaving his brother, Odo of Bayeux, as Justiciar, to rule the country, rebellions burst out everywhere. In the south-west, in Mercia, in Northumbria, there were English risings. Luckily for William there was no union among the English rebels. Each district took as its leader a descendant of its own earl; each fought for itself and each was consequently crushed by itself. William returned, subdued the west, took Exeter, harried Gloucester and Worcester, and drove the English leaders to take refuge in Ireland and Wales. In the north he had sterner work to do.

Forfeiture of estates to the king

English risings (1067)

The rebels were headed by *Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon*, and helped by the King of Scotland, who had married Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling. A force of Danes under *King Sweyn*, who had hopes of recovering Canute's kingdom for himself, also took the field with them. At first they were successful. Durham and York fell into their hands. But the allies began to quarrel, and William, marching north, found them an easy prey. The Danes drew off in their ships, plundering Peterborough on their way. Waltheof had to submit; and to punish the rebels, and guard against another rising, William harried the Vale of York. From

Waltheof (1069) and the Danes

Harrying of the North

the Humber to the Tees everything that could be burnt was burnt. The people were slain, driven out, or left to die of starvation. Nearly twenty years after, the *Domesday Survey* echoes the same story of one estate after another "Waste".

This harrying of the north showed that William would be ruthless in suppressing rebellion. He still had further resistance to meet, however. Amid the eastern tents, in the Isle of Ely, surrounded by marshes, *Hereward*, "the Last of the English", still resisted. He had come there from Peterborough, when the Danes left, and he was joined by the last of William's enemies, among them Morcar and the Bishop of Durham. For a year he held out. The monks of Ely are said to have betrayed the way into his camp, but when Morcar and his friends surrendered, Hereward with a few followers fought his way out and escaped. Morcar and the rest were treated as rebels. The King of Scotland, too, was forced to yield and to acknowledge William as his lord, just as his ancestors had acknowledged Edward the Elder and Canute.

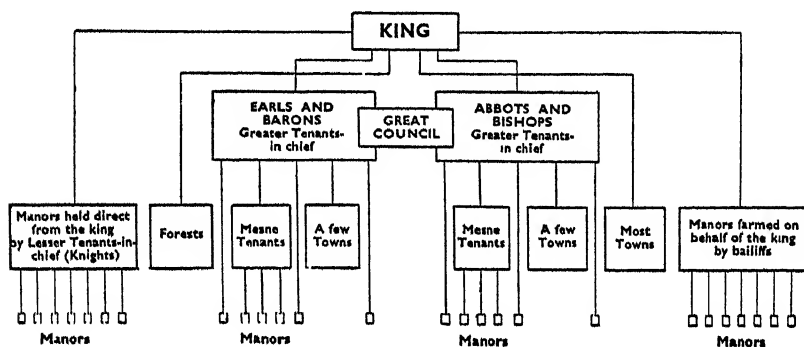
These useless risings completed the work that Hastings had begun. Each rebellion was followed by fresh confiscations of land, and the land was used to reward Norman followers. Even in the cases where an Englishman was not turned out from his estates, he was obliged to pay a fine and to admit that the land was really the king's and not his own; that he was the king's tenant and vassal and therefore bound to serve him. (*Note 9.*)

3. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

This made more definite what is called the Feudal System. It is not true to say that this was altogether introduced by the Norman kings, for the essence of the feudal system, the idea that because a man had land, therefore he had certain rights and owed certain duties, had existed in Saxon times. In Edgar's day it had been ordained that every

The
Feudal
System:
Land
Tenure
the basis

“ landless man should have a lord ”, and “ *commendation* ”, that is to say, the practice of a man’s placing himself under the protection of a more powerful neighbour, was also common enough in Saxon England. But the Normans drew closer the tie between the man and his land.



NORMAN FEUDALISM AS ADOPTED IN ENGLAND

William strengthened a tendency which already existed, and he developed more sharply the whole "feudal system". The holding of land became the basis of everything. The king at the head was the owner of all the land. He granted large estates to his nobles and barons, who were called *tenants-in-chief*, and who were bound by these grants of land to fight for the king if he called on them to do so. The *tenants-in-chief* in their turn granted parts of their estates to their followers, who were then called *mesne-tenants*¹ and were bound in their turn to obey the *tenants-in-chief* as superiors. *Mesne-tenants* might, if they pleased, regrant parts of their estates. And below all these classes of *free* tenants were vast numbers of "unfree" (villeins).

We may think of it as a sort of pyramid:² villeins at the bottom; above them free tenants; minor tenants owing

² i.e. intermediate tenants.

* See diagram on this page. But this only gives the simple outline of what was really far more complicated.

obedience to other greater men; at the top the tenants-in-chief holding direct from the king; the king as the apex; land, being the bond which united them and in the main settled their rights and duties. But we must not picture it as more orderly than it was. In simplest idea it was regular; in practice and working it was intolerably confused and disorderly. There were many forms of tenancy, and men owed all sorts of duties to many different persons: for example, the same man might hold some land from the king, some from the church, and some from a baron. (*Note 10.*)

It is easy to see that the English came off badly in this arrangement. As the Norman friends of the king were put at the top, the English naturally sank to the bottom.

4. THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

After the conquest most of the country was parcelled out into "manors" and the *Norman manor* is most interesting to study. Domesday Book shows us that manors had existed "in the time of King Edward", but under William changes took place and the system was tightened up. The manorial estate was divided into two groups, the lord's *domain* and the peasant's holdings. The land was classed as arable (plough-land), meadow, and "waste". The arable, in many parts of England, was cultivated on the *three-field system*,¹ that is, it was divided into three; one part in rotation was sown with wheat, one with barley, and the third was fallow, that is, left uncultivated, so as to give the land a rest after two years of growing crops. In these great arable fields the holdings were arranged in strips (usually an acre, or subdivisions of an acre) separated from each other by *hulks* or ridges of turf. Here every man in the village had his holding, made up of different numbers of strips, scattered about all over the great field. The better-off had more strips than the

¹ But it is difficult to generalize for the whole of England. In a large part, for instance, the land was cultivated on the two-field system, the land providing corn one year and lying fallow the next.

poorer, and in early times every man had his strips re-allotted each year. Later this was given up.

The meadow was divided in the same way, and in this case the custom continued of an annual redivision.¹ Here the hay was grown. There were no hedges or walls on either arable land or meadow, and when harvest and hay-making was over, the fields were thrown open and the cattle turned in to graze. This lack of divisions has caused the system sometimes to be called the "open-field" system.

The
"open-
field"
system

The *waste* lay beyond arable land and meadow, and was rough common land, where the villagers could turn out their geese and, if there were woodland, their pigs, and where they could get furze and wood for fuel. It was specially useful to the poorest class, the cottars.

Waste

The arrangements of the holdings in the great fields in scattered strips, and their re-allotment each year, was clearly not a very convenient one, for a man would have to go from one of his strips to another, and if one peasant were slack, and cultivated his holding badly, the neighbouring strips would suffer, from weeds for example. But we can see in the system a proof that the manor dates back to a time when there was no lord, but when all the peasants were members of a free village community. For if all were free, and all wished to share the land, then this method ensured fairness and equality.

Scattered
strips

Ploughing was done by oxen in teams of four, six, or eight, and villagers often combined in the ownership of a plough and a team, for many could not own one themselves. Corn had to be ground in the lord's mill, which meant paying the lord a fee, and tenants had to take their disputes to the lord's court. The manorial court indeed gave justice between the tenants, and also between the lord and the tenants, and was extremely profitable to the lord, for the

Justice

¹ This annual redivision continued till well into the nineteenth century. In most cases it was done by lot; for instance, small pieces of stick were drawn out of a pocket, as in Sussex, or a number of apples with distinctive marks on them were drawn out of a hat by a boy, as in Somerset.

punishments were as a rule fines. The "justice" given there depended on the custom of the manor, and this gave the villein some protection.

Classes on the manor Under the Normans each manor had its lord, and the peasants held their land from him. Some were "freemen"; that is to say, they could leave their holding, and move elsewhere, they had legal rights against the lord of the manor, and, though they might in some cases perform work on the lord's domain, this was usually seasonal work such as ploughing. The majority were "villeins"; that is to say, they held their land in return for performing services to the lord, and they were "bound to the soil" — they could not leave their holding and go elsewhere. On the other hand, the lord of the manor could not take away a villein's land.

The lord's land or domain, was sometime in a compact block, sometimes scattered about amongst the peasant's holdings. The villeins had to cultivate the lord's domain, and they did this either by *week-work*, so many days per week, or *boon-work*, that is, work at special times such as corn or hay harvest and ploughing.¹ They might also pay rent in kind by giving fowls, or eggs, or a pig to the lord. Usually the villein had thirty acres, scattered about in strips, and he might own a plough and some oxen. Below the villein in prosperity came the "bordars" or "cottars", who had much smaller holdings, one or two acres, and who had no oxen or ploughs. Another set of men (usually found in parts of the country where the Danes had been) were the *socmen*, who held their land on condition that they used the lord's court to obtain justice (*soc*), and these socmen could leave their holdings with the lord's consent. They were practically "free men".

Officials of the manor Clearly the lord would have to employ people to supervise the work of the manor, and so we find a little set of men who are the officials in each manor. A great land-owner, with many manors, would employ a *seneschal* or

¹ Free tenants often performed "boon-work", but not "week-work".

steward to go round them all. Each manor would have a *bailiff*, to see that the tenants did their work on the domain properly. A *reeve* was elected by the tenants to keep account of the performance of each man's duty work, and a *hayward* would supervise not only the haymaking, but also the corn harvest. The lord or the steward or some senior official of the lord presided over the manorial court.

All this organization existed in many places before the conquest, but the Normans made the system almost universal. In addition, at first many who had been "free" sank into villeinage while villeins, becoming poorer, might sink to be cottars. The Norman lawyers did not always observe the difference between "free" and "unfree", and so men who were really "free", but who for various reasons had performed agricultural services, were classed as unfree.

Effect
of the
conquest

5 WILLIAM I'S SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

In this way the Feudal System, as established by King William, bore hard on the English. We shall see that they became worse off when a weak king was substituted for a strong one. William might rule sternly, but he ruled all alike. By his gifts of land he had bound to him a body of armed followers who could defend him against any attempts of the English to drive him out. Yet he did not mean to let this armed force be used against him. He himself had been a feudal vassal before he became a feudal king. As Duke of Normandy he had been so strong in his own dominions that he could disregard his superior, the King of France, as he liked. He had even met him in battle, and had overthrown him. He did not intend to let his barons be as troublesome to him as he had been to the King of France. So he did three wise things, and, by doing so, set up a different kind of Feudalism from that which later proved such a curse to both France and Germany.

First, he gave his barons much land, but it was usually

Barons' estates scattered in scattered estates, not all together. There were indeed three exceptions: he made great earldoms in Durham, Kent, and Chester. But the earldom of Durham was given to the Bishop of Durham, who, being a Churchman, could leave no heir to inherit it; and the earldom of Kent he placed in the hands of his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux, who was also a Churchman. The earldom of Chester alone went to a layman, but no doubt William expected that his hands would be kept full enough by the need of guarding the border against the Welsh. These "palatine" earldoms were, however, the exception.¹ As a rule estates were widely divided, with the result that, if a baron intended to rebel against the king, he could not collect his forces in one place; and he had always jealous neighbours round him who kept a watch on what he did. This division of estates was probably not a deliberate precautionary measure. It was caused by the gradual nature of William's conquest of England; the great knights got grants of land in each piece of new territory conquered. But though estates were scattered, William was not saved from rebellions among his barons. In 1074 *Ralf, Earl of Norfolk*, and *Roger, Earl of Hereford*, plotted a rising while the King was away in Normandy, and invited *Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon*, the only one of the old English nobles who had retained any great amount of power, to join them. Waltheof hesitated, for he already had rebelled in 1067 and been crushed; at first he agreed, then he drew back, and let Archbishop Lanfranc know what was going on. William was too strong and too quick for the rebels. Ralf was driven overseas, and Roger imprisoned for life, but the harshest measure fell on Waltheof, who was beheaded, since a second revolt forfeited his claim to mercy. His earldom passed, with the hand of his daughter, to David, King of Scotland, and became the source of much dispute in afterdays. In 1079 William had again to struggle with a

¹ These three earldoms were commonly called "palatine" from the fact that their holders had certain rights, such as the one of pardoning treason and murder, equal to the rights of the king in his palace (*palatium*).

rebellious feudal lord; this time his own son, *Robert*. The two met in battle at Gerberoi, not recognizing each other, and Robert's lance bore his father from his horse and wounded him. Shocked at his narrow escape from the crime of killing his father, Robert sought and received pardon, but William never trusted him again. Three years later *Odo of Bayeux* angered William by raising a private army to make war in Italy on his own account, and, though Odo was his half-brother and a bishop, William shut him in prison for the rest of his life.

Robert's
rebellion
(1079)

These troubles made William see that if he was to keep his barons in order he must do more than merely scatter their estates. Accordingly, in 1085, after "very deep speech with his Witan", he took his second great step to make his power secure; he caused a great Survey to be made in which was set down all the land of England, who held it, what it was worth in money dues, so that he might know exactly what was due to him, and so that no one might dispute over it. The results of this survey were set down in the *Domesday Book*.

Domesday
survey

This was really a register drawn up with the idea of seeing how the land should be taxed — a book of rates, for assessment. Two things are especially remarkable in it. It is extraordinarily thorough and minute. It tells not only the name of the holder, and from whom it was held; not only the number of villeins and servile tenants on each estate, but it even records the ploughs, oxen, horses, sheep, pigs, mills, and fishponds. William wanted to find out all about his kingdom, especially in order to secure for himself a steady supply of money. And, secondly, though *Domesday* is more than eight hundred years old, it illustrates the amazing permanence and continuity of our rural history. Many an obscure hamlet of to-day has its name set down in *Domesday*. The names are often somewhat changed, but that is all. The divisions of the countryside stand now as they stood in the Conqueror's reign.

The
Oath of
Salisbury
(1086)

William followed up the survey by his third great measure. He summoned the free tenants of the land "that were worth aught" to a great "gemot" at Salisbury. We have no knowledge of how many came, but those that did come were made to swear allegiance to the king "that they would be faithful to him against all other men". This *Oath of Salisbury* emphasized the fact that in the king's eyes at any rate it was the duty of every mesne-tenant to obey the king first and his feudal superior after. This policy of the king's helped to clip the wings of the great feudal nobles. On the Continent they could often defy the crown by bringing their vassals into the field. The king had no hold over the vassals, save through the feudal lord, and if the feudal lord were a rebel, he had no hold at all. But in England the nobles tended to become less dangerous; they could not make sure of their vassals' support. Here is the real difference between English and Continental feudalism.

Death of
William
(1087)

William did not live to reap the full benefit of these measures. In 1087 he went to war with the King of France. While his men were sacking and burning the town of Mantes, his horse, struck by a falling beam, reared and threw him hard against the pommel of his saddle. From this hurt he never recovered, dying a few weeks after at Rouen.

His
character
and
strength

William was a hard man, who was never held back by any ideas of mercy when he thought it needful to be stern. The harrying of Yorkshire, the laying waste of the New Forest to make himself a hunting park, the imprisonment of Odo, the execution of Waltheof, all show him ruthless, at times even cruel. Yet his strong government, rule of a foreign conqueror though it was, had one great merit that counterbalances all his harshness. He united the kingdom under his own firm sway. Under Edward the Confessor and Harold the power of the Crown had dwindled, while that of the great earls had grown. This tendency to disunion and lawlessness William crushed.

And there is another side to the Norman Conquest which

must not be omitted. Had the Saxons been strong and vigorous and united, they would probably have flung off the Normans. Their failure goes to show that the Saxon character had declined, or at any rate was lacking in some of the great qualities that make a nation. The invasion of the Normans, the rule of a conquering race, and the eventual fusion of Norman and Saxon blood made, out of much adversity, the "Englishman" who proved himself stiffer material than his Saxon forefathers.

6. WILLIAM RUFUS AND HENRY I

We may pass over the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I somewhat briefly. One important class of events which we have neglected in William I's reign we will continue to set on one side; that is, the dealings of these kings with the Church. Church affairs are best treated as a whole, leading up to the great quarrel between Henry II and Becket. Apart from these, neither William II nor Henry I calls up anything very striking. Both kings continued the policy of their father. Both had troubles with rebellious barons, and succeeded in overcoming them; both were at least as much interested in affairs in Normandy as in England.

The Conqueror left the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son, Robert, and gave England to his second son, William. Here was a ready ground for quarrel, since Robert had expected to succeed his father in both countries. As many of the barons held lands both in Normandy and England, they owed allegiance to both William and Robert; when war broke out they would have to make a choice which they would obey; and as Robert was easy-going and good-natured, while William soon showed himself to be as stern as his father, and was especially vigorous in exacting money in every way he could, a large number of barons took Robert's side. They were especially angered by what they regarded as the exactions of *Ranulf Flambard*, the

William
Rufus
(1087-
1100)

**Ranulf
Flambard** king's Justiciar, that is to say, the officer who represented the king when he was absent from the kingdom. Ranulf, who was also Bishop of Durham, was careful to enforce the full payment of all the dues which belonged to the king under the feudal system; and the most profitable of these dues came when an estate passed to a minor or an heiress. Flambard used to seize for the king all the profits of the estate till the minor came of age or the heiress married; he scrupulously collected the fines or payments due on coming into an estate. These exactions were legal enough,¹ but Flambard's activity made them very burdensome. He made the king, it was said, "every man's heir". Thus, to guard against his discontented barons, and to help him against his brother, William was forced to make friends with his English subjects. Foreigner and Norman though he was, he had to rely on what he called his "brave and honourable English". (*Note II.*)

**Rebellion
(1088)** With their help he triumphed over his enemies. Odo of Bayeux, Roger Montgomery, Robert of Bellême his son, Roger Mowbray, all rose against him, stirred up by Robert of Normandy. William defeated them all. He beat back a Welsh invasion, and by promising to his barons any land they might conquer from the Welsh, he encouraged a set of warlike adventurers who would keep his frontier safe. He settled Englishmen in Cumberland, the people of which were still mainly British, and as a precaution against Scottish raids he fortified Carlisle. The King of Scots, invading Northumberland out of revenge, was surprised and slain at *Alnwick*. William even turned the tables on his brother Robert, by leading an army in Normandy. The quarrel between the brothers was patched up for the time. Duke Robert soon after fell in with the fashion of his time and made up his mind to join the Crusades. To find money to equip himself and his followers, he pledged his duchy to **Pledging
of Nor-
mandy** William for 10,000 merks, without reflecting that he was

¹ Save in the case of the Church (see p. 111).

not at all likely to be able either to repay the money, or to eject his brother from the duchy.

While Robert was in Palestine, William Rufus died, killed by an accident, or, as some said, murdered, while hunting in the New Forest. His death gave to *Henry*, the youngest and most capable of the Conqueror's sons, the unexpected chance of making himself both King of England and Duke of Normandy. England fell into his hands without much difficulty; but it was certain that when Robert came back he would have to fight hard, at any rate in Normandy, and probably in England also. Thus he, too, like Rufus, was led to trust much to his English subjects, and he did his best to win their support by marrying *Matilda*, sister of the King of Scots, who was heiress of the old line of Alfred.¹ Matilda was the daughter of Margaret, saint and Queen of Scotland. She was the last descendant in the direct line from the Saxon Kings of England.

Henry I
(1100-
1135)

Marriage
with
Matilda

Henry also imprisoned Rufus's Justiciar, Ranulf Flambard, recalled *Anselm*, Archbishop of Canterbury, from the exile into which Rufus had driven him, and issued a Charter of Liberties, in which he promised that the "aids" taken from his feudal tenants (such as *heriots* taken from a dead man's estate, and *reliefs* paid by an heir) should be strictly according to right, and further, that he would keep all the laws of Edward the Confessor's day.

At this point, Robert returned, and, at the invitation of some of Henry's barons, landed with an army in England. Henry had to buy him off by a promise of a pension, and the surrender of Normandy. This peace, however, turned out shortlived. Robert of Bellême rebelled against Henry, and managed to get Robert of Normandy to take his side. Henceforth, from 1104 onwards, there was no peace between the brothers. In 1106 Henry defeated Robert at *Tinchebrai*

Robert's
invasion

¹ Thus through her our present kings trace their descent back beyond Alfred. As rulers, from Egbert to George VI, there is only a very brief gap in the blood line. The kings who do not come in are Canute, Hardecnute, Harold, William I, William II, Henry I (save by marriage), and Stephen.

and took him prisoner. Robert never saw liberty again. He was held captive till his death at Cardiff. Normandy passed into Henry's hands. Robert had left a son, William Clito, who remained to trouble Henry till 1128, when he died.

Disturbed as Normandy was, England enjoyed under Henry I a rest from insurrection and war for more than thirty years. Henry used this time to strengthen the royal power against the barons. He diminished the power of the feudal lords, and curtailed the "manorial" courts where the lord, or the lord's steward, presided. He encouraged the Shire and Hundred Courts, where justice was administered not by one man but by a body of free-tenants; and over the Shire Court presided the Sheriff, who was a royal officer of very wide power. Thus instead of a multitude of feudal jurisdictions, often very diverse and uncertain, and always oppressive, Henry began to substitute royal justice, which would be the same for all, in every place. (*Note 12*.)

Further, since most offences were punishable by fines, justice and revenue were closely connected, and Henry I, though less oppressive in his taxation than Rufus, was quite as much alive to the advantage of a plentiful supply of money. He began his reign with the thoroughly practical step of seizing the Treasury at Winchester, and, from that time onward, never loosed his hold over it. He found in Bishop Roger of Salisbury an official who organized his exchequer thoroughly, and he made its power felt by sending "barons of the exchequer" on circuit through the country, thus bringing out-of-the-way districts into connection with royal taxation, just as the Sheriffs made them familiar with royal justice.

How closely justice and revenue were connected with each other, and also with policy, is brought home to us by the King's Council. In its widest sense the *Magnum Consilium* or *Curia Regis* as it is called included much the same persons as the old Saxon Witan, though with a different qualification. The Witan had been the assembly of the

"Wise", and included church dignitaries, officials, and chief landholders. So did the King's Council, but for another reason. To it came all the king's tenants-in-chief; and since archbishops, bishops, abbots, officials of the court, and barons were of course tenants-in-chief, we find them all in the Council just as they met in the Witan. The qualification, however, was no longer "wisdom", but the holding of land direct from the king.

But, of course, as a rule not a very large number would attend the meetings of the King's Council. For ordinary business it tended to consist of the great officials such as the *Justiciar*, who acted as regent in the king's absence, the *Chancellor*, who was his secretary, the *Chamberlain* at the head of his household, the *Marshal*, and the *Constable*, who looked after his soldiers. Yet it is a peculiarly confusing body, for it engaged in so many duties under so many names. It was a council of state; it was a law court;¹ it collected and accounted for the revenue.² It has been aptly called a royal "court-of-all-work".

Ordinary
business
of the
Council

The explanation of this many-sidedness is found by looking at the office of king. At one time the king was head of his tribe in everything. He ruled his people, and led them in war; he was their judge and lawgiver. (David, and the kings of the Iliad, are of this type.) But from very early times there was a council to help the king, and this council eventually came to wield many of the powers that were formerly the king's. Again, in course of time the work which proved too much for one man proved too much for one Council, and we get a multitude of councils and officials, each restricted to one branch; one manages justice, another revenue; a third makes laws; others attend to the army and to the navy. All are really subdivisions of the old royal authority. The king remains as the head but his powers

Delega-
tion of
royal
power

¹ From this side of its activity has descended our Court of King's Bench and the term King's Counsel (K.C.).

² And was then called the Court of Exchequer. The term "Court" shows how finance and justice were entangled.

have been split up. We see this process at work in Henry I's reign, but not in it alone. It pervades English history; it is indeed a branch of history by itself: it is *constitutional* history.

Henry had shut his brother in prison and had seen his nephew slain; he had tamed his Norman barons; he had made friends with the English; his name was feared over the length and breadth of the land; he had punished ill-doers with such sternness that he had gained the nickname of the "Lion of Justice"; yet with all this, his last days were filled with anxiety. His son had perished in the wreck of the "White Ship" off the Channel Islands. A daughter, *Maud*, was his only heir. Henry tried to secure her succession to the throne; he had made his barons swear fealty to her. But it needed little penetration to see that they would not be likely to keep their oaths, for the idea of a woman on the throne was then strange and unknown.

Failure of
Henry's
work
owing to
lack of a
son

CHAPTER

FEUDALISM AT ITS WORST: THE "NINETEEN LONG WINTERS"

STEPHEN (1135-1154)

When Henry I died, his plans for his daughter came to nothing. *Maud* was neither popular nor wise. She had married a foreigner, Geoffrey of Anjou, who was hated by the barons. Besides, no one then dreamed that a woman could be fit to rule the country. Consequently the barons, assembled in Great Council, set on the throne *Stephen*, Count of Blois.

Stephen was the son of Adela, William I's daughter. As a grandson of the Conqueror, he had a sound enough title to the throne. He was also, the chronicler tells us, a "mild

man and a good ", so there was hope that he would be a tolerable king. His share of wisdom did not turn out to be very large, but his mildness in other words his weakness, was undeniable. Anp sctwairone was at this time no place for a mild man.

Consequently, Stephen's reign was purely disastrous. It was one long struggle for power. First, *David of Scotland* burst over the border, nominally as Maud's ally. He was defeated at the *Battle of the Standard*, in which the barons and yeomen of Yorkshire, standing fast round a chariot on which floated the banners of St. Peter of York, St. Wilfred of Ripon, and St. John of Beverley, beat off the Scottish charges. But while the Scots were routed in the north, Maud's half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, rebelled in the west, and Stephen had to buy off David of Scotland by granting Northumberland and Cumberland to his son Prince Henry. David gave up Maud's cause and went home.

Battle of the Standard (1138)

So far Stephen had the support of the Church, since his brother, Henry, was Bishop of Winchester and firm on his side. He soon managed to lose this support. He demanded that the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln should hand over their castles to him. When they refused, he cast them into prison. This was certain to set the Church against him: but, more than that, it lost him the favour of the great officials; for this Bishop of Salisbury was that same Roger who had served Henry I so faithfully at the Exchequer, and the Bishop of Lincoln was his nephew. To quarrel with such men was sheer folly. Stephen's power slipped speedily away. He moved to capture the castle of Lincoln, which had been surprised by Ralf, Earl of Chester. Ralf, leaving his wife to defend the castle, gathered forces in his earldom, and, uniting with Robert of Gloucester, fell on Stephen's besieging army at Lincoln. A terrible conflict followed. Stephen showed that though he was a feeble king, he was a sturdy warrior. He met the Earl of Chester in fight, and,

Quarrel with the Church

Battle of Lincoln

had his battle-axe not braced on the earl's helmet, might have overthrown him. Age, his men gave way, and he was himself taken prisoner.

Maud thus became "Lady of England", but she soon proved equally unfit to rule. Haughty and wilful, without gratitude to those who had put her on the throne, she could not understand that the same people could put her off again. She, too, quarrelled with the churchmen. She was obliged to set Stephen at liberty in exchange for Robert of Gloucester, a prisoner in the hands of the other side. Soon she tasted the bitterness of defeat. She was besieged in Oxford, and only escaped by being let down at night from the walls of the castle by a rope, crossing the Thames on the ice, and fleeing across the snow. Then she gathered forces and fought again.

Escape of
Empress
Maud

Years of
misrule

Yet battles and adventures are but a part of our concern. The misfortunes of war lie heaviest upon the people. So it was in Stephen's reign. The chronicler rightly styled it "the nineteen long winters of our discontent". In fact, the war went on because the barons did not wish to end it. Selfish, ambitious, merciless, unscrupulous, each baron made himself strong in his castle, and hoped to add to his possessions by violence or treachery. Geoffrey, Earl of Essex, for instance, took his title from both parties and pillaged both. Each baron in his petty realm reigned like a tyrant, striking his own coin, declaring his own justice, oppressing the wretched people by making them work at the castles with which they filled the land. An English monk who lived at Peterborough — one of the districts which suffered worst from the tyranny of the Earl of Essex and others like him — gives a vivid description of what part of England was like. The barons "put men in prison for their gold and silver. They hanged men up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their heads and writhed them till

they went into the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so tormented them. Some they put into a chest, short and narrow and not deep, that had sharp stones within, and forced men therein so that they broke all their bones." When Stephen brought over foreigners from abroad to fight for him, these behaved even worse, sacking, burning, spoiling wherever they went. "Men said that Christ and his saints slept." The poor were reduced to misery; many of them whose huts had been burnt died of cold and hunger in the fields. Yet it would be an exaggeration to say that this picture is true of all England. And it is worth remarking that Stephen's reign saw in architecture the building of the naves of Nor-

Architec-
ture in
Britain

wich and Bury St. Edmunds, of the minster at Romsey, and of the hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, whilst in learning and literature Geoffrey of Monmouth produced his historical romances and Adelard of Bath was a student of Science and of Arabic.

The rivalry between Stephen and Maud seemed likely to be continued between their children. Fortunately for England Stephen's only son died, and Stephen had no longer an interest in going on with the struggle. Once more, as so often in this reign, we have an example of the power of the churchmen; Archbishop Theobald managed to bring the two sides to terms. It was agreed by the *Treaty of Walling-*

Treaty of
Walling-
ford be-
tween
Stephen
and Maud
(1153)

ford, in 1153, that Stephen should be king for the rest of his life, but that Maud's son, Henry, should succeed him. Henry had not to wait long. In 1154 Stephen died.

(Note 14.)

CHAPTER 10

THE MAKING OF SCOTLAND: SCOTLAND
AND THE NORMAN KINGS

In this chapter we have to notice: (1) how the various kingdoms in Scotland had come under one rule; (2) how the English language had spread in the country; and (3) in what way the kings of England had regarded it as a kingdom in some sense subject to themselves.

Four separate districts have gone to make up Scotland as it is now: the land of the *Picts*, which included all Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde, except Argyllshire; *Dalriada*, the kingdom of the Scots (originally an Irish people), in Argyllshire; the kingdom called *Strathclyde*, which stretched originally from the Clyde to the Ribble, inhabited by Britons — of this, however, only the northern part came into Scottish hands; and, last, the district called *Lothian*, inhabited by Angles. Lothian included the east coast from the Forth to the Tees; but here, as in the case of Strathclyde, the southern part has fallen to England.

The kingdom of the Scots and the northern part of the British kingdom seem, from fairly early times, to have been under the leadership of the Picts.

The way to complete union was prepared by *St. Columba*, who had landed in Iona in 563. The Scots, who had come from Ireland about sixty years before, were already Christian, and Columba converted the Picts, thus giving the two peoples a common faith. There was no permanent union, however, for many years, and, indeed, at one time it seemed as if the Angles would overrun the whole of North Britain. Their hopes were dashed in 685 when the Picts and Scots defeated them at *Nectansmere*. Union actually began in 844 when *Kenneth MacAlpin*, King of the Scots, ascended the Pictish throne. There was probably some fighting, but

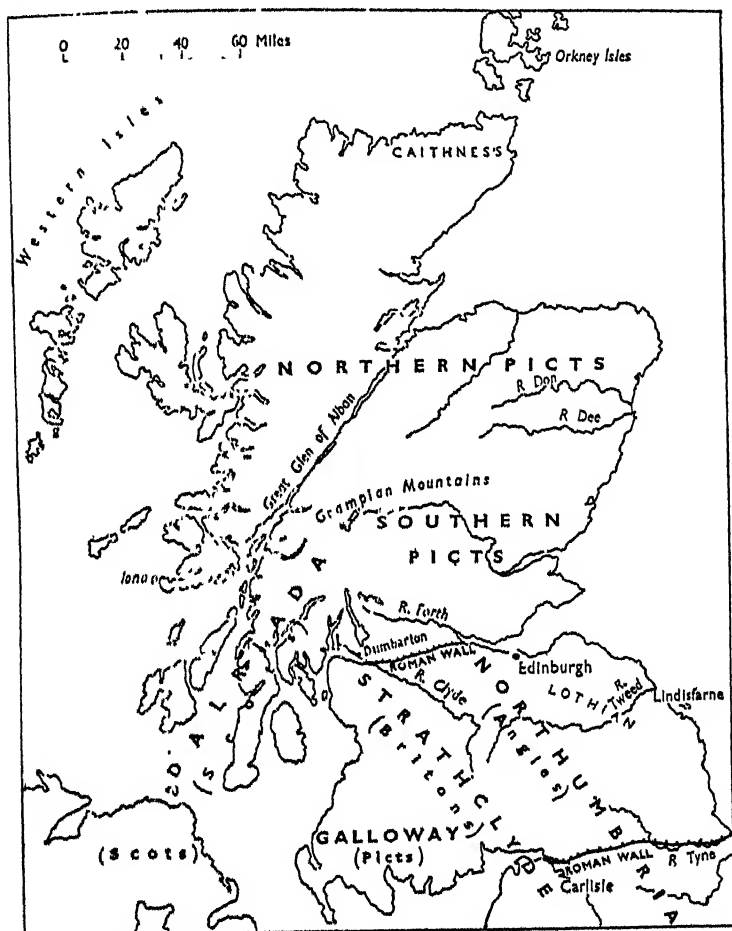
Picts,
Scots,
Britons,
and
Angles

The
uniting of
kingdoms

St.
Columba
in Scot-
land

Kenneth
MacAlpin:
Union of
Picts and
Scots(844)

Kenneth had a legitimate claim through his mother (among the Picts inheritance through the mother was the rule),



SCOTLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINTH CENTURY

and his success was made possible by the raids of the Northmen, which had weakened the power of the Picts. The united kingdom over which Kenneth ruled was called Alban.

Three
kingdoms
in Scot-
land

There were now in Scotland three kingdoms-- Alban, Strathclyde, and Lothian. The kings of Alban made several attempts to conquer Strathclyde and Lothian, but at first without lasting success. During the reign of Indulph (945-962) Dunedin or Edinburgh was abandoned by the Angles and came into the permanent possession of the Scots. This made them masters of the territory between the Forth and the Pentlands, which was the limit of their advance into Lothian till 1018.

Raids of
the North-
men

Meantime the Northmen continued their raids and made settlements in the Hebrides, in the Orkney Islands, in Caithness, and at various places all along the Scottish coast. Early in the tenth century these raids caused two curious alliances. First of all Constantine III, King of Alban, allied with the English against the Danes, and then, becoming alarmed at the growing power of the English, he formed an alliance with the Northmen and the British of Strathclyde against the English. In 937 he was defeated by Athelstan, King of the English, at Brunanburh (see p. 41).

Battle of
Carham
(1018)

The efforts of the kings of Alban to conquer Lothian continued, and at last Malcolm II, with the aid of the Strathclyde Britons, completely defeated the Angles at *Carham* in 1018, and annexed the country between the Forth and the Tweed. In the same year Duncan, a grandson of Malcolm, became king of Strathclyde, and when Malcolm died in 1034 he became first ruler of the kingdom of all Scotland.

Spread
of English
speech

Lothian, the last of the territories to be gained, was a rich and fertile land, and it was English in speech. We must now notice how English speech gradually spread from Lothian over all Scotland except the remoter parts of the Highlands.

Macbeth
(1040-57)

We may trace the working of this process beginning in the fairly familiar reign of *Macbeth*. In its history, indeed, Shakespeare's play is quite misleading. Macbeth, who was Mormaer of Moray, did, in circumstances of which our

knowledge is incomplete, slay King Duncan and take the kingdom for himself. But his reign lasted seventeen years, and was by no means without glory. Also, he had a claim to the throne through his wife, who was a granddaughter of a former king, and possibly represented the elder line. He gained the support of his people, beat off a Northumbrian invasion, was generous to the Church, and perhaps even made a pilgrimage to Rome. But he was at last overcome by Malcolm, son of Duncan, who defeated and slew him at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire in 1057.

Malcolm III (Canmore) had spent fourteen years in England, and he knew English speech as well as he did his own. He reigned in Scotland from 1057 to 1093, and saw England fall before the onset of the Normans. As the Norman power spread northwards, he felt his own throne to be in danger. He took up the Saxon cause, and to cement the alliance married *Margaret*, sister of Edgar Atheling, Saxon heir to the crown. Margaret was a very remarkable woman. The chroniclers admire her for being learned and pious, but she was also a keen politician. She had great influence over her husband, who followed her advice in many ways. She wished to see things done as she had seen them in England. Thus she persuaded the Scottish Church to abandon its own special customs in favour of those of the Roman Church, just as the English Church had done at the Synod of Whitby, four hundred years before, with the same result of bringing Scotland into a closer connection with the culture of Western Europe. In everything she did, and particularly by the introduction of English clergy, she helped to spread English customs and English speech. She thus became the head of the English party against the Celtic party.

Malcolm
III (Can-
more)
(1057-93)

St. Mar-
garet of
Scotland

Naturally this was resented by the Celtic nobility, and after Malcolm's death, his brother *Donald Bane* drove out the English-speaking nobility and tried to return to the old ways. A struggle between Donald Bane and the sons of

Malcolm Canmore and Margaret followed, but finally Edgar the son of Malcolm was victorious. He obtained some Norman troops, and when the war was over these remained in Scotland, and a Norman element bringing Norman names was added to the population.

Edgar, who had no son, was succeeded on the throne by his brother Alexander I, and when he too died without children, the youngest brother, David, became King. All three brothers took a great part in reorganizing the Scottish church. Dioceses were created, and many monasteries founded and endowed. All three brothers, too, aimed at encouraging the spread of Norman feudalism in Scotland. They were aided in these efforts by the dynastic connection with England. Themselves the sons of Malcolm and the English Margaret, they were able to secure the ascendancy of the English-speaking part of Scotland over the Celtic. Their ties with the Norman kings of England were strengthened in other ways. Henry I in the year 1100 married the princess Matilda, a sister of King Edgar of Scotland. By this marriage it was hoped that the hostility between the kings of the two countries might be abated.

These hopes were not realized. When David I followed his brothers (Edgar and Alexander) on the throne of Scotland in 1124, he himself married an English wife, Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof of Northumbria.¹ This made him, in virtue of his wife, an English baron, and he thus concerned himself in the struggle which broke out between barons and crown on the death of Henry I.

In addition, the Empress Maud was his niece, and he took her part in the war against Stephen. He invaded England but was defeated, as we have seen, at the Battle of the Standard (1138). The territories which he obtained from Stephen as the price of peace (Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland) were not long retained. When

¹ By this marriage David held the Honour of Huntingdon, the Earldom of Northampton, and a claim to the Earldom of Northumberland.

Henry II became King of England he set out to repair the damage done by Stephen. He retook the four counties, and by a stroke of luck captured David's successor William the Lion (1165-1214) at Alnwick. William was compelled to make the Treaty of Falaise with Henry (1174), by which he did homage to the King of England for the whole of his Scottish Kingdom. This homage was performed more than once, William journeying to England for the purpose. The overlordship of the English crown would have been clear enough, but Richard I, when he needed money for his Crusade, sold the rights to homage back to William. (Note 15.)

Treaty of
Falaise
(1174)

Thus the whole relation between the two countries was in a tangle. The English kings had tried to make out some claim to be lords over the kings of Scotland. They could point to gifts of territory and to acts of homage. On the other hand, the kings of Scotland could say that these gifts really implied nothing; that the homage was for English earldoms which they held, and not for their Scottish dominions; and that if any homage was due for Scotland itself, Richard's bargain had cancelled it. Yet so far there was no national enmity between the two. They did not glory in being different races. They fought indeed at times, now one side winning, and now the other. Scotland had not yet begun to think of England as a tyrant, nor did England look on Scotland as a rebel. Indeed, for the great part of the thirteenth century the two kingdoms were at peace. Both Alexander II and Alexander III married English princesses; both were wise rulers who did much to unite Scotland and strengthen the royal power, without either attacking England or admitting the English supremacy. The more bitter feeling which becomes so marked in the next century was to spring from the doings of Edward I.

Peace
between
England
and
Scotland

CHAPTER II

HENRY II (1154-1189) HIS REFORMS

Henry II had got the title of king. His life's work was spent in making that kingship a reality. He strove to make himself supreme in his kingdom, and what he did includes a great success and a great failure. Over the barons he triumphed; the Church, on the other hand, worsted him. We have to deal in succession with these two struggles, and we may leave a third aspect of his greatness, his position as a Continental ruler, to lead on to the exploits of his warrior son, Richard Cœur de Lion.

To understand the reasons of his strength, it is necessary to look for a moment beyond England. His father, Geoffrey of Anjou, was one of a family that, like the Norman dukes, had been fertile in strong men, men who had united warlike daring with the ruthlessness and unscrupulousness by which a feudal vassal of the King of France could make himself as strong as his master.¹ Geoffrey had not been able to do very much in England, where even Maud's followers feared and disliked him. But he had reduced Normandy, and when he died, in 1151, he left Henry, then eighteen years of age, the ruler of *Normandy*, and Count of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*. The next year Henry married Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII, and thereby became Duke of *Aquitaine*, Count of *Poitou*, *Toulouse*, *Saintonge*, and *Limousin*, with a suzerainty over all the countries west of the Rhone. Thus he was, even before he became King of England, the mightiest uncrowned head in Europe. If we add that he was skilled in war, adroit in diplomacy, full of restless energy and fiery temper, never idle for a moment, knowing well how to use his own time and how to make

The
Angevin
Empire—
Henry's
possession:
England,
Normandy,
Maine,
Anjou,
and Aquitaine

¹ J. R. Green has pointed out how typical their castle at Anjou is of the family. The castle (what remains of it) is a huge, hideous, black pile which seems to scowl down at the town.

others work for him, it is plain that the barons would find him widely different from the "mild and good" King Stephen. (*Note 16.*)

Henry's general policy was to undo all that Stephen had done. The first thing was to restore the royal revenue. Stephen had allowed two-thirds of it to dwindle away by quarrelling with the bishops and so upsetting the management of the exchequer, and by granting crown lands to his friends; and the little that Stephen had not spent Maud had scattered. Henry took back the crown lands, and restored Nigel, Bishop of Ely (Roger of Salisbury's nephew), to his familiar place in the exchequer. He stopped the practice of barons issuing their own coin, put out a good coinage of his own, and took stern measures with any who adulterated it. He pulled down many hundreds of those oppressive castles which the barons had built in defiance of the law. He recovered the royal castles which were in baronial hands. The country was still full of the hateful mercenaries who had made it their business to plunder both sides. These were expelled from the realm. Henry also forced Malcolm, King of Scots, to yield the northern counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, which had been given to David; and Malcolm renewed his homage to Henry in respect of these territories.

Restoration of revenue and destruction of castles

Henry II and Scotland

The ease with which his restoration of order was carried out makes it clear that Henry had on his side the mass of the people of England. They had suffered under Stephen's folly and the barons' cruelty long enough to know that the best thing for all was a strong king. If only Henry were "strong and of a good courage" the land would have rest. And rest was what the land needed.

Henry and England

Henry was, however, far more than a domineering king, bent on having his own way. He was a statesman. He set himself not only to check misdeeds, but to prevent future misdoing. He sought precautions as well as remedies. His authority might be recovered by force, but it must be main-

Henry as statesman

tained by law. Thus, while he strengthened his army, he also took pains to strengthen his law courts.

Hitherto the weakness of the feudal army had been two-
 His fold. First, there was the danger of mutiny or neglect. If
 army the king was weak, the baron would not come: or perhaps
 he came with only a part of his proper followers. But
 even when the king was, like Henry, strong enough to
 compel attendance, there was another fatal defect: the
 tenant was only bound to serve for forty days in the year.
 It was impossible to carry on a campaign, especially when
 sieges were long and tiresome, with soldiers who went
 home again after a little more than a month in the field. So
 Henry relied more on soldiers whom he paid to fight for
 him. He developed a plan, begun in his grandfather's time,
 Scutage of taking a tax called *scutage*,¹ a payment imposed on each
 "knight's fee" — that is to say, the holding of land which
 would be liable to provide him with a knight and his proper
 attendants for service in war. Henry made use of this
 method when he was planning a distant expedition to
 Toulouse in 1159. Later on, his son Richard I enlarged
 Money the practice by permitting his barons to pay a fine instead
 instead of accompanying him in person, and with the money thus
 military service obtained he hired soldiers. In this way the king got a better
 army and the barons became weaker. Those who preferred
 to stay at home grew less warlike and their vassals less
 skilled in arms. If they were to rebel they would find the
 king with a disciplined force, while they themselves had
 only a band of ill-trained followers. "Scutage" did much
 to weaken feudalism in England.

The other of Henry's military measures falls at the end
 of his reign; but it deserves notice here as it too helped to
 Assize of weaken the warlike powers of the barons. By the *Assize*
 Arms (1181) of *Arms*, in 1181, he revived the old Saxon army of the
 "fyrd", that national levy of all between the ages of sixteen
 and sixty. Since the Norman men-at-arms had ridden

¹ i.e. a "shield tax".



Under direct rule of Henry II.



Under indirect rule of Henry II or owing suzerainty to him. The heavy line marks the boundary of the Duchy of Aquitaine.



Under direct rule of King of France.



Under indirect rule of King of France.

The Isle of Man and certain of the Scottish Isles were Norwegian.

down the Saxon footmen at Hastings, the feudal army had been favoured and the "fyrd" used less frequently. It was the day of heavy cavalry: infantry was held of small account. None the less, the "fyrd" had been called out at times of pressing need, and had done good service both against the Scots, and against rebellious barons in 1173-74. The Assize of Arms laid down that every freeman was to possess certain weapons, and these were to be inspected at intervals to see that they were in good order. This force of freemen was the origin of our militia. Henceforth for service abroad the king tended to replace the feudal knights by trained mercenaries, and to defend England against the foreign invader or rebellious barons he relied partly on the militia. Thus the old feudal levy was less needed. Feudalism by slow degrees lost its military character, became less dangerous to the Crown, and eventually sank into a method of holding land.

Revival
of the
"fyrd"

Armed
freemen
at home

Mercen-
aries
abroad

One of the greatest marks of the disorder of Stephen's time had been the increase of *feudal jurisdictions*, the growth, that is to say, of barons' courts, in which the king's law was set aside by a baron's private regulations. In days when communication through the country was difficult and slow, there was always trouble in keeping the local courts connected with the central courts. It was to tighten this connection that *sheriffs* (royal officers) had been placed over the shire courts, while Henry I had sent round from the exchequer "travelling barons" who, first attending to matters of revenue, dealt also with matters of law. But while under King Stephen each did what was right in his own eyes, the connection between the central and local courts had almost perished. Henry II set himself to bring the local courts again under royal control. Unless the king's law ran through the length and breadth of the land, the king's power would be but a shadow.

Revival
of royal
justice

The
sheriffs

The
"travel-
ling
judges"

The illegal baronial courts could easily be destroyed by the hand that was strong enough to pull down the illegal

before them. At first they were chosen for their presumed knowledge of the accused's crime; and if they could not agree, others were added till twelve were found of one mind. It was only by slow degrees that the functions of witness and jurymen were kept apart; and for a long time the accused could not call witnesses for himself, or have anyone to defend him, since the jury, being themselves witnesses, were supposed to know all there was to be known without outside assistance: but, imperfect as the jury was in its beginnings, it grew till it became one of the greatest safeguards of English liberty. (*Note 17.*)

Hitherto we have seen nothing but Henry's triumphs; we have seen him strike down disorder as personified by the barons; we have seen him strengthen and widen the royal justice till it became so formidable that the proudest noble dared not defy it, and so far-reaching that the meanest freeman could be sure of its protection. But there was yet one body over which the royal justice had no authority. It is Henry's attempt to enforce his authority over the Church that must next occupy us.

Royal law
supreme
over all
except the
church-
men

CHAPTER 12

MONARCHY AND THE CHURCH

1. THE CHURCH SINCE THE CONQUEST:

WILLIAM I, RUFUS, HENRY I

The quarrel between Henry II and Becket had its roots deep in the past.

We have already spoken of that school of Cluniac monks which had striven to set up a purer standard of life and duty in the Church.¹ One result of their efforts has been

Cluniac
reforms

¹ See p. 47. In the century and a half after the Norman Conquest, a great many new monasteries were founded -- one hundred, for instance, in the reign of Stephen, and a similar number in that of Henry II. New orders, also, were created, such as that of the Cistercians who founded the famous monasteries at

already remarked — the increased reputation of the monks who led strict lives, and the decline from favour of secular and parish clergy, who were less particular. Their objects and those of other Church reformers may be defined as follows. They saw with alarm that churchmen were every year becoming more involved in affairs of the world, more occupied with the administering of wide estates and the gathering of riches, more concerned with the cares of state, more interested in keeping themselves on an equality with the great nobles. It was needful to cut off this connection with the world. Thus they strove to make the clergy *celibate*, because they thought that marriage entangled men in worldly concerns; they cried out against the offence of *simony*, the buying of places in the church for money, and (though this came later) they objected to churchmen receiving offices at the hands of laymen. *Lay investiture*, as this was called, was an abuse, because it was likely that laymen were often guided in their choice by unworthy reasons. Churchmen would be appointed to livings, preferments, bishoprics, and so forth, not for their zeal or piety, but because they were popular and easy-going; they would thus be tempted to work for the favour of men, not for the cause of God.

Celibacy
of clergy

Lay investiture

All of these objects were very laudable in themselves, and to the first two no objection could reasonably be raised. That the clergy should be celibate was an old rule which had been somewhat loosely kept, and clerical marriages caused great scandal. Simony was an offence that the Church had long battled with, having complete right on its side. But to attack lay investiture was another matter. The reformers wished to cut the Church loose from all lay control, to make it a body apart, independent, an *imperium in imperio*. But the fact was that the greater churchmen,

Difficulties in
the way of
abolishing lay
investiture

Fountains and Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and who subsequently became renowned for the excellence of their wool; and an English order for both sexes was founded in 1131 by Gilbert of Sempringham which by the end of Henry II's reign included 700 canons and 1600 sisters. The monks were the great historians of the time, such as William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century and Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century.

the bishops and abbots, held large masses of landed property. Here lay the wealth of their sees and foundations; and as landowners they owed duties to the state like other landowners. They had no claim to escape taxation or the task of sending tenants to fight in the field.

The most distinguished of the reformers was *Hildebrand*, who, after being the trusted adviser of two popes, became himself Pope in 1073, under the title of Gregory VII. He entered with immense vigour on the work of making the Church independent of all kings and princes. And he claimed—and exercised—the right of excommunicating and deposing rulers who defied him. He embarked in a desperate quarrel with the Emperor, Henry IV, which survived them to convulse Europe for many years.

Oddly enough, Gregory did not attempt to check William the Conqueror, who was in the habit of “investing” his own bishops, and had declared that no Pope’s bulls or decrees should be obeyed in England unless he himself gave leave.¹ Even when Gregory demanded homage, and William refused, because no king of England had ever paid it before, Gregory gave way. He did so, no doubt, because he saw in William a king who, unlike most of the kings of the time, was really trying to improve his Church. William, too, had of his own accord taken a step which must have delighted Gregory. When he came to the throne, he had found the bishops accustomed to sit in the Shire Courts, and having churchmen and ecclesiastical offenders tried before them there, just like laymen, and under the same law. William withdrew the bishops from the Shire Courts; he replaced the English bishops by Normans; and he gave them courts of their own in which they tried and punished their own offenders under their own “canon” law. Church matters which had hitherto been discussed by a mixture of laymen and churchmen in the Witan were now transferred

¹ Eadmer, the sole contemporary authority, states that this claim was an innovation.

to a synod in which laymen had no place. As William had also appointed *Lanfranc* as Archbishop of Canterbury, and supported him in his efforts to make those of the clergy who had wives put them away, Gregory probably felt that it would be a mistake to do anything that might stir up a quarrel with him.

*Reforms
of Lan-
franc*

William Rufus, however, proved equally obstinate and far less honest of purpose. He was intensely greedy of money, and he and his Justiciar, Ranulf Flambard, strained every means to amass it. Under the feudal system large payments were always due to the feudal superior, in many cases the king, when one of his tenants died. There were *heriots* to be taken from the dead man's estate, and *reliefs* to be paid by the heir; if the heir was a minor, the administration of his estate came into the king's hands, and good profits might be drawn from it. Rufus and Flambard cast covetous eyes on the Church. Church lands did not pay heriots or reliefs, but if when an office fell vacant, it were not filled at once, the king might easily lay hands on the revenue that came in during the vacancy. Hence arose a practice of keeping offices vacant for a considerable time. This gross abuse came to a head in 1089 when Lanfranc died and no successor was appointed to his Archbishopric. Four years passed away, and, to the scandal of everyone, the Church in England was still left without a head, in order that the King might pocket its revenues.

*William
and the
Church*

*Appoint-
ments in
the
Church*

In 1093 Rufus fell sick, and, believing himself to be dying, he wished to make his peace with Heaven. Accordingly he appointed *Anselm*, Abbot of Beve, to the Archbishopric. However unworthy the motive, the choice was excellent. Anselm won the respect of all by his learning, righteousness, and tenderness. As it happened, however, William did not die, and as his health grew better, his conduct grew worse; penitence soon vanished; blasphemous and brutal habits returned. From the first Anselm had foreseen that there was trouble in store for him. "Will ye

Anselm

Investiture quarrel between Anselm and Rufus yoke me, a weak old sheep, with that fierce young bull, the King of England," said he, when he was first offered the primacy. But, although so modest, Anselm would never yield to threats. He refused to make Rufus any payment for his appointment, but gave the money in charity instead. When Pope Urban sent over the "pall", or scarf of office, Anselm would not receive it at the king's hands, but took it himself from the high altar at Canterbury. He rebuked the misdoings of the King and the Court, and so angered William that his life was scarcely safe. He had at length to leave the kingdom.

One of Henry I's earliest and most popular acts was to recall Anselm from his exile. But though Henry was reasonable and just, yet even he could not agree with Anselm. Their dispute never ripened into a quarrel, but it was a hot dispute. Indeed agreement was scarcely possible, for Anselm had been to Rome and had returned more than ever strong against lay investiture. When first appointed by Rufus he had paid homage, but he now refused this homage to Henry; and when Henry invested bishops he would not consecrate them. Yet Henry could not allow his archbishops and bishops to be altogether independent of him, for churchmen in those days were among the greatest landowners; and no king could allow so large a portion of his realm to pass to men owning allegiance to a foreigner, the Pope.

Here we come, not to a quarrel between two men, but a divergence between two great institutions. The Church was advancing claims which the Crown could not grant. It was only the first of a long series; we shall see the difference at times widen, at times almost close up, but it was never quite healed, and it eventually led to the great breach which we call the Reformation.

In this matter of investitures there was a good deal to be said on both sides. Henry and Anselm settled it in a reasonable way by a compromise. Bishops and abbots were to be chosen by their cathedral chapter and by their monks

respectively, but the election was to be held in the king's court. They were to receive the ring which stood for their union with their flock, and the pastoral staff which represented the shepherd's care over his sheep, from the Church, because these things were symbols of their spiritual power; but they were to pay homage for their worldly possessions to the king, who was their master in respect of the world. This compromise worked well, and was afterwards adopted by the Pope and Emperor as the right settlement of their dispute also.

In King Stephen's reign, as we have seen, the quarrel with the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln was one of the causes of Matilda's triumph; later on he quarrelled with the Church over the appointment to the Archbishopric of York. His reign witnessed an increase in the power of the Church. While the barons were fighting with their king and each other, the Church was steadily working towards that independence from lay control which it desired. (Note 13.)

2. HENRY II AND BECKET

Thus Henry II had to fight the matter over again, though this time on new ground, and the struggle was even more violent than in William II's day. For, though Henry had reason on his side, which William had not, yet the one king was fully as hot-tempered and impatient as the other, while on the side of the Church, instead of the gentle, patient Anselm, stood *Thomas Becket*, at least as fiery, wilful, and rash of speech as his royal master.

Henry II
and
Becket

Not the least irritating of Becket's qualities in the King's eyes was his apparent ingratitude. Henry had raised Becket from an obscure station. He had made a personal friend of him, had joked and feasted in his company, had made him his Chancellor, and consulted with him on all the measures needed to bring the realm into order, and believed him to be heart and soul with him. Thus, when the Archbishopric

Becket's
character
and early
career

of Canterbury fell vacant, giving the King the chance of putting in a man to forward his ideas, none seemed so suitable as Becket. But Becket objected, because he saw his first duty would be to the Church and he would never allow himself to be used as a tool to bring it under royal control. He therefore hesitated to accept. "If this be done," said he, "our friendship will soon turn to bitter hate." Yet the King persisted in his idea that Becket's usefulness to him would be increased if he were Archbishop.

Becket
made
Arch-
bishop
(1162)

Once consecrated, Becket resigned his Chancellorship, justifying himself with the words, "Man cannot serve two masters". This was but a foretaste of the mixture of zeal and want of tact which was to distinguish the rest of his career. He might have made plain his wish henceforth to serve God without likening the service of his royal master and friend to that of Mammon. But Becket never did anything by halves. Hitherto, though he had always led a pure and honest life, he had been luxurious and worldly; suddenly he turned into an ascetic of the severest type, fasting with extreme rigour, wearing a hair-shirt, washing the feet of the sick and the poor. Yet Becket's change was no hypocrisy. He was a man who had taken up a new duty, and he meant to perform it with all his might. He was determined to preserve intact the Church's rights. The fact that in doing so he would come into collision with the King did not turn him aside for a moment.

We recall that Henry II's chief aim was to destroy all those privileges and immunities which hindered the king's law; we know that owing to William I's change the Church was the one really great institution which still held these privileges; we can see that it was inevitably over this point that the battle would arise.

He
the
law
he
ch

The provocation was not long in coming. Clerics who had committed crimes were still tried in ecclesiastical courts. In 1163 (the year after Becket became Archbishop) Henry, angry at a cleric who had committed a murder having been

sentenced to a very trifling punishment, required that the clergy should obey the "customs of the realm". To this Becket verbally agreed, but as the "customs" were not very certain, a commission was appointed by the King to draw them up. This commission produced the celebrated *Constitutions of Clarendon*. Some old rules were repeated; clerics were not to leave the King's realm without his leave, and appeals were not to be taken to Rome, but to be heard before the King: the agreement made between Henry I and Anselm about investitures and homage was re-enacted. A new order was made that villeins might not enter the service of the Church without leave of their lords. On the chief matter in dispute it said that clerics who had committed crimes — "criminous clerks" — having been tried in the ecclesiastical courts *and degraded from their orders* (as they would be, if found guilty), should be then handed over to the king's courts for sentence. There was no idea of the king's courts sentencing *a clerk*; having been degraded he would be no longer a clerk but a layman.

The Constitution of Clarendon (116

Crimin-
clerks

We might think this of small consequence; we wonder why clerics should object to the royal justice, and why the King should distrust Church courts; we presume that the number of clerics who commit crimes would be very small. Such notions are misleading.

Clerks
and
Church
Courts

The King was in no way hostile to the Church courts as such. But he wished clerks who had been found guilty of felony in them to be sentenced in lay courts and so made liable to exactly the same penalties as other criminals. For the Church courts had no power of life and death. Their punishments were limited to ordering penances, which, however severe, could not meet cases of murder. The result was an inequality of justice. A layman who murdered was hanged; a cleric was merely degraded and put to penance. Again, we are led to wonder why churchmen, who at this time especially were anxious to purify and raise their order, should desire to protect their guilty

Punish-
ment of
clerks

members.¹ The explanation lies in the same desire which we have noticed before: to sever their order from the lay world, and exalt it by the severance. If a cleric were degraded from his orders, this, they held, should be punishment enough. If he were submitted to the ordinary courts, it would be an admission that he was no better than an ordinary man, and he would be punished twice for the same offence.

We must remember that in the Middle Ages the term "cleric" included a far larger class than it does nowadays. It embraced not only what we call the clergy, but all sorts of men in "minor orders" — exorcists, acolytes, readers, sacristans, subdeacons — all who were engaged in the service of the Church, or who were intending to enter its orders, and had taken what was called the first tonsure. It was as if we were now to extend the term "clergy" to all the officials of a cathedral — the vergers and beaules, the singing men in the choir, and so forth. All the clerks of the king's Chancery were clerics. Indeed, practically, all the professional classes, except soldiers and lawyers, were clerics. Consequently clerical offenders were far from being as rare as might be expected. And as the Church courts claimed to try not only cases where a cleric was the accused party, but also any case in which a cleric was concerned, the number of cases withdrawn from the royal courts and dealt with by courts that could not inflict meet punishment was exceedingly large.

The issue, then, between Henry and his Archbishop, was of great importance to both sides. When the Constitutions were produced it was three days before Becket could be induced to agree to them. At last he did agree owing to the pressure of the Bishops and the two senior earls present. But then Becket refused to seal the document — and without sealing it remained invalid. Then he was summoned to answer a charge that the Archbishop's court had failed in

¹ Clerks who claimed to be tried by the Church Courts claimed "benefit of clergy".

justice in a land plea. Instead of appearing in person, he sent four knights to answer for him. He was then summoned to a council at Northampton to answer the original charge, and a further one of contempt of the King's court. Becket appeared in full robes clasping a crucifix. After the real business of the court had been disposed of, the King brought against him a series of charges relating to his conduct as Chancellor, and demanded an account of the moneys that had passed through his hands. Becket protested against Henry's injustice and appealed to Rome — for this he was condemned by the Assembly. "This is a fearful day," said one of his trembling followers. "Ay," retorted Thomas, "but the Day of Judgment will be more fearful." He fled from the town at dead of night, and escaped to France.

Becket
leaves the
kingdom

Then began six years of incessant struggle. Becket sought help from Pope Alexander III, but Alexander, himself being persecuted by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, dared not affront Henry by supporting Becket too warmly. Henry, on the other hand, pursued the fight vigorously by exiling the Archbishop's kinsfolk, and by seizing the revenues of Canterbury. Becket replied by excommunicating Henry's ministers and bishops, and so the fight went on.

Henry
seizes
revenues
of Can-
terbury

At last, in 1170, a truce was made, and Becket returned to the kingdom on the understanding that he was to let bygones be bygones. But, just before his return, Henry had caused his son to be crowned. To crown a king was a privilege of the Archbishops of Canterbury, but as Becket was in disgrace Henry had made Becket's enemies, Roger of York, and the Bishop of London, perform the ceremony. Becket, on his return, suspended them both. This threw Henry, who had himself now crossed over to France, into one of his violent rages. All the trouble taken to have his son crowned was wasted through Becket's act. On hearing the news, Henry cried out: "Are there none of the dastards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" Immediately four knights started for England, resolved to

Return of
Becket

carry out the King's wish by some means, fair or foul. After a stormy interview with Becket in his palace, they followed him armed into the Cathedral. Fierce words passed, and Becket retorted no less fiercely. A scuffle began. Becket was struck and retaliated, and then one of the knights drew his sword; the rest did the same, and the Archbishop was murdered beside his own altar steps.

His
murder
(1170)

Becket straightway became a martyr. If ever a dead man won a fight, it was he. Henry, who had many advantages of reason and justice on his side, lost most of them by his own frantic words and the more frantic interpretation which the four knights placed on them. Henceforward the one thing to do was to yield. He swore his innocence, and at a later date even submitted to be scourged by the monks of Canterbury at Becket's tomb. But all hope of asserting his full power over the Church courts was gone. Not till the Reformation did the royal power prevail, and for more than three centuries criminous clerks continued to be sentenced in their own courts, and what was more important, the door was opened to fresh inroads by the popes. The humbling of King John, the plundering taxation of Henry III's day were indirectly due to Becket's martyrdom. But Henry did not lose all his powers. By the Concordat of Avranches (1172) made with the Pope he claimed that existing usage should be recognized. He was able to preserve some control of appeals to Rome, to check in certain matters any further increase in the jurisdiction of the Church courts, and elections to bishoprics were conducted as before in the king's chapel and, therefore, under the king's influence. (*Note 18.*)

Results of
the
struggle

Church
retains
courts

CHAPTER 13

IRELAND AND THE END OF HENRY II'S
REIGN

I. IRELAND

Amid the engrossing importance of what Henry did at home we have had little leisure to attend to what Henry was abroad. Yet in the eyes of any but an Englishman, Henry was of greater consequence as a European ruler than as an English king. Through his father he ruled Anjou; through his mother, Normandy; through his wife, Aquitaine, being thus master of the western half of France:¹ and we may add, what has hitherto been passed over, that he had in a sense conquered Ireland. As early as 1155 Henry had sought papal sanction for an expedition against Ireland (the Papacy claimed dominion over all islands), and Adrian IV, the only Englishman who ever was a Pope, is said to have granted him a licence on condition that he would hold the country as a papal fief. Owing to the opposition of his mother, the Empress Matilda, and to other difficulties, Henry abandoned the project, and did not return to it till 1169, when an unexpected opportunity presented itself. Ireland had never united, but was still split up among rival kings. One of these, Dermot, King of Leinster, was driven from Ireland by Roderic O'Connor, who claimed kingship over the whole island. Dermot fled to England and sought aid from Henry II. Henry, too busy to undertake the task himself, allowed Dermot to get what help he could from the barons. These were ready enough for any adventure, and one of them, Richard de Clare, sometimes called Strongbow, helped Dermot to rout his enemies, and by marrying Dermot's

Henry's
contin-
ental
powerThe
conquest
of IrelandDivisions
of IrelandStrong-
bow

¹ The marriage of his son, Geoffrey, with Constance of Brittany brought this duchy into the Angevin power, and made Henry II's dominions extend from the Somme to the Pyrenees in a continuous line.

Henry subdues the pale heiress succeeded to his kingdom on Dermot's death. Henry, somewhat alarmed lest his vassals should become independent, crossed over to Ireland. A satisfactory number of Irish kings paid him homage, and meant nothing by it. As a matter of fact his authority stretched no farther than the Normans could conquer, namely, the district round Dublin and Wexford, called the English "pale". Beyond that the Irish ruled and quarrelled as before, but Henry had at any rate added a new title. He was Lord of Ireland.

2. END OF HENRY'S REIGN

For the rest of Henry's life, trouble overtook him. The great barons who had trembled before him lost their respect for a king who had been worsted by the Church. Men like Hugh of Chester, Hugh Bigod, and Robert Mowbray were very ready to rebel against a king whose life's work had been spent in the effort to tame their powers. His children, too, plotted against him. Even his wife deserted him. Rebellion was soon on foot both in England and oversea. The Scots crossed the border. The King of France gave help to the rebels. From this accumulation of dangers Henry seemed scarce likely to escape, yet he had stout friends, and the people of England stood by him. They at least had no wish to see the barons lift their heads again. Thus, by the aid of his militia the rebel Earls of Leicester and Norfolk were beaten in the Battle of Fornham, and the peasantry took care that none of the fugitives escaped alive. The King of Scots, William the Lion, was surprised and made prisoner at Alnwick. He was not allowed to go until he had, by the Treaty of Falaise (see p. 101), paid homage to the King of England as his feudal superior, and put in his hands the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick (1174). Abroad, Henry with his army of mercenaries soon forced the French king to sue for peace.

Rebellions of Henry's sons and great barons

France helps rebels (1174)

Scots defeated

Yet, even so, the old King had little rest. His sons quarrelled like young lions over the division of his inheritance. The eldest, Henry, till his death in 1183, plotted constantly with the kings of France against his father. Geoffrey provoked his barons in Brittany to incessant quarrels till death too removed him. Richard took up his elder brother's game, joined the King of France, actually led an army against his father, and forced him to make a degrading peace. The last blow was the discovery that his youngest, his favourite son, John, had joined the rebellion. Smitten with fever, the old King turned his face to the wall, murmuring " Shame, shame on a conquered king ", and so passed away.

Plots of
Henry's
sons

Death of
Henry II
(1189)

CHAPTER 14

RICHARD I—THE CRUSADES

I. EUROPE AND THE CRUSADES

So powerful a sovereign as Henry II had not lacked suitable marriages for his daughters. One married Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, another married the King of Castile. Thus the family, sprung from the counts of the little province of Anjou, had gained a position in Europe not unlike that won in later days by the counts of an obscure Austrian territory of Habsburg. But there was another branch of the Angevins, which had acquired by marriage a title to the kingdom of Jerusalem; and to the story of the Crusades and of the part which the Angevin Richard Cœur de Lion played in them we must now turn. (*Note 19.*)

Marriage
alliances
of Henry's
daughters

The
Crusades

In the year 635 Jerusalem, hitherto belonging to the Christian Empire of the East, had fallen into the hands of the Arabs, but the way to the holy places had not been shut by this conquest. Christian pilgrims had been allowed to come and go at all seasons. In the eleventh century, however, a fresh horde of Eastern invaders swept over Syria.

Fall of
Jerusalem
(635)

These were the Seljuk Turks. When they conquered Jerusalem in 1076 they began a policy of persecution. Christians were robbed, insulted, sometimes murdered. A pilgrim who visited the Holy Land did so at the risk of his life.

Stories of Turkish brutality flowed westwards and fell on ears open to catch them. It is easy to misunderstand and even to resent that policy of the Church, which aimed at setting it free from the control of kings, striving to exalt the Pope at their expense, but that is partly because we look at it from the modern standpoint of the *nation*. But in the eleventh century the idea of nationality was vague. There were no "nations" as we know them. All European monarchs, instead of regarding themselves as separate heads of separate nations, thought of themselves as members of one great body — "Christendom". And Christendom had badges of unity, its temporal head the Emperor, its spiritual head the Pope — the twin champions of Christendom. "Behold here are Two Swords"; at times one sword was turned against the other, but against the infidel both could unite. As it was a matter touching the faith, the popes should take the lead. To do them justice they did not shrink from the task. And it was no light task to end the jarring wars of greed and selfishness at home, and send forth men of all races, to fight side by side for Christendom.

There was another motive besides zeal for the faith on which the popes could rely: this was the spirit of adventure. To undertake a difficult and dangerous enterprise, to rescue the downtrodden, to go where blows fell thickest, even though the reward was but empty renown, was the duty of the knight, the spirit of what a later age called "chivalry". And so when, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II preached the Crusade, he had no lack, not merely of hearers, but doers, of the Word. Some in impetuous zeal even hurried off unarmed, a mere rabble, and perished by the way, but they were followed by a disciplined force including the bravest knights in Christendom.

The policy of Christendom against the infidel

The first Crusade (1096-99)

Crusade preached by Urban (1095)

Jerusalem was captured from the Turks in 1099, and Godfrey de Bouillon was chosen as its ruler. Unhappily, the mere love of fighting had mastered the Crusaders' hearts. Even a good and virtuous knight like Godfrey, too pious to wear a crown of gold where once Christ had worn a crown of thorns, had no spirit of mercy. He, like the rest, regarded himself as an avenger. Without shrinking, he took his share in the hideous massacres, even of women and children, that followed the storming of Jerusalem. And this pitiless fury turned too against the Jews. Not merely in Palestine but in distant parts of Europe, they were plundered and ill-treated by kings and barons. The result of this violence reacted on the Christian kingdom in Palestine. Founded on force, it could only be upheld by force. The Crusaders were no more than a garrison in a hostile country, whose power was maintained by their castles and their strong arms.

Jerusalem
taken
(1099)

The king-
dom of
Jerusa-
lem

For a time the Crusaders held their own. Godfrey died, and was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin: he by a second Baldwin. Then there was none left but a daughter of Baldwin I. She was married to Fulk of Anjou, King Henry II of England's grandfather. Thus Fulk became king in Jerusalem, and so set up the Angevin dynasty there.

Years passed by. A second Crusade, led by Louis VII of France and the Emperor of the West, failed to enlarge or strengthen the Christian power in Palestine. And then the Moslems grew aggressive. Their great leader, *Saladin*, captured stronghold after stronghold. At length Guy de Lusignan, king in right of his marriage with the Angevin princess Sibylla, met Saladin in battle on the hills above Galilee. Tormented by a foe whom they could not strike, maddened by smoke from the brushwood which Saladin had fired, parched with thirst in sight of water they could not reach, most of the Crusaders of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem fought that day their last field. The Holy City surrendered soon after. Guy himself remained a captive in Saladin's hands.

The
second
Crusade
(1147)

Saladin

Battle of
Tiberias
(1187)

Fall of the
kingdom
of Jerusa-
lem (1187)

The fall of Jerusalem had shocked all Christendom. Straightway there was a call for another Crusade. England echoed to it, as did other countries. But to Henry II the disaster came home with special force; it was the overthrow of his Angevin kinsmen. Accordingly Henry himself had meant to take a vigorous part in the new Crusade. He imposed a tax, the *Saladin Tithe*, to pay the expenses of the Crusade. This tax is notable as the first instance in England of a tax on personal property, i.e. goods or "moveables", as distinct from "real" property, i.e. land. Death, however, cut short his plans, but he left the task as a legacy to his son, Richard. Obedience to his father's wishes had not so far been Richard's strong point, yet to go on a Crusade was the very thing to which his adventurous spirit inclined him.

Henry II
and the
Crusaders

Richard
Cœur de
Lion
(1189-99)

2. RICHARD I AND THE THIRD CRUSADE

The third Crusade, in which Richard played the chief part, is the best known of all. The character of Richard himself sheds a lustre over it. Medieval and modern storytellers have been attracted by his reckless valour, his personal strength, his amazing exploits in war. Nor was Richard alone: his antagonist, Saladin, is renowned for his martial skill and courtesy, which drew from the Crusaders a respect which they seldom gave to any infidel. Further, the third Crusade was pre-eminent for the number of crowned heads who joined in it. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa led a host across Asia Minor, losing his life in the enterprise. Philip Augustus, the King of France, accompanied Richard. Leopold, Duke of Austria, led his forces to the Holy Land also. In every respect, both in persons and in numbers of the combatants, the Crusade was on the grand scale.

The third
Crusade
(1189-92)

Richard's
Crusade

Unluckily the motives of the leaders in no way corresponded to the magnificence of the enterprise. Richard, though an admirable fighter, and no bad tactician either, had that imperious spirit which made him even more dan-

gerous to his friends than to his foes. On his way to the Holy Land he engaged in one quarrel in Sicily, and another in Cyprus, where he dethroned the king. As soon as he arrived he pressed on the *siege of Acre*, which had lasted two years, to a victorious end, but then plunged headlong into quarrels. To decide who should be king of Jerusalem before Jerusalem was taken, was perhaps premature, and certainly difficult. The Angevin Queen Sibylla had died without children. Philip favoured one of his friends; Richard hotly pressed the claims of Sibylla's husband, Guy de Lusignan. Incessant bickering went on between French and English, till Philip withdrew his men and went back to France to plot at home with John against Richard. Then Richard led the Crusaders southwards winning a great battle against the Saracens at *Arsof*, by means of the patient steadiness of his crossbowmen and an impetuous charge by his knights. 'Twice he came within twelve miles of Jerusalem, but never was strong enough to form the siege; at last he made a treaty with Saladin, securing for Christian pilgrims rights to visit Jerusalem unhindered, and retaining Joppa. It was not much to achieve at the expense of blood and treasure; the capture of Acre alone was said to have cost 300,000 men.

Richard's
quarrels
—the
journey

Siege of
Acre
(1191)

Philip of
France
returns

Failure of
Richard

Treaty
with
Saladin

Richard was now to reap the harvest of his quarrels. One enemy had already gone home: it was indeed the news of John's intrigues with the French king which decided Richard that if he wished to retain the Crown of England, he could no longer battle in Palestine. But he had made a deadly foe of another Crusader. He had found Leopold of Austria's banner set above his own. He had caused it to be flung down with ignominy. Leopold bided his time, and the chance for revenge came when, on his way home, Richard was shipwrecked on the coasts of the Adriatic, and, trying to cross Austria in disguise, fell a prisoner into Leopold's hands. How Leopold sold him to the Emperor Henry VI, who also owed him a grudge for his conduct in

Richard's
return

His
capture

His ransom Sicily, and how Henry held him captive for four months till a ransom was paid and he was accepted as feudal overlord of England is too well known to need more words. The whole episode offers an instructive comment on the hopeless selfishness which underlay the third Crusade. The enterprise begun for the rescue of the Holy City ended with the selling of one Christian monarch by another.¹

Decline of crusading spirit With Richard's difficulties after his return we have now no concern. From Richard's day English crusading zeal dwindled. It is true that in 1240 Henry III's brother led an expedition to Palestine, and got a favourable treaty from the Sultan, and Edward I while still prince, after his overthrow of Simon de Montfort, also took the Cross, distinguished himself by capturing Nazareth, and indeed nearly lost his life there by a stab from a poisoned dagger. But none of these expeditions were comparable in scale to Richard's.

Effects of the Crusades It remains to notice a few of the effects of the Crusades. They removed from England a number of the most turbulent and dangerous barons. Some of these never came home; those who did return had often sold much of their possessions in order to find the money to pay their expenses, and so found themselves weakened. Robert of Normandy pledged his dukedom to his brother, and lost it; Richard himself jocularly declared, "I would have sold London itself, if I could have found a rich enough buyer". He did sell all he could, including the right to the payment of homage by Scottish kings. What Henry had won by the Treaty of Falaise, Richard suffered William the Lion to buy back again. In this time of general sale many made good bargains, and none better than townsmen. Hitherto towns had been mostly under the control of some lord, either the king or a baron, on whose domain the town stood; they were ruled by his sheriff or bailiff; they were liable to

¹ Richard's ransom was such a terrible burden on his people that special taxes had to be imposed to raise it.

pay his dues. Many of the towns took advantage of the Crusades to buy charters, which relieved them of this control. Henceforth they were free, having their government in their own hands, able to impose and collect their own dues, and make their own rules for the conduct of trade. In this way the Crusades gave a great stimulus to the development of our towns.

They encouraged trade also. The crusading armies opened new trade routes, or reopened old ones long blocked. Men grew familiar with the more refined civilization of the East, and on their return desired to have Eastern goods and Eastern luxuries in their Western homes. All this led to a new intercourse between East and West, which had results far more solid than the erratic exploits of the Crusaders. But this commercial prosperity affected England little. It centred round the Mediterranean ports, and England, in its northern isolation, lay in those days far from the world's highway.

New
trade
routes

The choice of Richard as a national hero-king is not a little curious. A hero of a sort he certainly was: he possessed the strength of limb, the skill with his weapons, the reckless courage, which were the chief glories of the knight errant, the ideal of that age. In addition, he was personally popular. He was fond of songs and jest, being himself a fair musician and gifted with a ready wit, as may be seen from his reply to the Pope, who claimed as "his son" a bishop who had been taken prisoner while fighting in a battle. Richard sent the Pope the bishop's coat of mail with the pointed inquiry, "Know now whether this be thy son's coat, or no". He was not haughty unless he was affronted, and though his temper was blazing hot, he forgave as readily as he flew into wrath, and these sudden pardons, these unlooked-for escapes from the lion's jaws, were so unexpected as to win him a character for clemency. He was open and simple, and the ruler who never puzzles his subjects is generally liked. But with all these qualities he was essentially not

Character
of
Richard I

English; he had very little English blood in him; he took little interest in England, save that her men made good fighters. He only spent ten months in England out of the ten years which he reigned. When he came back from the Crusades he plunged into wars in France, and he met an appropriate death, being mortally wounded by an arrow from the Castle of Chaluz, which he was besieging in order to get from his vassal a treasure which had been discovered there. It is characteristic of him that he forgave on his deathbed Bertrand de Gourdon, the man who fired the shot, and equally characteristic of his time that one of his mercenary captains kept Bertrand in prison till Richard had passed away, and then flayed him alive.

CHAPTER 15

JOHN (1199-1216)

I. CROWN AND NATION

The long period covered by the reigns of John and Henry III possesses one strongly marked character throughout. It was an age of bad government. John was oppressive, Henry was feeble: both alike were unsatisfactory. In each case the barons interfered to set matters right. Thus in both reigns there was great progress made in the building up of our peculiar English Constitution in its most essential features: (1) the right of the whole nation to settle its own affairs by means of a Representative Assembly; and (2) the responsibility of the king's ministers, not to the king, but to Parliament. Putting the matter more shortly, the thirteenth century is the age of the Making of Parliament. And it is further remarkable that Parliament, itself the product of the weakness of two kings, was confirmed by the policy of a third king who was good and strong. Edward I might

have used his strength to destroy the infant Parliament; on the contrary, he fostered it.

We have spoken of Parliament as the product of the badness and weakness of two kings, and throughout we shall notice that, as a general rule, the Constitution develops most when the Crown is for any reason ineffective. A bad ruler provokes those efforts to restrain the absolute royal power which we call constitutional government. A weak ruler gives the opportunity for them. And as the power of Parliament grew at the expense of the royal authority, it is obvious that, as a rule, when one is vigorous the other will be languid, and vice versa. Exceptions will occur when a strong king encourages Parliament to be very courageous, or when both King and Parliament are united in one policy, or when both alike are weak because some other body in the state has the mastery over them. But ordinarily Parliament, in its early history, is only remarkable when it is striving to abridge the power of the Crown; and its opportunity comes when the Crown is either misusing its power, or has temporarily lost it.

Opportunities of Parliament

From the accession of Richard to the accession of Edward I — a period of over eighty years — the Crown was, from one cause or another, less strong. Richard was much absent from England, and left his powers to men acting as regents; John was vicious, and provoked a general rebellion; Henry III was a boy only nine years old, and his reign began with a long minority, during which regents governed in his name. Even when he grew up he proved to be feeble and extravagant, and he trusted in favourites who misgoverned the realm so as to provoke a second rebellion much like that which John provoked. Thus these eighty years were unusually favourable to the growth of any body that could control and reform the royal power; and each of the rebellions — that of 1215 and that of 1264 — marks a very important step in the growth of our Constitution.

Weakness of Crown (1189-1272)

2. KING JOHN AND THE LOSS OF FRENCH POSSESSIONS

John has won himself an ill-name in history. Yet we may note that there are two views of him. He certainly brought great misfortunes on himself, but some have thought that he had tremendous difficulties to face and very powerful enemies against him. He is said by one historian to be "the ablest of the Angevins".¹ In any event his reign is of the greatest importance, for his misfortunes turned to the profit of the country.

John being the youngest of Henry II's sons, was at first portionless: hence his name "Lackland", a title which became more appropriate when his folly lost the English possessions in Normandy. His father, who gave him a love he did not in the least deserve, quarrelled with his other sons in the effort to find dominions to give him. He was sent to Ireland that he might conciliate the Irish tributary kings, but he only insulted them by his rude behaviour. He plotted with the King of France against his father, and by his treachery brought his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. Richard knew what manner of brother he was leaving behind him. He tried to bind John by gratitude, giving him the lordship of Ireland, and making him swear not to visit England for three years. John had as little respect for gratitude as he had for an oath. Richard had hardly been gone a year when John came back into England, quarrelled with the justiciar, Longchamp, and began to rule like a king over the vast estates he had obtained by his marriage with the heiress of Gloucester. The news of his brother's captivity tempted him further. He acted as if Richard were dead and himself monarch: he did homage for Normandy to Philip, defying Richard's officers and gathering a party round him-

¹ He was also the favourite child of his father and of his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. This may perhaps be an indication that there is more to be said for John than historians usually allow, for both Henry and Eleanor were exceptionally shrewd and able people.

self to support him even should Richard return. When Richard was at last ransomed he would have had justice on his side had he put John to death as a traitor; but he despised the slippery prince too much to fear him. John, by a show of submission, made his peace; he was clever enough to appreciate the value of the advice in which Philip Augustus told him that his brother was once more at liberty — “The devil is unchained: take care of yourself”. Richard gave him back none of his estates, so that for the rest of the reign he was powerless.

With his brother's sudden death in 1199, however, came John's opportunity. He had very little difficulty in succeeding to all Richard's wide dominions. Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, all acknowledged him as king. His mother Eleanor secured Poitou and Guienne for him, while the chief barons in England, with the Archbishop and the Justiciar at their head, declared him to be rightful king in England. It is not surprising that the hereditary claims of his nephew *Arthur of Brittany* were set aside, for, untrustworthy as John had proved himself, he was a man, and Arthur was a boy unsuited to be a king. Moreover, Arthur's father, Geoffrey, had been the most unpopular of all Henry II's sons, and the choice of John as the elder male relation of the dead king was only following precedent.

John
becomes
king

Prince
Arthur

It is important to distinguish in John's reign the successive steps by which he managed to lose the support of all branches of his subjects: first, how he lost his domains in France; second, how he affronted the Church; third, how by oppressive government at home he irritated the barons and the people.

Having an enemy in France, Arthur of Brittany, it was clearly John's policy to keep friendly with Philip Augustus, King of France, lest that monarch should take up Arthur's cause. This would not have been easy in any case. Philip was sure to seek a pretext for war, but John made peace impossible. His weak point lay in Aquitaine, where his

Quarrel
with
King of
France

mother's influence alone had won over the great lo John's headstrong temper soon lost what his mother won. He divorced his wife Avice of Gloucester, and carried off Isabella of Angoulême to be his wife in spite the threats of the Church. As the Gloucester family the most influential in the English baronage, and affianced husband of Isabella was the Count of La Marche John's greatest vassal in Aquitaine, John's act was a mas stroke of folly. At one blow he made deadly enemies home and abroad. Philip readily took up the compla He summoned John as his vassal. John refused to co Thereupon Philip declared war, and joined with Art of Brittany in invading *Normandy*. La Marche and Art hurried to besiege the castle of Mirebeau, where Jol mother, Eleanor, held out. Roused for once to vigour, Jo surprised the rebels and captured Arthur. He could resist the temptation of murdering him, which was as wise as it was cruel, for Arthur a prisoner would have b a most valuable hostage, whereas his murder only g John's enemies a fresh weapon. Still, had John shown energy, he might have saved Normandy, for Richard I built on the Seine a magnificent castle — *Château Gaillard* — strong enough to delay and defy an invader till h might be gathered in England. For a year Château Gaill held out, but John let it fall by starvation with hardly effort to relieve it. And with it fell the English power France. *Normandy, Touraine, Maine, Anjou*, and the no of *Aquitaine* all came into Philip's hands. Bordeaux and south of Guienne still remained in English hands; l nothing else save the Channel Islands was left of the m nificent heritage which Henry II had handed down. This was a disaster for John Lackland, but not perha for his English subjects. Hitherto England had been ov burdened by the importance of the French dominions. T loss of Normandy proved England's gain, in that it brou

His
divorce

Philip
invades
Nor-
mandy

Murder
of Arthur
of
Brittany

Fall of
Château
Gaillard
(1204)

Loss of
English
possession
in
France

Only Bor-
deaux,
Guienne,
and
Channel
Islands
left

¹ i.e. "Saucy Castle".

a unity which was new. Hitherto kings and barons alike had been half French, half English, with estates and interests on both sides of the Channel. Henceforward they were to be English only. And a king who neglected his duty at home could no longer take refuge in his French dominions till the storm had blown over. (*Note 20.*)

Growth of
English
national
unity

3. QUARREL WITH THE CHURCH

The result of confining John's enterprises to England was the speedy concentration of the hatred of all classes upon him. In 1205 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. He had been appointed in 1193 by Richard, with whom he had been in the Holy Land and who had made him a commissioner for the collection of the King's ransom. Hubert was an official rather than a churchman; he had discharged the duties of justiciar and chancellor with some credit; he had acted as a check upon John. The right of

Quarrel
with the
Church
(1205)

electing a successor belonged to the monks of Canterbury, but under Henry I's agreement the election should take place in the king's court. However, at the time, the monks were having a dispute with the bishops of the province of Canterbury, who claimed a right to take part in the election, and, thinking to get quit of interference by both bishops and King, they met secretly and chose Reginald their Sub-Prior, sending him off to Rome with a party of monks to get his election confirmed by the Pope. Reginald was too vain to hold his tongue; the secret reached the ears of the King, who, in high wrath, compelled the monks to make a second election of John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, and sent off another embassy to Rome. The Pope, Innocent III, one of the most capable and masterful men who ever held the office, received both embassies and disapproved of both candidates. The Sub-Prior was a nobody; John de Grey was a friend of the King's, a better soldier than he was a bishop. One had been elected secretly, the other by dint

Election
of
Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury

John
appoints
de Grey

Pope
annuls
elections

of threats. Innocent always claimed the right of supervising the election of bishops — and he was not slow in acting. He annulled both elections and persuaded the monks who were in the embassy to choose his own candidate. His action may have been high-handed; he certainly forced his candidate on the monks every whit as much as John had forced de Grey; but about the wisdom of his choice there could be only one opinion, for he chose a distinguished English Cardinal, *Stephen Langton*.

Stephen
Langton

The
interdict

Then began a violent struggle. John refused to allow Langton to set foot in England. Innocent replied with an interdict which suspended services, closed the churches, and stopped the bells; marriages could not be celebrated inside the churches; even the dead went unblessed to their graves in unconsecrated ground. All the bishops, save John de Grey of Norwich and Peter des Roches of Winchester, stood by the Pope, and the clergy followed. John turned on the clergy, driving some oversea and confiscating their revenues, and outlawing all. Innocent retorted with an excommunication which touched the godless John but little. Indeed, he was doing well; he was growing rich on Church funds, and with them taking soldiers into his pay in order to settle old scores with the Welsh and Scots. At last Innocent threatened to depose him, and even invited the King of France to drive him off the throne.

John
retaliates

Excom-
muni-
cation of
John

Pope
invokes
help of
France

This once more revealed the weakness of John's position. Had he been supreme over the clergy, interdict and excommunication would have troubled him no more than they troubled Henry VIII. Had he been supported by his people at home, he could have defied the Papal ally, Philip of France, with greater confidence. But he was not secure; on the contrary, he had many enemies; he knew it well enough, for he had made them for himself by his grasping taxation and his vicious life. Innocent's threat cowed him, and he gave way. Submission was not made easy for him. He had to swear fealty to the Pope, to pay a yearly tribute of 1000

Submis-
sion of
John

marks, and to accept England as a papal fief. These terms, seemingly degrading to modern minds but probably not considered very disgraceful at the time, were accepted by John, and may even in part have been suggested by him. That there were other kingdoms, such as Sicily and Aragon, whose kings were held in similar vassalage to the Pope without suffering much inconvenience, is no excuse for John. He opened still wider the door which let in Papal taxation and interference.

England
as a papal
fief (1213)

Meantime, having made his peace with the Pope, he might have expected to be free from Philip. Indeed, the Pope ordered Philip to desist from his enterprise. But it was easier to stir hatred than to allay it. John wished to follow up a successful raid on the French fleet at Damme by an invasion of France, but his barons would not follow.

John
attacks
France

Foiled here, he prepared a great league against Philip. He enlisted the Emperor Otto and the Count of Flanders. He himself went to stir up Poitou, leaving an English force under the Earl of Salisbury to aid the allies. The plan was well laid. John's raid was to draw Philip into the west and leave Paris open on the north-east to a blow from the German allies; but, as in all such complex schemes,

League
against
Philip

accurate co-operation was necessary to success. John was for once in a way too punctual—so prompt that Philip was able to dispose of him and return to the eastern part of his kingdom while the emperor dawdled over the marriage festivities of his daughter. At length the armies stumbled on each other at Bouvines (1214), and a hard-fought action, in which the French levies on foot did their part bravely side by side with the horsemen, ended in the complete overthrow of the allies. Salisbury and the Count of Flanders remained prisoners in Philip's hands, and John was driven to retire to England, his last hopes of recovering a Continental power, and so getting relief from his English troubles, at an end.

John and
his allies
defeated
at
Bouvines
(1214)

4. MAGNA CARTA

For indeed troubles had gathered fast. The party of the barons had closed its ranks; it had been joined by the townsmen; it had found a policy and a leader. The policy was to compel the King to acknowledge formally the rights of his subjects and to amend their grievances. The leader was Stephen Langton, and the steps in which he guided his party are memorable. In 1213 there met at *St. Albans* an assembly, including not only barons, but also the reeves and four villeins from each royal manor, in which the grievances of the realm were discussed. A few weeks later Langton read to the barons at St. Paul's the Charter of Liberties granted by Henry I, and it was agreed that a similar charter should be imposed on John. When John returned to England after the battle of Bouvines, he did his best to strengthen himself against the barons. He imported mercenaries, implored the help of the Pope, and even took the Crusader's vow in order that anyone attacking him might come under the ban of the Church. But the barons were too strong for him; even his own friends deserted him; and at *Runcymede*, on 15th June, 1215, he reluctantly sealed the Great Charter. (*Note 21.*)

Of the sixty-three clauses, four - the twelfth, the fourteenth, the thirty-ninth, and the fortieth - have been of lasting importance in the story of our Constitution. The twelfth provides that no scutage or aid, saving only the three regular feudal aids,¹ shall be imposed, save by the "common council of the realm"²; and the fourteenth lays down that this "council" is to consist of an assembly to which archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons were to be summoned, each by a separate writ, and other tenants-in-chief by a writ directed to the sheriff of the county. These two clauses, which, to begin with, only restricted the king from

¹ To knight the king's son, to marry his daughter, or to ransom his person.

² In the reissue of the Charter in 1217 it was provided that scutage should be levied as it was under Henry II.

imposing one kind of tax upon one class of persons — namely, tenants-in-chief — have been used as the foundation of the great principle that the king cannot levy any tax without the consent of Parliament. Further, the *thirty-ninth* and *fortieth* clauses, which run: “No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any way destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land”, and “To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice”, have been enlarged and widened to provide for the liberty of the subject, the right of trial by jury, equality of all before the law, and the supremacy of the law over kings, lords, and commons alike. Over and over again these clauses have been invoked against the Crown. This was especially the case in the struggle between King and Parliament in the seventeenth century. For when the Five Knights were imprisoned by King Charles for refusing to contribute to a forced loan, and again, when John Hampden would not pay ship money, it was to the Great Charter that they appealed.

Control of
Taxation

Justice

Trial by
jury

Yet though these clauses, which later ages interpreted as laying down wide principles restraining the powers of all kings, have emerged in the course of time as being the most valuable provisions in the Charter, and the rest have sunk into obscurity as the circumstances which called for them passed away, it must not be forgotten that what we are now apt to leave on one side was in its day the most important. In the main the Great Charter was a bond between a feudal king and feudal barons; it runs on feudal lines. The four great clauses are, we have seen, mainly feudal. Fourteen clauses lay down feudal obligations about wardships, marriages, escheats, and services; nine restrain the Crown from exacting money by the abuse of privileges, such as the right of purveyance, or by the increasing of established duties; fourteen are concerned with the better regulation of the king's courts; add to these the thirteen clauses which

Magna
Carta as a
feudal
documentFeudal
clauses

applied only to the need of binding John for the time, and we have three-quarters of the whole. But the remainder includes stipulations that the Church should be free and have all its rights, that London and other towns should enjoy their privileges, that merchants should come and go freely into the kingdom, and that the villein should not be deprived by fines of the implements by which he made his living. Though Magna Carta, being drawn up mainly by the barons, naturally bears most on what concerned them, it must not be described as entirely a class measure, for it was carefully laid down that rights which the feudal tenants-in-chief won from the king were also to hold good for the intermediate tenant against his superior.

Thus in the main there was little in the Charter intended to be new, since it aimed at restoring customs which John had broken. In reality it became one of the great starting-points of our national liberties.

The Charter was sealed; the next thing was to get it observed. John gave his promise, because at the time there was nothing else for him to do; he gave it the more readily, because from the first he had not the slightest intention of keeping it. When he learnt of the twenty-five barons who were to enforce it on him, he cried out furiously, "They have given me twenty-five over-kings". He cast about for means to break his word. He gathered a party of barons, hired more mercenaries, and made ready for war. The Pope, as overlord of England, annulled the Charter and forbade its observance, under penalty of excommunication. The King's enemies turned for help to France. They even offered the crown to Louis, son of Philip Augustus. Louis landed with a French force. For nearly a year civil war raged up and down England, till John fell suddenly ill and died at Newark. His opportune death was the only good gift he ever bestowed on his country. Even his abilities were always turned to evil ends. No man was a greater master in the art of misusing his talents.

The
Church

Towns

The
struggle
over the
Charter

Death of
John
(1216)

NOTES ON PERIOD TWO (1066-1216)

RULERS OF ENGLAND

WILLIAM I (1066-1087)
WILLIAM II (1087-1100)
HENRY I (1100-1135)
STEPHEN (1135-1154)
HENRY II (1154-1189)
RICHARD I (1189-1199)
JOHN (1199-1216)

RULERS OF SCOTLAND

MALCOLM III (CANMORE) (1057-1093)
DONALD BANE (1093-1094)
DUNCAN II (1094)
DONALD BANE (1094-1097)
EDGAR (1097-1107)
ALEXANDER I (1107-1124)
DAVID I (1124-1153)
MALCOLM IV (1153-1165)
WILLIAM THE LION (1165-1214)
ALEXANDER II (1214-1249)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

POPES: GREGORY VII ("Hildebrand") (1073-1085)
INNOCENT III (1198-1216)

EMPERORS: HENRY IV (1056-1106)
HENRY V (1106-1125)
FREDERICK I ("Barbarossa") (1152-1190)
FREDERICK II (1215-1250)

FRANCE: PHILIP II (1180-1223)

NOTE 9. — ENGLAND AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1. William succeeded in invading England because Harold was away fighting in the north; after Hastings the English did not unite against him; and the Witan offered him the crown. William's method of warfare was more up to date than those of the English, and his horsemen could ride down the English archers.
2. He established his power.
 - (a) By confiscating the lands of those who fought against him.
 - (b) By suppressing the risings against him one by one as they occurred, for the English never took united action.
 - (c) By developing the *Feudal System*.
 - (d) By using the English against his own rebellious barons.

NOTE 10. — THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

1. William developed what had already existed. He regularized land tenure and based it on military service.
2. He strengthened the power of the Crown by the *Oath of Salisbury* (1086), and by scattering the estates of the barons.
3. The *manorial* system was developed.

Cultivation of land under the manorial system was under the "open field" system; the lord owned the domain; the tenants held their land in return for performing service. People on the manor included freemen and villeins. Manorial courts administered justice. The Conquest depressed some of the peasants into lower grades, but the manor had existed before the Conquest, as *Domesday Book* shows.

NOTE 11. — RANULF FLAMBARD

He was one of the great officials — the Justiciar, who represented the King when he was absent from the kingdom. He exacted money from the barons, taking for the King all profits from minors' estates and heiresses' marriages. Kept revenues of vacant bishoprics for the Crown. Hated by all, and his exactions led the great barons to revolt. William defeated the rebels. Flambard was imprisoned when Henry I came to the throne, but later was pardoned.

NOTE 12. — POLICY OF HENRY I (1100-1136) TOWARDS THE BARONS AND THE ENGLISH

1. **The Barons.**
 - (a) Suppressed over-powerful barons (Robert of Bellême).
 - (b) Checked the powers of the barons' manorial courts.
 - (c) Sent round justices in eyre (i.e. travelling) to take the King's justice to all parts of the country.
 - (d) Sent barons of the exchequer also round the country to administer taxation.
 - (e) Developed the King's Council to help in advising the King.

2. The English.

- (a) Henry married the heiress of the old line of English kings (Matilda).
- (b) He imprisoned William Rufus' oppressive Justiciar and promised reforms
- (c) He issued a *Charter of Liberties* swearing to keep all the ancient laws of the English. This proved a model for later charters
- (d) He did all he could to win over the native English and use them as a counterweight to the Norman barons.

NOTE 13 — THE CHURCH UNDER THE NORMANS

- 1. **William I.** William refused to do homage to the Pope for England, and refused to allow Papal decrees to be enforced without his permission. He constrained the Church to have its own courts to try all "clerks".
Lanfranc made Archbishop of Canterbury by William, who "invested" his own bishops. Lanfranc carried out reforms in the Church, opposed the marriages of the clergy, and was a great organizer.
- 2. **William II.** Under *Ilamhard's* influence kept sees vacant, and after Lanfranc's death no archbishop was chosen for four years. Then in 1093 *Anselm* was made archbishop. He was a saint and a scholar and was compelled against his will to accept the office. He tried to check Rufus' evil ways, and was forced to leave the country.
- 3. **Henry I.** Henry recalled Anselm, but quarrelled with him because Anselm refused to recognize the "*investiture of bishops*" by the king. Quarrel was between Church and State, and was temporarily settled by the *Compromise of Bec* (1107). The bishops were to be chosen by the cathedral chapters (of clergy), and abbots by their monks. All were to receive *investiture* from the Church, but to do *homage* for their lands to the King.

NOTE 14. — IMPORTANCE OF STEPHEN'S REIGN

The disorders of the reign were due to a *disputed succession*, and to a *weak king*. They show *feudalism at its worst*. The power of the barons led to complete anarchy. The Church was alienated and turned against the King. The need for reform became so clear that the ground was prepared for the rule of a strong king.

NOTE 15. — SCOTLAND'S RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMAN KINGS

Early history of Scotland shows the uniting of the various kingdoms (844-1034).

Malcolm Canmore married Margaret of Wessex, and she induced the Scottish Church to conform to Roman usages. Strong English influence in Scotland

1. *David I* (1124-53) allied with Henry I of England. Henry had married David's sister, Matilda. On Henry's death, David took the part of Henry's daughter, the Empress Maud, and invaded England. Defeated by English at the *Battle of the Standard* (1138) but was given the northern counties to induce him to make peace.
2. Henry II wished to regain these districts, so attacked and captured *William the Lion* (1165-1214) at Alnwick. By *Treaty of Falaise* (1174) William did homage for Scotland to the English King.
3. Richard I sold this right to homage back to William the Lion, in return for money for the Crusade (1189).

NOTE 16.—HENRY II AND THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

Henry II (1154-80) was the founder of an Empire, with great territories in France. He was King of *England*; overlord of *Scotland*; and he conquered *Ireland*. From his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, he inherited *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touaine*. He had also inherited the Duchy of *Normandy* which his mother, Maud, had claimed, but which his father had been obliged to conquer for him. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine, and through her acquired *Aquitaine* (which included *Gascony*) and *Poitou*, *Toulouse*, *Saintonge*, and *Limousin*. In addition, one of his sons married the heiress of *Brittany*.

NOTE 17.—HOW HENRY II RESTORED ORDER IN ENGLAND

1. Took back all Crown lands which had been granted away by Stephen.
2. Pulled down the castles which the barons had fortified.
3. Expelled the mercenary soldiers brought in during the civil war.

He then set to work to introduce various *reforms*:

1. He built up an army by developing *scutage*, a tax on each "Knight's fee", and paying a permanent force, which was the King's army, and not a feudal host. He also revived the Saxon fyrd, or national militia, and armed them under the *Assize of Arms*.
2. He developed the system of *justices in eyre* to the local courts, to administer royal justice.
3. By the *Assize of Clarendon* (1166) the justices were to use juries to "present" criminals for justice.

Henry forbade trial by battle, and substituted the use of a jury in *civil* cases. That is, in disputes over land a jury might be employed to state what the facts of the case were (The Grand Assize). He also laid down the use of a jury in *criminal* cases (*Assizes of Clarendon* and *Northampton*).

In his "Possessory" Assizes, certain civil cases called up from the local courts to the King's Central Court, by getting the King's writ. These dealt with the "possession" of land.

This use of juries, i.e. men sworn in to say what they knew, made the English familiar with the idea of representation in local government. The jury was also used in the Assize of Arms to say what arms each freeman could afford, and later in the assessing of the taxes to raise the ransom of Richard I. Thus the English were accustomed to choose representatives to fulfil all sorts of duties laid on the community by the King, and later the principle was developed into choosing representatives to act for the nation.

NOTE 18. — HENRY II AND THE CHURCH

Quarrel with the Church had formerly been over lay investiture, now it turned on the special courts to try clerics. *Becket* led the Church's opposition to the King.

1. In 1164 the *Constitutions of Clarendon* were drawn up at the King's orders. They laid down:

(a) That the compromise over investitures should continue.

(b) That clerks who had been tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and found guilty, should then be degraded from their orders and handed over to the King's courts for punishment.

Reason for the King's action lay in the fact that the term "clerks" included all sorts of men in "minor orders" — clerks in the King's Chancery, vergers, and beadles, etc. All these, if tried only in the ecclesiastical courts, would really escape punishment for crimes.

Reasons for Becket's opposition were that the Church held a "cleric" was punished by degradation from orders, and if handed over to King's Courts, would be punished twice. Becket wished to maintain the separation of "clerics" from other ranks. Becket refused to seal the Constitutions.

2. Henry accused Becket of *maladministration of funds*, and Becket appealed to Rome and fled the country. The other bishops supported Henry.
3. During six years Becket remained abroad. In 1170 a truce was made, and Becket prepared to return. But Henry, who wished to make certain there was no disputed succession at his death, had his *eldest son crowned* as King. The coronation was performed by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London. Becket, who claimed he alone should perform the act, on his return excommunicated these two. Henry's rage led to the *murder of Becket* (1170).
4. *Result of Becket's death.* He was hailed as a martyr. Henry had to give way, and give up his claim to try criminal clerks in the King's court. "Benefit of clergy" continued.

NOTE 19. — THE CRUSADES

Jerusalem had been taken by the Arabs in 635, but they did not interfere with the Christian pilgrims

- 1 In 1076 the Turks took Jerusalem, and began to persecute the Christians. In 1095 Pope Urban II preached the first *Crusade*, a war for the restoration of Jerusalem to the Christians. The countries of Europe all joined in this war, and Robert of Normandy went. Jerusalem was captured from the Turks, and a "Latin Kingdom" set up. First Crusade lasted 1096-99
- 2 A second *Crusade* (1147), in Stephen's reign, was undertaken by France and the Emperor to strengthen the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but it did very little.
- 3 In 1187, *Saladin*, the great Moslem leader, took Jerusalem and most of the Crusaders' towns. A third *Crusade* was preached to restore Jerusalem. The Emperor set out, and the King of France and *Richard I of England*

The Crusaders quarrelled amongst themselves, and quarrelled with the leaders of countries through which they passed.

Richard was victorious, but could not retake Jerusalem. Returning home he was shipwrecked and made a captive by the Duke of Austria. He had to pay a vast ransom, and do homage for England to the Emperor.

Effect on England. Many of the turbulent barons killed on Crusade; Richard sold homage of Scotland back to its King, trade stimulated by contacts with foreign countries; Richard's need for money made him sell charters to many towns.

NOTE 20. — JOHN AND THE LOSS OF THE POWER OF THE CROWN

1. Loss of the Angevin empire.

Philip Augustus of France had:

- (a) Supported Henry II's sons in rebelling against him.
- (b) Quarrelled with Richard I in the Third Crusade.
- (c) Supported Prince Arthur against John.

He attacked Normandy, took Châteaufort (1204); defeated John's armies and captured Normandy for France, as well as Touraine, Maine, Anjou, with part of Aquitaine (1204).

He then joined with the Pope in an attack on England, and led a "Crusade" against John. John made an alliance with the Emperor Otto, and with Flanders, and counter-attacked Philip in Flanders, but the allied troops were defeated by the French at *Bouvines* (1214).

A French army under Prince Louis then invaded England, and was only driven out after a year's fighting, and after the death of John.

2 John's quarrel with the Church.

- (a) John quarrelled with his own clergy, and with the Pope, over the appointment of a new Archbishop of Canterbury. Pope Innocent III set aside the candidates and appointed *Stephen Langton* (1205)
- (b) John refused to allow him to enter England, and the Pope placed England under an interdict (1208).
- (c) This not proving efficacious, the Pope preached a "crusade" and the French invaded England. As the barons did not support John, he came to terms with the Pope, and *agreed to hold England as a papal fief* (1213)

3. John's quarrel with the barons.

- (a) The barons alienated by John's failures in France.
- (b) Further opposition roused by his attitude towards the Church.
- (c) Barons refused to fight for him in Flanders
- (d) Stephen Langton joined with the barons, and they demanded redress of the nation's grievances
- (e) Magna Carta granted by John (1215).

NOTE 21.—MAGNA CARTA (1215)

1. It has always been appealed to by the English as the foundation of their liberties. Actually it was largely a document meant to redress feudal grievances, but later generations were able to interpret some of its clauses in a very wide sense

It was founded on the earlier charters (notably that of Henry I), which insisted that the King must observe the laws and customs of England

2. The principal clauses which *later* proved so important were interpreted by the men who struggled against the Crown in a different sense from the original. Thus

c 12 and c 14 said, "No scutage or aid shall be imposed on our Kingdom except with the consent of Common Council of our Kingdom". "And for the obtaining the Common Council we will cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons by letters under seal, and will cause to be summoned generally, through our sheriffs, all others who hold from us in chief".

This really meant that the King would call his tenants-in-chief to advise over taxation. It was later held to mean that the King *could not tax without the consent* of the representatives of the nation, i.e. of Parliament

3. c 39 said, "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, save by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land". This meant that the tenants-in-chief must be tried not by the King's judges, but by other tenants-in-chief, and the "law of the land",

which applied to men of lesser rank, was to be the local choice as to trial by battle or ordeal. It was taken to mean that *no man could be imprisoned arbitrarily* without trial by jury.

c. 40 said, "To none will we sell, or deny, or delay, right or justice." This has been taken to mean the *equality of all before the law* and the supremacy of law over the King.

The clauses of the Charter are all jumbled up, and most of them deal with merely feudal details as to wards, dues to the lord, and so on. The barons were really trying to assert their rights against an oppressive King, but the fact that they *forced the King to grant a charter* of liberties meant that the nation had really successfully compelled the King to promise reform.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD TWO (1066-1216)

Sovereign.	Events in Britain	Date.	Events Abroad.	Date.
William I (1066-1087)	Harrying of the North. Invasion of Scotland by William I; Capture of Ely.	1069 1072	Gregory VII (Hildebrand) Pope Turks take Jerusalem. Founding of Carthusian order of monks	1073 1076 1086
	Oath of Salisbury; Completion of Domesday Book. Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury.	1086 1093		
William II (1087-1100)	Robert of Normandy invades England. Battle of Tinchebrai.	1101 1106	First Crusade. Jerusalem captured from Turks Founding of Cistercian order of monks Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem (refused title)	1096 1098 1099-1111
		1120 1124		
Henry I (1100-1135)	Death of Prince William in White Ship. David I King of Scotland	1185 1188 1139	Order of Knights Templars founded Death of Emperor Henry, husband of Maud of England.	1118 1125
Stephen (1135-1154)	Scots invade England. Battle of the Standard Empress Matilda invades England. Empress Matilda leaves England. Henry, son of Matilda, invades England; Treaty of Wallingford	1148 1153	Second Crusade Frederick Barbarossa Emperor. Death of St Bernard	1147 1152 1153

Sovereign.	Events in Britain.	Date	Events Abroad	Date.
Henry II (1154-1189)	Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury Constitutions of Clarendon University of Oxford probably founded. Expedition of Strongbow to Ireland. Murder of Becket	1162 1164 1167 1169 1170		
	Expedition of Henry II to Ireland. Rebellion of Henry's sons. William the Lion taken at Alnwick.	1171 1173 1174	Saladin Sultan of Egypt.	1171
	Saladin the raised	1185	Saladin takes Jerusalem.	1187
	Richard in captivity; Ransom raised. Return of Richard to England.	1192 1194	Third Crusade Richard I taken prisoner by Leopold of Austria.	1189 1192
	Loss of Normandy. Papal interdict on England; Excommunication of John. University of Cambridge founded.	1204 1205 1209	Innocent III Pope; Fourth Crusade Crusaders attack and take Constantinople, seat of the Byzantine Empire.	1193 1203
John (1199-1216)	John submits to Papacy. Magna Carta.	1213 1215	The Children's Crusade. Battle of Bouvines; John defeated. Order of Dominicans founded.	1212 1214 1216

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD TWO
(1066-1216)

1. What were the chief effects of the Norman Conquest on English history? (LGS 1935)
2. Describe the opposition encountered by William of Normandy in (a) his conquest, (b) his settlement of England (NUJB 1937)
3. What changes did the Norman conquest bring about in (a) political organization, (b) religious learning? (DL 1928)
4. Give some account of what is known as the manorial system, and describe the life of an English villen in the early Middle Ages. (CL '28)
5. Describe in general terms the mode of tillage under the open field system. What were the main drawbacks of that system? (CWB '32)
6. How did the Norman Conquest affect (a) the Church, (b) relations between England and the Continent? (NUJB 1932)
7. What measures did William I take to make his position secure? (LGS 1925; OL 1926; CL 1932)
8. Compare Lanfranc and Anselm as Archbishops of Canterbury. (LGS 1920, OC 1932)
9. Describe the relations between England and Scotland during the reigns of William II and Henry I and Stephen. (LGS 1921, 1928)
10. Describe and account for the worst features of the reigns of William II and Stephen. (NUJB 1931; OC 1932)
11. In what ways was the reign of Stephen important in English history? (LGS 1925)
12. Give some account of the judicial measures of Henry I. In what ways did they foreshadow those of Henry II? (LGS 1931)
13. By what means did Henry II restore order in England and prevent the recurrence of such disorders as had prevailed in Stephen's reign? (LM 1932, OL 1926)
14. Show (a) how Henry II obtained a large continental empire; (b) how most of that empire was lost in John's reign. (NUJB 1937)
15. What was the extent of the dominions over which Henry II ruled, and how did he secure them? (LM '31)

16. Describe the conflict between Henry II and Becket.
(NUJB 1938)
17. Sketch the relations between king and clergy in England from the Norman Conquest to the death of Henry II.
(LM 1926)
18. What was the condition of Ireland at the time of its conquest by Henry II? Outline the story of that conquest. (LGS 1922, 1920)
19. Describe the part played by Richard I in the Third Crusade.
(OC '32)
20. Trace in outline the struggle (*a*) between Henry II and Becket; (*b*) between John and the Pope. What is the real importance of these contests between Church and State?
(OL 1928)
21. Explain and discuss the results of the loss of Normandy under John.
(LGS 1931)
22. How far was John responsible for his own misfortunes?
(D 1931)
23. Give in outline the story of the events leading to the signing of the Great Charter of 1215, and show the importance of the Charter.
(LGS 1927)
24. Give some account of the contents of Magna Carta and discuss the importance of this document in English history
(LGS 1921; LM '26)
25. Indicate some of the effects of the Crusades upon English civilization.
(LGS '32)

PERIOD THREE

THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR INSTITUTIONS AND THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1216 1399

CHAPTER 16

PARLIAMENT: THE GUARDIAN OF THE CHARTER

HENRY III (1216-1272)

1. PARLIAMENT AND THE CHARTER

The period from 1215 to 1297 is sometimes spoken of as the eighty years' struggle over the Charter. In the former year John sealed it; in the latter year Edward I solemnly confirmed and enlarged it in the *Confirmation of the Charters*. But in the same eighty years grew up a guardian of the Charter who watched over it far more jealously than the committee of "twenty-five over-kings" against whom John had railed. This was Parliament, and more particularly the representatives of the "king's faithful Commons", who have built up their power, starting from the foundation laid in the Charter, that the king could not obtain money save by the common council of the realm. Before granting a supply, Parliament would demand the redress of some grievance, or the fulfilment of some promise, and first it always turned to the due observance of the Great Charter.

1215-97.
Magna
Carta.
Confirma-
tion of the
Charters

No less than thirty-seven times have our kings been called on solemnly to confirm it.

Parliament a representative governing body

In following the reign of Henry III we must look for signs of the growth of Parliament. And we must recognize what it is that we seek. It is not merely the existence of an assembly which governed or took a share in the Government; such an assembly already existed in the "Council" mentioned in the twelfth article of Magna Carta, and of course it was far older. All English kings, even back into remote Saxon days, had a council whose advice they asked, if they did not always take it. The Saxon Witan in theory gave its consent to the king's laws and taxes, approved the appointment of his ministers, even on occasion could elect or depose a king. When the Normans succeeded, the substance of the Witan's powers came to the King's Court or Council — the Curia Regis — that body of many shapes and many functions, whose nature has been already explained. But both the Witan, where the qualification was nominally wisdom, and the Curia Regis, whose members held land direct from the king, differed essentially from Parliament. They were to a certain extent governing assemblies, and so is Parliament. But Parliament is more; it is a *representative* governing assembly. Both Witan and Curia Regis were class bodies; Parliament is a national body.

What is to be sought, then, is the alloy of representatives with the governing assembly.

Parliament and the Charter

Put generally, the chief thing in the history of England during the thirteenth century is the safeguarding and enlarging of the Great Charter under the hands of an assembly which itself developed into a new shape, under a new name, that of Parliament.¹ It should not be supposed

¹ More particularly this may be illustrated from the words of the Charter itself. The 12th clause says, "*Nullum scutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno nostro nisi per commune consilium regni nostri.* . . ." "No scutage or aid shall be placed on the realm, save by the common consent of the realm." The progress was in two ways. First, to extend the words "*Nullum scutagium vel auxilium*" into the much wider general principle "no tax of any sort"; secondly, to arrive at a methodical and satisfactory way of obtaining this "*commune consilium regni*", namely, in Parliament.

that these wide ideas occurred to the minds of the barons who were fighting for their Charter against King John. On the contrary, no sooner was John dead than the party who took the side of his son Henry III under the leadership of William Marshall, *Earl of Pembroke*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, reissued the Charter, but carefully left out what is nowadays held to be the gist of it, namely, these 12th and 14th clauses, the very two on which the future power of Parliament against the Crown was to be founded. It is clear that in 1216 they were not felt to be necessary; perhaps not even popular. They would hamper a regency as much as a king.

Rule of
National
party.
Reissue of
Charter
(without
clauses 12
and 14)

2 MINORITY OF HENRY III

John's death left the kingdom torn with civil war. The barons had invited Louis and his Frenchmen into the realm to help them against their tyrant; now that the tyrant was dead, they wished to be rid of the French. Louis, however, would not withdraw. He claimed the Crown for himself. The barons, however, soon deserted him, and drew together in the cause of the young Henry. The French were defeated by Pembroke in a desperate fight in the streets of Lincoln; while in the battle of Dover Hubert de Burgh destroyed a French fleet bringing reinforcements under Eustace the Monk. These two blows made Louis give up hope. In a few weeks peace was signed, and the French left the country.

Defeat of
the
French
at the Fair
of Lincoln

Henry III succeeded to the throne at the age of nine, and was therefore at first too young to influence the Government. The first period of his reign lasts till 1232, and reflects the ideas of his ministers; in the second, the king's own weak, untrustworthy character and his foolish and extravagant policy gave an opening to a set of worthless favourites, relations, and hangers-on at court; the third, beginning about 1253, is a period of turmoil caused by the efforts of the barons to obtain better government, chiefly under the leadership of Simon de Montfort. Of these, the

Faults of
Henry III

first two may be dismissed somewhat shortly. The third calls for more notice.

The Earl of Pembroke died in 1219, and the business of being regent in fact, though not in name, passed to *Hubert de Burgh*. Hubert governed well: his chief task was to crush the few remaining adherents of John's party. Falkes de Bréauté may fairly stand as a type of them, a refugee from Normandy whom John had used to captain his mercenaries, and had rewarded with estates, castles, and sheriffdoms. His chief stronghold was Bedford Castle, where his brother had the impudence to seize and imprison one of the king's justices. Hubert attacked the castle, forced the first two lines of walls, and undermined the keep, so that part of the wall fell. Eighty of the defenders were hanged, and Falkes himself was driven into exile. Such sharp justice terrified smaller offenders into submission.

Unfortunately, when Henry came of age, in 1227, he showed no gratitude to de Burgh. The death of the great Archbishop Stephen Langton in 1228 robbed the Justiciar of a good friend; and in 1232 Henry dismissed him, and seized his estates. Hubert was the last great Justiciar.

3. MISRULE OF HENRY III

There followed a long period of bad government. The King was poor, since Richard I had sold, and John had given away, many royal estates, and it was no longer easy to raise money by scutages and aids; but though poor he was far from sparing. His chief minister, Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, pushed his relations and foreign friends into every office and sheriffdom that fell vacant; when Peter fell into disgrace there came a fresh incursion of foreigners with Henry's wife, Eleanor of Provence. One uncle became an archbishop, a second a bishop, a third an earl. They naturally gave all they could to their own countrymen. Provençals proved every whit as greedy as Poitevins, and the

whole country grew exasperated at Henry and the foreigners who filled the court. Then Henry engaged in an inglorious war with France and lost the battle of *Taillebourg* or Saintes, in which he narrowly escaped capture. Undeterred by this failure he meddled in the quarrel between the Papacy and the descendants of Frederick II. He weakly accepted the offer of the throne of *Naples and Sicily* for his younger son, *Edmund*, and as a result had cast on him the task of paying for the war which the Pope was waging. Edmund never got the throne, and a more purposeless waste of money could hardly be imagined. (*Note 22.*)

The battle of
Taille-
bourg
(1242)

Ambition
of Henry
for his
sons

Irritated by the foreigners, provoked by the incompetent and extravagant king, the barons demanded that proper officials should be chosen and the charters kept. Henry gave plenty of promises, but never kept them. So, till a leader could be found on the baronial side, nothing could be done. With the appearance of Simon de Montfort, however, we pass to the third and important period of the reign.

4. SIMON DE MONTFORT

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was the son of the de Montfort who had led the Crusade against the Albigenses in the south of France. He had married Henry's sister, Eleanor, but was disliked at Court and had spent most of his life abroad. His chief work had been as Seneschal of Gascony to try to keep the Gascon nobles in order. He set about this resolutely, and so unpopular did his firmness make him, that the Gascons complained. Henry would not support him, and Simon resigned. In 1257 he came to England. Nine years were destined to see him rise to a position above the king, then even more suddenly fall in complete ruin; and yet leave a name that ranks among the greatest in English constitutional history.

Simon's
connec-
tion with
Henry III

Simon
and
Gascony

Being himself a foreigner, and related by marriage to Henry III, it seems at first sight strange that he should

Leader of barons in England come to lead the national baronial party against the Court and the foreigners. But though he was brother-in-law to the King, the King and his family looked down on him; and it was hatred to the Queen's Provençal relations that drove him into the national ranks. His own nature, serious, masterful, and pious, soon secured him the foremost place.

The Council of Twenty-four (1258) At Easter, 1258, when Parliament met at London, Henry wanted money. The barons, who had come armed, demanded that, before any grants were made, all foreigners should be banished and a commission of reform set up. Henry had to agree and a Council of Twenty-four¹ was appointed. It adjourned to Oxford and there drew up a new scheme of government known as the *Provisions of Oxford*. **Provisions of Oxford** The main point was the establishment of a permanent council of fifteen to supervise the government, check illegal exactions, restore justice, and recover the royal castles: they were, in case of need, to confer with another council of twelve, chosen by the barons. The leaders in the fifteen were Simon de Montfort and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.

These leaders, however, did not agree; for a time the quarrel was smothered by the death of Gloucester, but in the meantime Henry had once more broken his promises. Following the precedent of his father he persuaded the Pope to absolve him of his oath, and got the question of whether he was bound by the Provisions of Oxford referred to Louis IX. Louis was probably the most virtuous king who ever sat on a throne, but he was certain to look on things from a king's point of view. By the *Mise of Amiens* **The Mise of Amiens (1264)** he decided that Henry might do as he liked, provided he violated "no royal charter or praiseworthy custom". Henry had shown in the past that he did not care for either.

Nothing was left but to try force. Simon gathered the **Civil war** barons to his standard, and was backed by the south. Henry's chief supporters came from the marches and the north.

¹ Often wrongly called the "Mad Parliament".

The armies met at Lewes, Simon attacking the town. The Londoners in his army were scattered by Henry's most capable leader, his son Edward. But Edward, then only twenty-four, had not yet become the cool, wary commander who was in future years to attack Scotland. Angered by the fact that these citizens of London had insulted his mother, he pursued his enemies furiously, without thinking of the rest of the battle. While he was away, Simon in the centre overthrew the royal forces and captured the King. Henry had to submit, to accept once more the Provisions of Oxford, and to hand over Edward as a hostage.

Battle of
Lewes
(1264)

Victory of
Simon

So far there had been nothing to mark off Simon from the rest of the large class of nobles who from time to time had taken arms against their sovereign. He had employed the ordinary baronial remedy for misgovernment, namely rebellion. Though Simon bore a higher character, had a better cause, and had met with greater success than was usual, these are only differences of degree, and not of kind. In essence he was a rebel, and the case is not altered by the fact that he was an abnormally virtuous one. His next step, however, was to lift him far above any other well-meaning rebellious baron, and mark in him that combination of theory with practice, that union of wisdom and opportunity, that belongs only to the statesman.

Simon and
Parliament

The truth was that he had few supporters among the barons. For a time the young Earl of Gloucester had stood by him, but he was growing lukewarm. Many other barons were inclined to favour the King again now that he had accepted the Provisions. Simon's real strength lay in the middle classes, especially in the towns. The Church, too, favoured him. Hence he sought a device whereby he could make this popular support tell, and so was the founder of what became the House of Commons.

Simon de
Montfort's
new policy

Both in Saxon and Norman institutions the common custom of using *representatives* has been already remarked. Representatives of hundreds and boroughs sat in the Shire

Representatives

courts; representatives from the townships gave evidence before the Domesday commissioners; and, older than these, the Councils of the Church had been attended by representatives from each diocese. In summoning representatives to his House of Commons, Simon was following a precedent already familiar to the nation and to the Church. Moreover, as has been seen, knights of the shire had attended Langton's Council at St. Albans in 1213; and in 1254, 1261, and 1264, knights had been chosen by each county to consider in the Great Council what aid they were willing to pay. But Simon went further. To his Parliament of 1265 he summoned not only two knights from each shire, but two citizens and two burgesses to represent certain cities and boroughs.

The
Parliament
of 1265

The importance of this step is not diminished by the fact that it was plainly a partisan measure. Simon was popular in the towns; accordingly he invited representatives from certain specified towns, well knowing that they would support him. It is true that while he enlarged the popular part of his Parliament, he restricted the upper part. Of the fifty greater barons, only his friends, some twenty-three in all, were summoned. Nor indeed did the Parliament do anything of note. Its greatness rests not on what it did, but

Origin
of the
House of
Commons

on what it was. It gave a starting-point from which has grown our House of Commons. So long as those who attended the Council, or Parliament — call it by what name we may — were all either barons or knights of the shire, there was only one class represented — the class of landholders. The citizens and burgesses, however, represented the traders. And although in Simon's day, and for long after, landholders and traders sat together, yet the knights of the shire speedily grew accustomed to act with the men from the towns, thus forming a party of the "Commons" as distinct from the greater barons, the "Lords". This union of smaller landowners with the citizens and burgesses, the junction in one party of representatives from towns and

counties, is a distinguishing mark of our Parliament. France, Spain, and the Empire also, at one time or another, had Estates or Diets to which representatives of different classes came, but each acted by itself, for itself; each "Estate" dealt with its own affairs only. And whereas these institutions all decayed, our Parliament grew stronger and stronger. Its most vigorous part is the House of Commons, and much of its vitality is due to the fact that it has always been a national body and not divided into "Estates". The beginning of this was Simon de Montfort's work.

Yet after all it was the work of a rebel, and no time was spared him to foster it. The quarrels between him and the young Gloucester grew keener. Prince Edward contrived to escape, and set himself to overthrow Simon. He made friends with Gloucester, and promised that he would expel the foreigners and rule according to law; and Edward, unlike his father, was known to keep his promises. Thus deprived of allies, Simon had only his sons and vassals to support him. While he was struggling to raise men in Wales, Edward, with a much larger force, got between him and his castle of Kenilworth, where his second son was gathering troops. Simon tried to slip back to join his son, but Edward surprised and cut to pieces the younger de Montfort's army at Kenilworth, and then, turning on Earl Simon, hemmed him in at *Evesham*; on three sides lay the river Avon; the only bridge was guarded; on the north, Edward's men swarmed in to the attack. Simon saw that he was lost. "God have mercy on our souls," cried he, "for our bodies are the prince's." He died fighting bravely against overwhelming odds.

Fall of
Simon.
Battles of
Kenil-
worth and
Evesham
(1265)

Since Simon's cause rested on himself alone we might suppose that with his death his work too would perish: that the idea of a Parliament, extended so as to embrace town as well as county, would be looked on as the dangerous device of a rebel, and accordingly be left alone for the future. It is true that his party was destroyed; in the course

Import-
ance of
Simon de
Montfort

of the next two years his sons were overcome, and the royal cause became again supreme. But it was Edward who had won and not Henry; Simon had at least secured this, that there was no return to the thriftless, faithless, purposeless rule of Henry III's earlier years. Simon de Montfort died a rebel with arms in his hand. Yet none the less he was a patriot and a remarkable statesman — remarkable not merely in the character of his work, but in the high-minded nature that enabled him to identify himself with a great cause. Like Stephen Langton he raised a baronial party from partisanship to patriotism. Just as Stephen Langton, originally forced on John by the power of the Pope, turned at the call of duty against the Papacy when the Papacy lent its support to the worthless King John, so Simon, himself a foreigner and a kinsman of the King, took arms against the King and his foreign favourites for the sake of good government. He is one example out of the many which history offers of an alien to whom England owes much.

CHAPTER 17

EDWARD I (1272-1307)

1. EDWARD I AND PARLIAMENT

Edward's
respect
for law

For years before his accession to the throne Edward had given proof of vigour and unusual ability. As a young man he had been employed in ruling the most turbulent parts of his father's realm, Gascony and the Marches of Wales. The skill with which he had crushed Simon de Montfort has been already noted. Yet, though masterful by nature, he showed no wish to become a despot. On the contrary, he aimed at governing strictly by law and making others obey what he respected himself. Thus he came to complete what Simon de Montfort had begun, namely, the establishment of the power of Parliament. (*Note 23.*)

It might be supposed that the man who had been Simon's

most capable foe, who had beaten his armies and brought about his death, would have been the last person to carry on as king the work Simon had begun as a rebel. We might think that in Edward's eyes the representing of the Commons would be hateful — a factious plan intended to harass the king. It was not so. Edward's legal turn of mind naturally brought him to develop Parliament till it should be truly representative of all classes.

Edward
and
Simon's
work

Almost at once he repeated Simon's plan. He summoned to his Parliament of 1275 burghers and citizens from the towns, as well as knights of the shire; but this practice did not at once become the rule. Later again the knights alone were summoned, and sometimes no representatives at all of the "Commons" were sent for, Parliament then returning to its original shape — the "Great Council" of magnates. At times again the King got grants direct from representatives of the merchants, without calling the others. Still, the principle that the assent of all was needed both to statutes and to grants of money was gradually becoming more settled.

Parlia-
mentary
experi-
ments
(1272-95)

But in the middle of these Parliamentary experiments Edward suddenly found himself involved in serious difficulties abroad. A later chapter gives the story of his dealings with the Scots and the Welsh. All that need be said here is that in the year 1295 Scotland was in revolt; France, irritated by a fierce fight between English and Norman shipmen, in which the Normans were worsted, had joined in alliance with the Scots and was invading Gascony; three revolts had broken out in Wales. Edward needed money to deal with three separate wars at once; that alone would have compelled him to summon a Parliament. But he seems to have felt that in a time of such danger to the nation he must take the nation into his confidence in a peculiarly thorough fashion. So he gathered his famous Parliament of 1295, summoning to it the earls and greater barons, the archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots, two knights from each shire, two citizens and burgesses from each city and

Model Parliament (1295) borough. As this Parliament was summoned by a king it has deserved its name of the "*Model Parliament*", for it has served as a model for all subsequent Parliaments. Indeed, in one sense, no other Parliament has ever so completely represented all classes, for Edward also caused the priors of the cathedrals, the archdeacons, and representatives of the clergy of each cathedral and each diocese to be summoned also. Thus the "three estates" of the realm, **Tenants-in-chief, knights of the shire, burgesses** clergy, nobility, and commons, all figured in it fully represented. It was only because the churchmen preferred to remain a class apart, and to make their own grants of money in their own assembly ("convocation"), that their representatives had no place in the Parliament in the following century.

The clergy The "Model Parliament" did not disappoint Edward's hopes. Clergy, barons, and commons alike voted him money. **National assembly** Yet just as with Simon's assembly, the Model Parliament of 1295 was important rather for what it was than for what it did. By its existence it established a precedent. "Parliament" could no longer be a class body, representative merely of the great barons and bishops, or of the landowners; henceforth it was national. Only thirty years had passed, and the device of a rebel baron had been accepted as the deliberate policy of a king.

Edward's troubles Edward's troubles did not end, however, with the holding of the Model Parliament. Money had been voted, but it took time to collect it, and Edward, at war with Scots, Welsh, and Frenchmen, was in a desperate hurry for supplies. To make things worse, Pope Boniface VIII, who wished to force Edward and Philip IV, King of France, to make peace, determined to cut off the supplies of money which they drew from the clergy in their realms. He therefore issued a bull known as "*Clericis Laicos*", forbidding all payments "from the clergy to the laity" without his sanction. Philip forbade the export of money from France — that was his way of meeting the situation. **The papacy** **"Clericis Laicos"**

As a matter of fact both kings treated the bull as a vexatious piece of papal interference. Edward I let it be understood that if the clergy refused to pay the grant they had promised, he would treat them as outlaws; that is to say, the law of England would give them no rights against anyone who defrauded or wronged them. Still, the result was to leave Edward in even greater straits for money, and, what was worse, his barons refused to go to the war in France. They were bound, they admitted, to accompany him; but they understood their obligation to "accompany" in the narrowest sense: they declared they would not go to Gascony while he went to Flanders. The Constable Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and the Marshal Bohun, Earl of Hereford, were the ringleaders. "By God, Sir Earl," said Edward to the Constable in a ferocious pun, "thou shalt go or hang." "By God, Sir King," was the cool reply, "I will neither go nor hang." The two earls went home and fifteen hundred knights with them, and Edward, now at his wits' end for money and men, seized the wool from the merchants in the ports, ordered the courtiers to find him provisions, and soon after sailed for Flanders.

Outlawry
of clergy

Barons
and the
war

Refusal of
Bigod and
Bohun to
serve
abroad

No sooner was he out of the kingdom than the two earls appeared in London, and forbade the King's Council to collect any of the moneys irregularly levied on wool. A Parliament was hastily summoned, and the earls demanded that the Great Charter should be solemnly confirmed, with the addition of a clause that the King was not to take "such manner of aids or prises save by the common assent of the realm"; that the "evil tax" (the maltôte) on wool was to be given up; and that for the future the King and his heirs would not take anything without the common consent and goodwill of the *commonalty of the realm*, save only the ancient "custom" on wool, skin, and leather already granted. The Council of Regency gave their promise to this, and the King afterwards confirmed their promise.

Parliament
and the
king

Confirmatio
Car-
tarum
(1297)

This "*Confirmation of the Charters*" had very great im-

portance. For, the promise not to tax goods without the consent of the "commonalty", was later to be interpreted as giving Parliament control over indirect taxation. This ultimately would mean Parliamentary control of finance, and also, since "he who pays the piper calls the tune", of government.

Thus the years 1295 and 1297 saw the fulfilment of what had been foreshadowed eighty-two years before; the year 1213 saw the first appearance of representatives of the Commons at a Great Council; 1295 saw the principle established as a model. Magna Carta was sealed in 1215: its most important principles were reasserted and agreed to in the most solemn way in the Confirmation of the Charters of 1297. The struggle over the Charter had lasted eighty years; it had ended in the victory of the nation over the king, and in the creation of a body whose chief duty was to watch over the Charter, namely Parliament. Yet it is noteworthy that the victory was won, as it was in 1215, by a rebellious gathering of barons. Parliament had not yet the vigour to stand for itself. In extremity the old remedy against misgovernment, an armed rising, was once more used. But while the first monarch, John, only gave promises as a convenient way out of a temporary difficulty, Edward's word could be trusted. His motto was "Keep troth", and he took pride in maintaining it. Then, again, the Confirmation of the Charters went much further than Magna Carta. That had only forbidden the levy of illegal scutages or aids, and in word at any rate Edward had not broken it. Taxing wool was not taking either scutage or aid. Edward was within the letter of the law. But the barons went by the spirit of it. They read the Charter as laying down the restriction of all taxation (save the three regular feudal aids) unless by the consent of the realm, and Edward, by yielding, admitted that they were right in their view.

The end of the thirteenth century, then, saw the making of Parliament, the germ of a *representative governing as-*

Develop-
ment of
powers of
Parlia-
ment

Step
forward
from
Magna
Carta

sembly. Yet it is going too far to think of Plantagenet parliaments as exactly like the busy, inquisitive, masterful body of to-day. In the first place, Lords and Commons still sat together; the separation between the two houses did not come till Edward II's day. Secondly, Parliament had no regular time for being summoned; that depended on the king. Thirdly, it had only a very indirect control over the king and his ministers; the only way it could make its power felt was by withholding supplies.¹ It could not make laws; what it did was to petition the king, and if he gave assent to its petitions with the words, *Le Roi le veut*, they became statutes; if, however, the king replied, *Le Roi s'avisera*,² the petition might be altered or dropped. It could not make ministers, though by degrees it found a cumbrous way of getting rid of exceptionally bad ministers by *impeaching*³ them. It was not much consulted about affairs of state. Speaking generally, it had little force of its own. If the king smiled on it, it grew strong and even pugnacious; if

Limitations
of Parlia-
ment

¹ Even so, much of the royal revenue was still beyond its control. Royal revenue at this time, and for long years after, may be broadly divided into two kinds, ordinary and exceptional. The ordinary supply came mainly from the royal demesne — the estates, that is to say, that the king owned, like a feudal lord. The profits of these, coupled with the fines imposed for breaches of the law; the payments made by towns on the royal demesne, and the money paid by merchants trading into and out of the kingdom, sufficed for the normal expenditure of the king. Extra or unusual expenses, such as were demanded by war, were met by "taxation", properly so called. This was not at first annual, but exceptional. It did not always fall on the same class; it might be a grant of a tenth or a fifteenth on the lands of the barons, or it might fall on the lands of the Church, or it might be a tallage on towns or a prisage imposed on the wine or wool of the merchants. By taking now one and now another, a rough equality was maintained. But Parliament wished the king to "live of his own" (on his own income) and so far from wanting to withhold supplies, did not even desire to have the power to do so. It was only as the king's private wealth dwindled and the importance of taxation increased that Parliament got a more complete hold over him.

² i.e. "The king will see about it."

³ Properly so called an *Impeachment* is a trial in which the House of Commons is the accuser and the Lords are the judges. It differs from an *Act of Attainder* (the other parliamentary way of getting rid of an unpopular or guilty minister), for an Act of Attainder is not a trial at all, but (as its name denotes) a *Bill* of Parliament declaring that such and such a person is guilty of whatever it may be and is to be put to death. This becomes an *Act* by passing the two Houses in the usual way, and on receiving the Royal Assent becomes part of the law of the land — though only applying to the person or persons named in it. The word Attainder means that the "blood" (the family) was "attainted", and therefore the man's goods and property were forfeited to the king.

the royal favour was turned away, it dwindled. Thus Parliament had little character of its own; it merely reflected the character of its patron for the time being. Members of the Commons did not covet membership, or come back year after year, as they do now, with the experience of many sessions. On the contrary, the task of being a member was rather looked on as a disagreeable and expensive duty, to be discharged once, and if possible eluded for the future. An assembly made up in the main of new and inexperienced men would naturally be timid. In a word, Parliament under the Plantagenets, and for many years after, was rather a weapon which could be wielded than a power which would act by itself. None the less the root of the matter was in it. It did represent the nation; it did possess the power of the purse; and from this by degrees grew the rest.

2. EDWARD I AND ENGLISH LAW

Edward and English Law

An account of Edward I and Parliament is incomplete without some notice of his great legislative measures. In a sense he was the maker of English law as he was the maker of the English Parliament, since his is the earliest reign to which our law looks back. Statutes and decisions of his time are still "good law", unless they have since been set aside. And his reign was marked by great legislative and judicial activity. Apart from a mass of rules, dividing the work more definitely among the various justices in the various courts of *King's Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, the business of keeping the peace throughout the country was entrusted to a body of officers known as Conservators of the Peace. In the reign of Edward III these officers, with enlarged powers, had their name changed to the familiar term of Justices of the Peace, and have since then continued to discharge all kinds of local justice. Two points about these "J.P.s" are worth special notice. They have never been paid, and they have no special legal training.

The Courts and Justices of the Peace

This follows on the same idea which appears in the jury¹ system and in Parliament,² and in all our county and district councils, namely, that an English citizen has to do his duty to the state without any money payment; it has helped to keep the law closely in touch with everyday life; and it has saved us from the growth of a huge class of officials who, besides being very costly, are perhaps inclined to magnify their own importance at the expense of the good of the public. (*Note 24.*)

Four great statutes of Edward I's deserve special mention — namely, the statute of *Mortmain*; the Second Westminster (*De Donis Conditionalibus*); the Third Westminster (*Quia Emptores*); the Statute of Gloucester (*Quo Warranto*). To understand them we have to think once more of feudalism.

Land laws
Four
great
statutes

A feudal owner's power and wealth, whether he were king, tenant-in-chief, or mesne-tenant (see p. 79), depended largely on his sub-tenants. While they lived they paid certain services and dues; when they died their heirs paid fines, such as heriots and reliefs (see p. 89), before they succeeded to the estates of the dead. The overlord, then, was interested that during their lives they should be men of substance, able to discharge their duties punctually, and that their deaths should occur with normal frequency. At first sight one might be disposed to think that the last matter might be left to nature, that all tenants would die; but this is not so. There was a class of tenants who never died. If land were granted to a corporation, or to a corporation sole — that is to say, for example, to any monastery, or to "the abbot", or "the vicar", or "the mayor" of such and such a place — these never died: men came and went, but the institution or office lasted. Thus land granted to churchmen never changed tenant; it passed into the "dead hand", into *Mortmain*, and the superior lost for ever all dues coming from its change of owner. "The Abbot of

Lands
granted
to
Church

Mortmain
(1279)

¹ The ordinary juryman is indeed paid, but the sum is so small that it cannot be described as a recompense for his loss of time.

² Members of Parliament have been paid since 1911.

Glastonbury", for example, never died, never was a minor and never could be assigned in marriage. Land granted to him paid neither heriot, relief, wardship, nor marriage dues. Beyond this, however, there was a fraudulent practice of handing over land to a religious house and getting it re-granted on easy terms. Edward I's statute of Mortmain (1279) forbade the buying, selling, or acquiring of land in any fashion so that it could pass into *mortmain*; if any such bargain were made, the grant was void, and the land passed to the immediate superior.¹

The nobles were with the king in this matter, since they were always jealous of the churchmen, who had been the chief holders of land in *mortmain*. They also mostly approved the statute *Quia Emptores* (1290). This was designed to check what was called *sub-infeudation*, that is to say, the practice of a feudal-tenant granting away to a sub-tenant part of the land granted to him. The reason why it was tempting to sub-infeud was that thereby the granter got more men under him and thus more power. An ambitious man would make a number of grants — often very petty ones — to his less pushing neighbours, in order that he might have a call on them in case of need; they would accept, since they would expect his protection in return. For two reasons the great landowners and the king (who was the greatest landowner of all) disliked this. To begin with, it involved all feudal ties in a tangle. It often happened that a man would hold land from three or four different people. He might be a tenant-in-chief from the king for one piece, and sub-infeuded to, say, the Earl of Gloucester for another piece, and to Sir Roger, who was himself a tenant of the Abbot of Tewkesbury, for a third. King, Earl, Knight, and Abbot would all have claims on him. Secondly, the tenant, in his anxiety to extend his feudal power over a large array of vassals, might grant away so much of his holding that he would be unable to perform his

¹ Actually, licenses allowing such grants could be, and easily were, obtained.

own due services to his overlord. Hence the statute *Quia Emptores* provided that, if a tenant granted land in this way, the receiver of it would hold, not from the granter, but from the granter's overlord. This statute, like *Mortmain*, favoured the tenants-in-chief, but still more the king, as feudal superior of all land. By increasing the number of tenants-in-chief and diminishing the average size of their holdings, it decreased their social dignity and helped to destroy feudal power.

In another statute, that of Gloucester (1278), Edward tried to check the legal power of feudal lords. This statute instructed the King's justices when they went on their "tours", to inquire by what right (*Quo Warranto*) the feudal lords were holding courts. He meant to deprive persons who could not produce royal charters, of the right to hold such courts. But the barons resisted strongly. Earl Warenne made the famous reply, as he unsheathed his sword, "Here is my warrant!" Eventually, Edward compromised and allowed any baron who could prove that the right had been exercised since the days of Richard I, to continue to exercise it.

One more measure, also of lasting importance in our history, was that known as *De Donis Conditionalibus* (1285), which enabled land to be left to a man and his heirs in such a way that he was forbidden to part with it. This set up what is called "entail". As many estates were thus entailed, much land was secured in the possession of great houses. But it was secured to the heir, the eldest son; except where means of evading the statute were found, the younger sons of the house could get none. Thus, though a small number of landowners were kept great, there was no establishment of a landowning caste, who would regard themselves as noble, being inheritors of land, and despise all landless men as socially inferior; the younger sons of great families had to seek their fortune in the world, either in arms, in the Church, or in the law. Thus, as these pro-

The king
as feudal
superior
of all land

"Quo
War-
ranto"
Feudal
courts

De Donis
(1285).

Entails

fessions were constantly recruited from the younger sons of landed families, no separation grew up between the landed "noble" and the rest. It was not so in France, where all "nobles" remained "nobles", and the immense gap between them and the people was one of the great causes of the Revolution of 1789.

3 EDWARD I AND COMMERCE

Edward I was a man of great political ideas; moreover, he had qualities and advantages which many political thinkers have not got. He was no mere dreamer, but a practical statesman. He not only thought, but he planned. He strove to put his ideas into practice in a logical and orderly way; and being a king, and a very powerful king too, he had the chance of trying his schemes. He could do what he liked; he was not, as statesmen often are nowadays, compelled to be content with half-measures, aiming only at the second best, because the best seems too difficult to attain.

We may sum Edward's policy as one of "orderly consolidation". Two aspects of it — his far-reaching legislative measures, and his shaping of the Model Parliament — have been explained. Another, which was of immense value to the kingdom, though it scarcely finds a place in political history, is seen in his commercial policy. At first each town had aimed at getting privileges for its own townsmen: those who were "free of the town" had all sorts of rights of buying and selling which the stranger from outside did not possess. In the regulations of the town guilds and merchant guilds, which were associations of townsmen in each town, we find hosts of regulations limiting and preventing the "foreigner" from competing or interfering with the townsman's profits; and it must not be supposed that "foreigner" included only those who were not English. The word was of far wider meaning. It meant anyone

Policy of consolidation in law-making, Parliament, and commerce

Restrictions in towns

who was not a townsman. Consequently there was a great jealousy between townsmen of different towns, and the whole trade of the country was hampered.

Although the average townsman was unable to see beyond his own town walls, Edward I was not likely to take so limited a view. He did much to prevent the towns shutting themselves up in a cage of restrictions. He encouraged them where he thought the guild rules to be sensible, as, for instance, in insisting upon good quality of wares, and in trying to prevent people from creating artificial scarcity by buying up quantities of goods with the hope of being able to sell again at higher prices. But he looked at the good of the whole country — at the nation and not at the town. And he did something to check the exclusive spirit which he saw around him. He could not believe that it was wholesome that a Londoner should be regarded as a “foreigner” in Southampton, or a Newcastle man as a “foreigner” in York; and though he did not break down the town privileges altogether, he took them under his royal regulation.

One other measure of Edward's must be noted. In 1290 he expelled the Jews from his kingdom. The medieval Church forbade “usury”, or the lending of money at interest. It did not, however, prevent men from borrowing, and the Jews therefore acted as the persons who loaned out money. Even the kings borrowed from them to finance their wars. In every country and age bitter feeling can be stirred up against those to whom money is owed, and history is stained by frequent outbursts against the Jews, outrageous and untrue stories being used to whip up popular hatred. Edward had forbidden “usury” when he came to the throne, and instead of borrowing from the Jews he borrowed from the Italian bankers.¹ He then fell in with popular feeling by ordering all Jews to leave England.

¹ His grandson Edward III borrowed from the Florentine bankers the sums needed to finance his French wars, and by repudiating his debts ruined the bankers.

CHAPTER 18

AN EARLY GREAT BRITAIN AND ITS
FAILURE

1. WALES

An early national Parliament in which all classes were represented, Great Britain all bear witness to Edward's idea of a "united English nation". But Edward was not content with this. He aimed at something much wider — a united British race. He strove to join under the English crown both Wales and Scotland. In his first object he succeeded: in the latter, he failed. The story of these enterprises is the next main subject.

Conquest of the Welsh marches The Conqueror had hedged in the Welsh by settling on their borders the most warlike of his barons, trusting to employ their turbulent energy to his own gain. His son Rufus blundered into South Wales with an invading army, only to find his slow-moving mail-clad array helpless against the nimble Welshmen. He speedily saw his mistake, and returned to his father's policy, making in it, however, an improvement. He left the task of coping with the Welsh to the barons on the marches — the "lords marcher" — but he stimulated them by granting to them all the land that they could conquer. Piece by piece the lords marcher drove the Welsh back. Each forward step was secured by castles, whose remains still crown so many hilltops in South Wales. The Welsh were pinned in among the hills in the rugged north. All that remained to them was "the Principality", the Snowdon country (Merioneth and Carnarvon, and the island of Anglesey).

Had things gone on thus, an effective but no doubt very brutal conquest might have been completed. But in the reign of Henry III came a sudden revival in the Welsh power, such as often occurs in a downtrodden race. The

barons, too, were fighting among themselves, and the Welsh prince, *Llewelyn ap Gruffydd*, took Simon de Montfort's side, and induced Edward to buy him off in 1269 by surrendering much of the country that had been conquered. *Llewelyn*, not content with the success of his first effort at fishing in troubled waters, tried again. In 1277 he planned a marriage between himself and *Elleanor*, the dead Simon's daughter. This being clearly a prelude to rebellion, Edward led an army into Wales. *Llewelyn* retired with his forces into the *Snowdon* range, feeling sure that the mountains would fight his battles should Edward follow him. Edward was much too wise to try. Instead of wasting his men among steep rocks he blocked all the passes, brought up a fleet to guard the coast, and starved *Llewelyn* out. Yet, when the Welshman surrendered, Edward did not treat him harshly; he made him pay homage, which he had already done in 1269, but left him some of his power, and let him marry *Elleanor*.

Llewelyn,
Prince of
Wales

Edward I
invades
Wales

Treaty
with
Llewelyn

But in the attempt to settle the conquered country, by dividing it into shires after the English fashion and bringing in English laws to replace the Welsh ones, Edward stirred up much bad feeling. Five years later *David*, *Llewelyn's* brother, rebelled. *Llewelyn* at once joined him. Their plans failed completely. *Llewelyn* was killed in single combat by one of Edward's followers; *David* was captured and put to death as a traitor. The north thus came into Edward's hands, and later, in 1301, he showed that he meant to keep it by bestowing on his son the title of the Prince of Wales, a title which has since become familiar in our history. The strong castles of *Harlech* and *Conway* still bear witness to his firm grasp of the Principality.

Rebellion
in Wales

Conquest

The first
Prince of
Wales

In his dealings with the Welsh, Edward showed no desire to be harsh. He was determined to be master of the country, and to make his power a reality; but it was not till *Llewelyn* and *David* proved themselves traitors to their words that Edward became relentless in destroying all elements of

Welsh rule. It was not till statesmanship and treaty proved useless that he used the blunter method of conquest.

In 1284 the *Statute of Rhuddlan* declared Wales to be annexed to the English crown. Wales was divided up into shires. In the north Llewelyn's domains became Carnarvon, Anglesey, Merioneth, and Flint; in the south the conquered districts formed Cardigan and Carmarthen. Each block had its own Justiciar, the northern one being the "Chief Justice", the southern being the "Justice of South Wales". Local assemblies were continued, Welsh law was to be administered in the courts, and Welsh customs and language retained. Having conquered the country, Edward showed himself wise in recognizing national feeling. His conquest of Wales proved very successful and lasting.

Very different was to be the course of his dealings with Scotland. (*Note 25.*)

2. SCOTLAND

(i) EDWARD I AND THE SCOTTISH THRONE

The reigning King of Scotland was Alexander III, whose rule had hitherto proved prosperous (see p. 101). Now came a change.

The end of the reign of Alexander III was darkened with disasters. The King's children, by his first wife, Margaret of England, sister of Edward I, died. Alexander, indeed, was still vigorous. He was only in his forty-fourth year; by a second marriage he might still raise up heirs for the kingdom. Unhappily these hopes were futile. The King himself was killed by falling over the cliffs while riding back at night to rejoin his queen. The only direct descendant was a granddaughter, Margaret, the child of Alexander's daughter who had married Eric, King of Norway.

Here Edward saw his chance of drawing still closer the destinies of Scotland and England. The kingdoms were on good terms. His plan was to unite them by a marriage

The Welsh settlement: the Statute of Rhuddlan

The question of the Scottish succession

Edward I's plans for marriage alliance

between *Margaret, Maid of Norway*, and his own son, Edward, Prince of Wales.

No one can deny that the plan was good, always provided that it was to be wisely carried out. People felt this at the time, for the Scottish Estates wrote to Edward, "we on our part heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to reasonable conditions". Edward was very reasonable. In the *Treaty of Brighthelm*, which arranged the matter, it was laid down that Scotland was to retain her laws, rights, and liberties, and to remain a separate kingdom. Edward made no claim to the overlordship of Scotland at this time, but he certainly was planning for a future union of the kingdoms. To Scotland in general this idea seems to have been not unacceptable — the two nations had long been at peace (indeed, at that time there was no man living who could remember Anglo-Scottish warfare), the anglicization of Scotland had smoothed over disparities of race and customs, and union seemed an almost natural sequel.

Treaty
with
Scotland
(1290)

Unluckily all depended on the Maid of Norway, and she fell ill on the voyage from her father's country to Scotland, and had to be landed in Orkney, where she soon died. Thus Edward's scheme fell to pieces, and, what was far worse, Scotland was left without a direct heir to the throne.

Death
of the
Maid of
Norway
(1290)

Edward might have acted more wisely if he had recognized that his great chance was gone, and had given up any idea of further interference in Scotland. But this was just what Edward could not do. He ordered the learned men of his kingdom to produce evidence showing that Scotland was really a vassal kingdom of England. As a result there was collected a great mass of extracts from chronicles, some of which were fictitious, all of which were doubtful in so far as they referred to a permanent vassalage. Edward, however, was satisfied that they established his claim to overlordship, and he was further encouraged by a request from several of the rival claimants to the Scottish throne that he should act as umpire between them.

Edward
claims
overlord-
ship

Edward
to decide
on dis-
puted
succession

Yet here he and the Scottish barons committed themselves to a course, the only end of which was an appeal to arms. It is all very well to act as umpire: what if the umpire's decision is not accepted? Choosing one candidate is sure to disappoint the rest. No one could imagine that a powerful sovereign like Edward would allow his decision to be defied. Yet the only way to support it was by force. And this meant a struggle of the weak to avoid the dictation of the strong.

Englishmen are too ready to look solely at Edward's object, and to forget his unwise and afterwards violent methods; Scots sometimes only see the latter, and accuse the King of deliberate treachery in all he did. Edward thought of the old English claims over Scotland in the narrow spirit of a lawyer. And, in any case, he wanted to believe in their authenticity. The Scots urged that any homage done by Scottish kings had been for lands in England, and that William the Lion's homage for his whole kingdom had been annulled by Richard I (p. 101). But Edward had determined to be lord over Britain, cost what it might. The Bruces and the Balliols were equally determined to fight for their own interests. Thus, if we argue about oaths and rights we are wasting our breath. Edward may have broken oaths, but Robert Bruce did the same. English troops harried and burnt, and Scottish troops retaliated in kind.

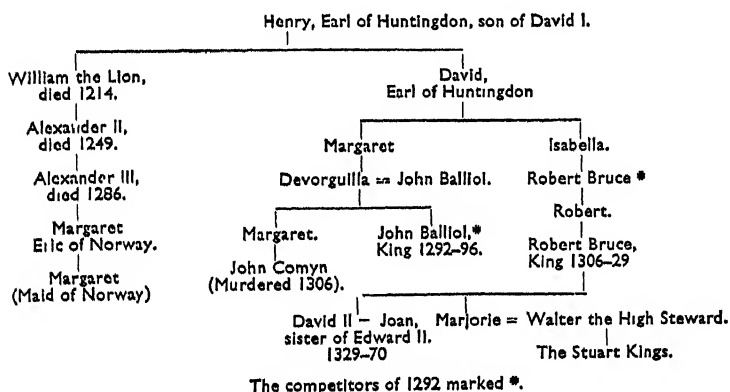
When the Scottish barons met Edward at *Norham*, Edward made it clear that he claimed to be acting as Lord Paramount over Scotland. The candidates and their supporters might have withdrawn then and there. They did not; on the contrary, the nine candidates present, and most of the clerical and lay magnates of the country, after due deliberation, admitted Edward's claim. We cannot call them selfish traitors ready to sell their country for the chance of a crown, for it is clear that so far the mass of the Scottish nation did not resent Edward's claim. They

Question
of
Scottish
homage

Norham
(1292)

believed that he would make an honest choice; they hoped that he would content himself with the mere title of Lord Paramount; and in any case they were influenced by the fear of civil war, and by the threat of the army which Edward had brought with him. Edward was still acting honestly, if somewhat domineeringly. A court of eighty Scots and twenty-four Englishmen tried the question. John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and Hastings, had the best claims. In November, 1292, Edward, acting on the decision of the commission, placed Balliol on the throne.

The
claimants
Balliol
and
Bruce



The reign of *John Balliol* is always regarded as a disgrace alike to king and nation, but it is hard to see that Balliol could have done better. Edward took care, before he set him on the throne, to make him swear to be obedient to him; but the Scottish nation had not the slightest intention of letting him be obedient. A quarrel at once broke out. Macduff, brother to the Earl of Fife, appealed to Edward against one of Balliol's decisions. Edward bade the Scottish King come to England, as his vassal, to have the case tried there. It was clear that if he refused Edward would dethrone him; but if he obeyed his own people would cast him out. He could either keep his oath and betray his

John
Balliol
and his
difficul-
ties

country, or be true to his country by breaking his oath. Such was the unpleasant choice set before him.

Balliol strove to gain time. He protested; he actually came to England. But the Scots had by this time made up their minds. They drove out all Englishmen and seized their estates. They persuaded Balliol to make an alliance with France (1295). As Edward was at war with France, this was open defiance.

As soon as Edward could disentangle himself from his difficulties with France, he marched with an army into Scotland to subdue one whom he looked on as a rebel. He stormed Berwick, where the townsmen were brutally massacred, and his general, Surrey, defeated a Scottish army at *Dunbar* — the Scots rushing down to attack what they thought to be a retreating force, and being themselves routed. Edward soon overran the whole country. Balliol was deposed, and Edward took Scotland for himself, setting up Warenne as Guardian, and Cressingham as Treasurer. Scotland as an independent kingdom seemed to have come to an end.

Thus Edward had been led from policy to force, from being an umpire into becoming a combatant. In following him step by step it is not easy to say at what precise point he transgressed from what was fair into what was not justifiable. Each act may be described as the natural or legal consequence of what went before. Yet none the less at the end he found himself in the position which only " Might " could turn into " Right ". He had undertaken to crush a nation because its chief men had broken faith with him, and this to one whose motto was " Keep troth " may have been reason enough. But the life of a nation cannot be forfeited in this way, and Edward, whatever he thought of himself, was bound to appear to the Scots as a foreigner, aiming at conquest.

Breach
with
England
(1295)

Edward's
invasion

Annexa-
tion of
Scotland

Rise of
national
feeling in
Scotland

(ii) THE FIGHT FOR SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

From the first no one had liked Balliol. Yet when a king of England showed that he meant to conquer Scotland and make it part of his kingdom by force, the whole of Scotland determined to resist. Hitherto Edward had had, in the main, to deal with the Scottish barons, some of whom were of mixed Norman descent, practically all of whom had absorbed the feudal sentiment of fealty to the liege lord. Now he had to encounter something quite different, Scotland in arms against him.

Scotland
in arms

The hero round whom this national spirit gathered was *Sir William Wallace*, a great soldier and a good man. He was joined by a considerable force, though few nobles supported him; either they thought his cause too hopeless to risk their estates, and so were lukewarm, or they were jealous of him as an upstart. Warenne and Cressingham moved from Berwick in search of him, and Wallace posted himself near Stirling. Stirling Bridge was a place of great military importance in Scotland; below it the Forth could not be crossed by an army; close to the west lies a rugged hill district; consequently Stirling commands the only easy access from the south of Scotland to the north. Warenne and Cressingham completely mismanaged the battle; their advance guard was in time to seize the bridge, but retired again. The next day Cressingham insisted on an attack though Wallace was now within easy reach of the bridge and the causeway leading northwards from it, and the English would have to cross it slowly, two by two, for it was narrow; not even when an easy ford close by was pointed out would Cressingham wait to use it.

William
Wallace

Wallace coolly waited till a third of their force was over, then attacked, seized the causeway head, and cut to pieces the body who had crossed, while their comrades stood helpless on the other bank. Cressingham himself fell in the fight, and the whole force was scattered in headlong rout.

The
Battle of
Stirling
Bridge
(1297)

One by one all the fortresses in English hands fell, and Wallace followed up his blow by leading his men to plunder in the northern counties. The pitiless ferocity of Edward's soldiers at Berwick found ready imitators among the Scots, who flayed the dead Cressingham and kept his skin as a token of their triumph, are said to have set fire to the chapel of Dunnottar Castle, leaving the English garrison, who had taken refuge there, the choice between being burnt alive or casting themselves into the sea, and slew unarmed men, women, and children in the northern counties.

Wallace's
Raid on
England

Edward was not the man to put up with this tamely. He hurried back from Flanders, and started in person for Scotland to crush Wallace, who had now been named Guardian of Scotland. But though it was easy to invade Scotland, it was not easy to draw the Scots into a battle. Wallace had wasted the country and withdrawn his men north of Edinburgh. The King could not discover where he was hiding, and had much difficulty in feeding his own army. At length two Scottish nobles, who either were genuinely in Edward's service or could not accept the low-born Wallace as a leader, revealed where the Scots lay. Edward set off instantly, and, making the utmost speed, came on Wallace near *Falkirk* before he had time to retire. Though the Scottish pikemen fought valiantly, they could make no reply to the deadly fire of the English archers; their own archers who might have answered the storm, and their men-at-arms, who could have driven off the archers, had been beaten from the field. The steady array wavered, and when Edward, seeing his chance, poured in a final charge, Wallace's men broke and fled. It is said that 15,000 Scots fell.

Edward
invades
Scotland
(1298)

Battle of
Falkirk
(1298)

For seven years Edward strove to complete his conquest. He led army after army into the country, but so long as Wallace was at large the resistance went on. At length, in 1305, Wallace was betrayed by some of his followers to Sir John Menteith, who was acting as Edward's sheriff in Dumbarton, and by him handed over to Edward. Menteith

Years of
resistance
(1298-
1305)

is generally called a traitor for this, and as a Scot he acted treacherously to his country. Still, he had taken Edward's side, was Edward's officer, and in capturing Wallace was so far doing his duty to the master he had chosen. Wallace was taken to England, and tried as a traitor to King Edward. He denied that he could be a traitor, since he had never sworn to obey Edward. But the King had him condemned. He was hanged, and his body, cut into four pieces, was fixed on the gates of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. Edward meant to warn the Scots against further risings, but he made a great mistake. His merciless treatment of Wallace only made the Scots hate him the more.

Wallace
captured
(1305)

With Wallace dead, Edward might think that Scotland was subdued. In a year, however, the Scots had found a fresh leader. *Robert Bruce*, the grandson of Balliol's rival, had not given up hopes of the crown. Hitherto he had played no more patriotic or consistent a part than most Scottish nobles; he had sworn fealty to Edward, broken it to join Wallace, deserted his cause in turn and made his peace again with Edward, commanded Edward's artillery at the siege of Stirling, and at that very time entered into a treasonable "band" with Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews. This did not seem of much promise, particularly as Bruce followed it up by the murder of his rival, the *Red Comyn*, who was Balliol's nephew and was thus Bruce's most powerful rival. Bruce and Comyn met in a church at Dumfries to discuss their claims and Bruce's plans for an insurrection, and probably a sudden quarrel arose. Bruce stabbed Comyn — a wild act which seemed likely to mar his cause from the first. Not only had he defied Edward; not only, as a red-handed murderer, was he a foe of the Church and an outlaw; but, as his victim had a claim to the Scottish throne and was moreover the most powerful baron in Scotland, Bruce had begun by distracting with a fresh feud a country already, to all seeming, hopelessly divided in the face of the enemy. Moreover, the murder compelled him to act before

Robert
Bruce
(1306)

Murder of
Comyn

he was ready, and left him no choice but to unfurl the standard of independence.

Bruce, however, acted with courage. He hurried to Scone, was crowned King, and gathered a few men. Aymer de Valence pounced on his scanty following at Methven, and scattered it. Bruce had to flee to the Highlands, where, though safe from the English, his own countrymen still sought his blood. John, Lord of Lorne, a cousin of Comyn, pursued Bruce to avenge his murdered kinsman. From all these perils Bruce's own personal strength, and his faithful friends, of whom the chief was Sir James Douglas, "the good Lord James", preserved him. Still, so desperate were his fortunes that he had for a time to take refuge on the lonely island of Rathlin, near the Irish coast. His brother Nigel, taken prisoner at Kildrummie, was hanged, a fate which befell most of his supporters who fell into Edward's hands. Hitherto Edward had been amazingly forbearing with men who had fought against him, usually accepting submission and restoring their estates. Wallace alone had suffered, and he was an outlaw. But now the King's patience was exhausted.

In 1307 the tide turned. Venturing over to Arran, and looking longingly across the sea at his own castle of Turnberry in Carrick, Bruce sent a spy; if there seemed a chance for a surprise, the spy was to light a fire. The spy found no hope, and lit no fire. But Bruce and his comrades saw one, and crossed. For some time he was hunted up and down Galloway and Ayrshire, but every now and again, as at Loch Trool and Loudon Hill, he turned on his pursuers and routed them; and each victory brought him fresh followers. At the English Court men ridiculed the outlaw as "King Hobbe", but Edward knew better. He made ready once more to march into Scotland with an army, but died at Burgh-on-Sands, in sight of the hills where Bruce had struggled so manfully.

Even had Edward lived, he could not have won in the end.

He might have beaten Bruce, but he could not have conquered the Scottish nation and kept it down by force of arms. His plans, promising as they were at the outset, had failed, and his efforts to force them to success had only made failure more hopeless. He had wished to unite England and Scotland; all he had done was to divide them more deeply than they had ever been divided before. Under the sturdy blows of the "Malleus Scotorum" had been forged the tough steel of a nation's character.

CHAPTER 19

EDWARD II (1307-1327)

1. EARLY MISRULE

Kings, like ordinary men, sometimes stand revealed by their favourite tastes. William I was a great hunter, "loving the red deer as their father"; Richard I enjoyed the struggle of a tournament; Henry VIII was a mighty wrestler and great at casting the bar; each of these tastes somewhat betrays the man; Elizabeth's wardrobe illustrates her vanity, just as the love of "sauntering" tells us more than a little of Charles II, the leaden saints round the brim of the hat display Louis XI of France, and the homely leg of mutton and apple dumplings describe George III. Edward II also had his favourite amusements. He was fond of rowing and driving, and proud of his skill in digging ditches and thatching roofs. And he loved also to play at "cross and pile": that is to say, tossing a coin and crying heads or tails.

He was a weak man, placed in a situation which made the worst of his weakness. He did not carry on the work that his father had begun in the consolidation of England; still less could he complete the task which had proved too much for his father, namely, the conquest of Scotland. He was unlucky too in the men about him. Even Henry III, who

Character
of
Edward II

and of
his time

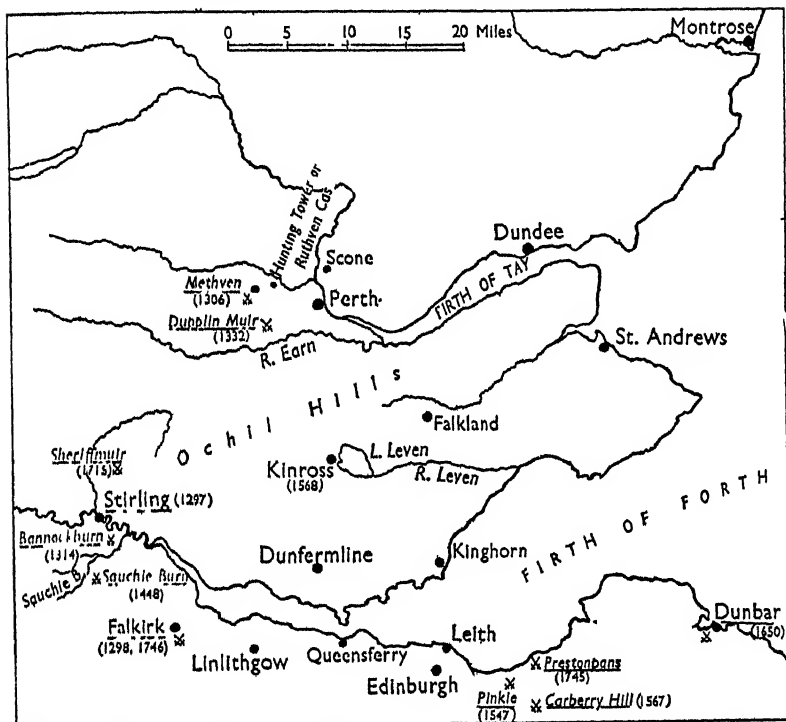
was no more apt as a ruler, had a great churchman and minister in Stephen Langton, and an illustrious rebel in Simon de Montfort. Edward II's friends and foes were alike men of no value.

Incapable of ruling himself or his realm, Edward trusted the task to favourites. The friend of his boyhood, *Piers Gaveston*, had been much disliked by Edward I, and banished from the court. The young King at once recalled him, made him Earl of Cornwall, married him to his niece, and put him over the heads of all the nobility. Gaveston was naturally vain and empty, and the success turned his brain. He combined insolence and incapacity in all he did. His one talent appears to have lain in the bestowing of rude nicknames, which were appropriate enough to stick and pointed enough to sting. The nobles, assembled in Parliament, agreed immediately that he must be banished; but though they drove him out they could not keep him out. A solemn assembly of the Great Council in 1310 appointed "*Lords Ordainers*", who were intended to take the government out of the King's hands, and these officers did indeed produce a scheme of reform known as the Ordinances, which included the appointment of responsible Court officials, the summoning of Parliament, and, of course, the perpetual banishment of Gaveston. Edward II brought him back again for the third time in 1312, but this proved to be his end. He was besieged and captured at Scarborough, taken south into the midst of his enemies, the Earls of Lancaster and Warwick, whom he had nicknamed the "Hog" and the "Black Dog of Arden", and beheaded by them on Blacklow Hill.

2. EDWARD II AND SCOTLAND

Bruce had seen enough of Edward I to realize how greatly he gained by his death. It was more glory, he declared, to win a foot of land from him than to wrest a kingdom from

his son. Once the old "Hammer of the Scots" was gone, his son, Edward II, was revealed as a feeble foe. He trusted to favourites, who proved no more capable than he was himself. His reign was broken by discontent, thriftlessness, armed insurrections. While quarrels and jealousy



SOME OF THE BATTLEFIELDS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

paralysed England at home, she could not be vigorous in maintaining her hold on Scotland.

Step by step Bruce won his way. Aberdeen came into his hand; his brother Edward reduced Galloway to his obedience; the French king gave him secret aid; in 1310 the clergy declared him — excommunicated man as he was — the lawful king of the land. One by one the castles in

Bruce
estab-
lishes his
position
as King

Scotland were wrested from English hands. Lord James Douglas surprised Roxburgh; Randolph, Earl of Moray captured Edinburgh by leading thirty daring men to climb the Castle Rock; but all the exploits were not left to the men-at-arms. A farmer named Binnock, engaging a body of countrymen to aid him, seized Linlithgow by driving a wagon of hay under the gateway, so that the portcullis could not be let down.

By 1314 Stirling Castle alone held out, and Edward II with an army of 20,000 men marched north to relieve it. Bruce awaited his coming near Stirling, and on 22nd June drew up his men south of Stirling Castle on the ground between the Forth and its tributary the Bannock Burn. He had five thousand men, and his lieutenants were his brother Edward, Lord James Douglas, Walter the Steward, and Randolph, Earl of Moray, but he had also 10,000 camp followers and "small-folk" (poor land-holders who, though excellent fighting men, could not afford protective armour) whom he sent to a place of concealment in the rear. His army, true to the Scottish tradition, was essentially an infantry force, while the English army was strong in heavy cavalry to which the footmen were mere auxiliaries.

On 23rd June the English came in sight. A body of cavalry under Clifford crossed the Bannock Burn, but was routed by Randolph, while the English van after crossing the burn retired in disorder. What happened then has been the subject of much controversy, but the main movements of the fight at least are clear. On the morning of the 24th, Bruce drew up his men in schiltrons (bands of spearmen arranged in hollow squares), which repeated charges of the English heavy cavalry failed to dislodge. Then a brilliant charge by his handful of light horse put the English archers out of action. Edward, because of the nature of the ground, could not bring his whole army into action, and the English were thrown into confusion by the awful havoc wrought by the Scottish spears. It was at this juncture that Bruce sent

**Battle of
Bannock-
burn
(1314)**

orders to the hidden "small-folk" to advance. When the English saw this new "army" coming over the ridge of the Gillies' Hill they were filled with consternation. King Edward fled from the field, leaving his army to the unhappy fate of a broken force in a hostile country.

Bannockburn decided the question once for all. England could not conquer Scotland. But Edward II was too obstinate to yield. Henceforth the Scots held steadily the upper hand. Berwick was taken, and one raid after another devastated the English border. One expedition, led by Randolph, harried and burnt its way southward into Yorkshire; encountered there, at Mytton-on-Swale, by the Shire levy headed by a mass of clergy, the Scots made such a slaughter among the white surplices that the fight was known as the "Chapter of Mytton". In 1322 there was a series of invasions and counter-invasions, and King Robert penetrated to Yorkshire, where he won a small victory at Byland Abbey. At last, in 1323, a truce was made for thirteen years; but Edward II persistently refused to recognize the independence of Scotland.

Scottish
attacks on
England

Chapter
of Mytton
(1319)

End of the
struggle

The truce had lasted for only four years when Bruce broke it. Douglas and Randolph seized the moment of Edward II's deposition to march once more across the Border. Edward III, with a large army, marched to meet the Scots. When he at last managed to come up with them they were so strongly posted that he dared not risk an attack across the River Wear. But what he did not venture the Scots did; James Douglas led a night raid into the English camp and actually got to the royal tent before he was driven back. Then the Scots retreated by night, leaving their camp fires burning so that the English did not perceive their going.

Edward
III and
the Scots

This was the last effort. In 1328 peace was made between the two nations at Northampton. Bruce was recognized as lawful King of Scotland, and England gave up all her claims. Scotland had triumphed.

Peace of
North-
ampton
(1328)

Robert Bruce's reign ended in 1329. For Scotland it was

Independence of
Scotland
decided

a memorable reign. Before its close he had obtained a mastery over all his foes at home and abroad. He had established the alliance between Scotland and France which was to lead to so much. He had freed Scotland from the foreign invader. He had united it as it had never been united before. All alike were ready to obey him. The barons, Norman in descent and hitherto half-Norman in feeling, had become good Scotsmen and good patriots. In the fire of national trouble there had been welded a nation, firm, self-reliant, confident, proud of its race and of its king.

3. OVERTHROW OF EDWARD II

Thomas
of
Lancaster

In England the disaster of Bannockburn was turned to advantage by an ambitious noble. This was *Thomas of Lancaster*, son of Edmund Crouchback, the younger brother of Edward I. Thomas held from his father the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, and expected to succeed, through his wife, to the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. His chief exploits up till now had been the destruction of Gaveston and his refusal to go north with Edward to Bannockburn, a piece of fortunate prudence which enabled him to push off all responsibility for that disaster on his cousin, the King. For a year or two he practically ruled the kingdom, till Edward grew restive under his control. As Lancaster's chief allies were great men on the Welsh border, Hereford and the Mortimers, Edward sought to set up a party for himself in the west, and promoted a pair of new favourites, the *Despensers*, father and son, to wealth and possessions. This proved a prelude to more disturbance. The *Despensers* were banished in 1321, but the King, showing some energy for once, collected an army, crushed the western nobles, and drove Lancaster in flight northward. The King's friends turned him at *Boroughbridge*, where he strove to cross the Ure, scattered his men, and took him prisoner. His fate could not be doubtful. He was beheaded at Pontefract and a number of his adherents hanged or

Edward's
new
favourites:
the
Despensers

imprisoned; among the prisoners was Roger Mortimer.

Time was the only thing needed for a fresh outbreak against the King. His promises, indeed, sounded well. In 1322 he and the Despensers repealed the Ordinances, and declared that affairs of interest to the realm were to be treated in Parliament, "as hath heretofore been accustomed". But, as "heretofore accustomed", the feebleness of the King and the greediness of the Despensers soon supplied cause for a new plot. This time it was hatched in France, where Roger Mortimer had joined Queen Isabella, who had gone to France to pay homage. She brought over her son, and the conspirators removed to Hainault, the Queen refusing to return to England and openly discarding her marriage vows. In 1326 the plot was ripe. As soon as the conspirators landed, all that were discontented — and that was the greater part of England — joined them. The King meant to flee to Ireland, but dawdled aimlessly on the Welsh marches till he was captured with his friends, the Despensers. They were hanged; the King was deposed and imprisoned. Soon afterwards he was murdered in Berkeley Castle.

Opposition of Queen and Mortimer

Overthrow of the King

Edward II's catastrophe has nothing to redeem it; it is a sordid tale of selfish violence and family ambition. Yet, while the details are confusing, there are one or two points which will become of importance later, and may therefore be noticed. (*Note 26.*)

Character of his catastrophe

First, then, we observe the "Favourite". He is a man raised up by favour of the king from a more or less insignificant position, as a counterpoise to the power of the old noble families. This is true of Gaveston, and to a certain extent true of the Despensers. But it must also be noted that the "favourite" was also the king's chief agent in carrying on the government. Thus he was not only the recipient of favour, but the bestower of it also. To use a word of much more modern meaning, he was a sort of "minister"; yet he differed from a true minister in that he held his place

The "Favourite"

solely by the king's favour. The point of interest in Edward II's day is that the old hereditary nobility, who naturally hated favourites as upstarts, and regarded the right of filling the king's great offices as belonging to themselves, strove to control these appointments. In 1309, and again in 1322, the name of Parliament was invoked, and an attempt made to limit the king's freedom of choice, but to no real purpose. The fact was that Parliament was still but a name, and had no effective power; it had ideas, but could not enforce them.

CHAPTER 20

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Edward III's reign began in 1327. He was, however, only fifteen years of age, and the real power lay in the hands of the Queen, Roger Mortimer, and the Council of barons. These had been united in the hostility to Edward II, but there agreement ended. The Council was soon shaken by quarrels between Mortimer and Henry of Lancaster (younger brother of Thomas). Each schemed against the other. Mortimer surprised a plot headed by Edward II's half-brothers, the Earls of Norfolk and Kent, and punished the Earl of Kent with death. This piece of violence, added to the facts that the Government had been singularly unsuccessful in its dealings with Scotland, and that all were scandalized by the conduct of Mortimer with Queen Isabella, turned everyone against him. Edward acted quickly and decisively. He caused Mortimer to be seized and hanged, and, by imprisoning his mother, Isabella, he freed himself from leading strings.

Over-
throw of
Mortimer

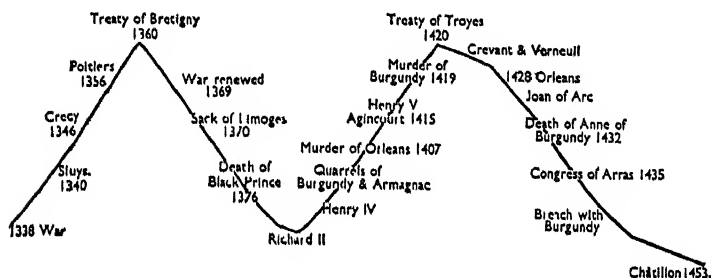
Edward
III seizes
power

The
Hundred
Years' War

In Edward III's reign the main thread of the time is not far to seek. It is found at once in the war with France. Plainly, however, the "Hundred Years' War" — for so it is named — will lead far beyond the reign of Edward III. War did not indeed go on all the time from 1338 till 1453. There were truces now and again, and often long ones.

But, speaking generally, for a hundred years England and France were enemies. In following this extended period of history, which covers the reign of five English kings, it is convenient to fix in the mind some landmarks.

The war may be divided into two periods of great success and two periods of failure; two huge waves of victory, each slipping away in its turn into a deep trough of defeat. The *first wave* covers the early part of Edward III's reign. Periods
of
division
of the war



THE TWO WAVES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

We have the Battles of Crécy and Poitiers, and the Treaty of Bretigny, in which the French king admitted the English claim to the south-west of France. This was followed by a time of decline in the latter part of Edward III's reign, and of complete failure in Richard II's, when a French force landed in Sussex. The *second wave* began to rise with Henry IV, and reached its crest with Henry V. He outdid the glory of Crécy and Poitiers by his victory at Agincourt; he married the King of France's daughter, and was called his heir; his infant son Henry VI was crowned king of France in Paris. The summit of Henry V's glory was marked by a treaty, the Treaty of Troyes, just as the Treaty of Bretigny had been the highest point of Edward III's achievements.

But then came the second period of failure. First, Joan of Arc, and then the breach with Burgundy shook English power. By degrees all was lost that had been won, till, in 1453, nothing was left to England but Calais.

1. THE ENGLISH ARCHER

The striking fact in the war is that over this long period the English won the great battles, and that in spite of being much weaker in numbers. Chroniclers' numbers are not very trustworthy, but neither at Crécy, nor Poitiers, nor Agincourt were the French less than three to one; probably their advantage was still greater, yet in every case they were hopelessly beaten, and indeed, until the appearance of Joan of Arc, no pitched battle went against the English, with the one exception of Beaugé. This superiority in the field was due to the English archer.

Everyone knows his characteristics. He carried the long-bow, a large and stiff weapon. He drew the cord to his ear instead of to the breast, as the shortbowman did. The shaft, thus driven, flew with amazing force; and so long as the archer was supplied with arrows, he could keep up a very rapid and accurate fire.¹

Curiously enough, with all these merits, it was some time before the longbow was valued as it deserved; it is, further, probable that it was not even English in origin. Such captains as Richard I and Simon de Montfort placed more faith in their "arbalestiers" or crossbowmen, and most of the archers who did such execution at Falkirk were Welshmen. Giraldus Cambrensis, who was familiar with Wales in Henry II's reign, records the extraordinary powers of the South Wales archers. He himself saw at Abergavenny the iron points of arrows piercing the massive oak door four inches thick, while one of the Norman knights received a shaft that struck through his mail shirt, his mail

¹ The archer usually carried twenty-four arrows in his quiver. On going into action he emptied his quiver, and thrust the arrows, point downwards, into the ground before him. The longbow was effective to about 180 yards, and arrows would carry to over 300 yards as an extreme range: in rapidity of fire it exceeded any musket before the days of breech-loading. The difficulty with archers was to keep them supplied with arrows. It was common for them to be reduced to picking up the enemy's missiles, or even tearing them out of the dead and returning them.

breeches, his leg, the wood of his saddle, and sunk deep into the horse's flank.

Whether the English copied the longbow from the Welsh or not, it is further clear that longbowmen could not of themselves win battles. They shook the Scots at Falkirk, but, as we have seen, the cavalry took the credit of the victory; many thousands of archers were with Edward II at Bannockburn, yet the battle was completely lost. Moreover, even granting that archers were effective against the Scots, they might not be equally good against the French. The Scots fought on foot, mostly armed with spears or pikes, but the French main strength lay in their mounted men-at-arms, and since the battle of Hastings it had been a universal belief in Europe that no infantry could stand before a charge of this heavy-armed cavalry. It was not enough to have archers; the thing was to use them properly.

The development of the art of war which was to give England such crushing victories in France, began in Scotland. There, on the death of Robert Bruce (who was succeeded by his five-year-old son, David II), Edward Balliol, a refugee in England, determined to make a bid for power. He put himself at the head of a band of nobles called the "Disinherited" and set sail for Scotland. At *Dupplin* he met the Scottish army. Balliol drew up his men in a formation of dismounted men-at-arms in the centre with blocks of archers on the wings. He won a complete victory and was actually crowned King of Scotland by the English and his adherents. The tactics which had given his handful of troops the victory over eleven times their number are the forecast of those to be employed by the English in the Hundred Years' War.

2. THE CAUSES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

In the relations between England and Scotland we find throughout history, right up to the Union of the two Crowns, that France seized every opportunity to stir up trouble in

Scotland whenever she could injure England by so doing. Thus, after Dupplin Moor, Balliol, as King, did homage to Edward III for his kingdom. In 1333 Edward went to his help against the still rebellious Scots, and won the victory of *Halidon Hill* (1333).¹ But the Scots refused to submit, though they sent their boy king David I to France for safety. There Philip VI, the first of the Valois, warmly supported the Scots in their opposition to Edward, and thus the Scottish question was one of the causes of the great war between England and France. (*Note 27.*)

But besides irritation with France over this policy, Edward had deeper causes for hostility. The English *woollen trade* had developed enormously, and depended almost entirely on the export of raw wool to the great Flemish towns. These towns were quarrelling with their overlord, the Count of Flanders, who, in his turn, was vassal to the King of France. Edward considered that if he could establish a claim to be himself King of France, he would gain control of the wool towns.

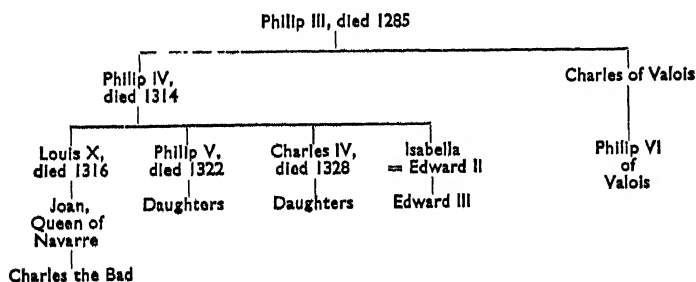
This question of the wool trade was connected with another. England traded extensively with Gascony, the sole fragment remaining to her of the Angevin Empire. The great *wine trade* between the two countries was very influential. The French constantly threatened to absorb Gascony, in which case that trade would be cut off. In 1333, while Edward was in Scotland, the King of France invaded Gascony, and this supplied Edward with the pretext he needed to declare war.

Once war had been decided, Edward looked about for advantages. He specially wished to enlist the help of the Flemings and with this in view, he brought forward his claim to the French throne. For if he were King of France,

¹ This battle illustrates again the uselessness of the Scottish pikemen against archers. Edward was besieging Berwick. To relieve it the Scots had to beat his covering army, and were therefore obliged to attack. Their columns, advancing up the hill, were so riddled with arrows that very few reached the English lines. And when at length they broke and fled, Edward's mounted men cut them to pieces in the retreat.

the Flemings, in fighting for him, would not be guilty of "rebellion".

The claim itself to the throne was a poor one. The three sons of Philip IV¹ had reigned and died leaving no male heirs. Edward, through his mother Isabella, was Philip IV's grandson. The throne, however, had been given to Philip IV's nephew, Philip of Valois (Philip VI). The French argued that by the old custom of the Salian Franks (the so-called *Salic Law*) which governed the succession to the French throne, no woman could succeed, and that therefore Edward's claim through a woman was worthless. Edward refused to accept this argument. But by doing so he knocked the bottom out of his own case, for though the three brother kings had left no sons, they all had daughters, and one of these daughters had a son, Charles the Bad of Navarre. Thus, if the Salic law held, Philip of Valois was the rightful king; if it did not, Charles the Bad should be on the throne; either way Edward had no title. Moreover, having, in 1328, done homage to Philip for Gascony, he had tacitly admitted Philip's title, and barred his own. Legal reasoning, however, was of as little real value here as in Scotland in the days of Edward's grandfather. Armed men were the only arguments that would command a hearing.



¹ The "fatal three", Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV. Superstition declared the extinction of the line to be due to the "curse of the Templars" destroyed by Philip IV.

3. CRÉCY AND POITIERS

War began in 1338, but the early years were singularly unfruitful. No battles took place on land; Edward's allies died or left him. The one achievement was the naval battle of *Sluys* where Philip tried to guard the Flemish coast, but Edward's fleet proved too strong for him. Even at sea we remark the supremacy of the archer, and the new English tactics. Edward used his ships just as he was in the habit of using his men: they were grouped in threes, archers on the flanking ships, and men-at-arms on the centre one. The archers shook the defence; the men-at-arms boarded and beat down what resistance remained. Save for the difference that the English made the attack instead of standing on the defensive, *Sluys* is on the water what all the battles of the time are on land. *Sluys* is important, too, because it gave the English command of the Channel.

It was not till 1346 that a decisive battle was fought. Edward landed a force near Cherbourg to divert the French from an attack on Gascony. Beyond this object, however, his plans do not appear skilful. He loitered up the Seine, giving Paris ample time to put itself in a state of defence, and allowing the French to gather in great force on the northern bank of the river. He failed to surprise Rouen, and eventually, cutting loose from his base in Normandy, hazarded a flank march across the country to join the Flemings. He gave the French the slip at Poissy, crossed the River Seine, and, marching now in desperate haste, covered sixty miles in four days, and drew near the Somme. To his consternation the bridges were all broken, and the fords guarded. He moved down the river, getting into greater difficulties, for the river grew more and more difficult to cross. A French host was already at his heels, when a peasant betrayed to him the place of the very last ford on the river, Blanchetaque. By a moonlight march Edward crossed at low water — for the Somme there is tidal — and the rising

tide prevented immediate pursuit. For the moment he was safe: he had secured a retreat to Flanders. He now made up his mind to fight, should the French pursue him too closely. A suitable position was not far to seek. He found it between *Crécy* and Wadicourt. There he drew up his army in a formation consisting of blocks of dismounted men-at-arms flanked by archers. The French first sent forward their Genoese crossbowmen, whose bolts could not carry as far as the English longbowman's arrows. The Genoese fell into confusion. The French mounted knights rode through them in an attempt to charge. They failed repeatedly, and by dusk the English lines, still holding firm, had won the day.¹

Battle of
Crécy
(1346)

The next morning revealed that the French had lost 1500 knights alone; the common soldiers brought up the total to near ten times the number, while the English loss was little over a hundred; only two knights were killed.

Crécy is generally reckoned among the decisive battles of the world. If completeness of victory is decisiveness, it deserves its place; it settled, too, the pretensions of the feudal chivalry who had been so long the military bullies of Christendom. But so far as the campaign was concerned, it settled nothing. Edward marched north and starved out Calais, turning out many of the French inhabitants, and putting a large English colony in their place. The survivors of the French nobles went home to wonder at their overthrow, but not to learn from it.

Victory
of English

Ten years later the lesson was repeated. King John had replaced Philip on the French throne. Hostilities had languished owing to the plague of the Black Death, which had fallen on Europe in the meantime. In 1355 the war flared up again, this time in the south. The Black Prince led a huge army eastward from Bordeaux, gathering plunder

No settle-
ment of
war

Renewal of
hostilities
(1355)

¹ Two picturesque incidents mark *Crécy*. First, the death of the blind King of Bohemia gave to the victor, the young Prince of Wales, his crest, the "feathers," and motto which are retained to this day. Second, the young Prince, when hard pressed, was left by his father to "win his spurs" by his own valour.

March of Black Prince from Bordeaux on all sides. He repeated the raid the next year, this time striking northwards, and then reaching the Loire followed it westwards to the suburbs of Tours. Here he learnt that the French king had moved from Blois to cut off his retreat. So he withdrew, and making the best speed he could, though laden with plunder, reached *Poitiers*. The two armies just missed falling in with each other on the march. The Black Prince slipped past, and John came up with him at Maupertuis, about seven miles to the south.

Poitiers (1356)

The Black Prince had about 7000 men, of whom 2500 were archers, the bulk of the remainder being men-at-arms with a few light troops; all were mounted. The French were about 20,000, but the levies just drawn from Poitiers were of poor quality. The English plight was so bad that on 18th September the Prince offered to release his prisoners and make a seven years' truce; but the French refused these terms. So on the next day the English made ready to resume their retreat, or fight if need were.

English position

The French coming up in force, the Black Prince was obliged to fight. He drew up his men behind hedges and vineyards. The French cavalry repeatedly hurled themselves against this position. After a prolonged struggle it looked as if the English might be worn down by weight of numbers, but at the critical moment a small force dispatched by Edward under the Captal de Buch appeared on the flank. This was the signal for a general attack by the English. The French believed that the flank attack was made by a larger force than was really present, and gave way to panic. A

Results of Poitiers

general rout ensued, and those who stayed to fight were made prisoners; these included the King, his son Philip, twenty-six great lords, and close on nineteen hundred knights and persons of consequence. The capture of the King alone made the victory important. It was bound to lead to a

Treaty of Bretigny

satisfactory peace. The *Treaty of Bretigny*, in 1360, gave Edward all the duchy of Aquitaine, the county of Ponthieu, and Calais in full sovereignty. John was also to pay a large

ransom. In return, Edward gave up all claim to the throne of France and to the Plantagenet dominions of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. In a word, he gave up the shadow and grasped the substance. (*Note 28.*)

4. THE FIRST PERIOD OF DECLINE

The Treaty of Bretigny (1360) marks the crest of the first wave of English success in France. The results may be summed up shortly under three heads. First, the acquisition of Aquitaine in full sovereignty, that is to say, free from all claims of overlordship on the part of the French Crown. Secondly, the establishment of a close connection between England and the Flemish cities, which is marked by: (*a*) the appearance of England as a sea power, wielding a supremacy of the sea, at any rate on the Channel; (*b*) by the growth of a busy trade in wool and woollen goods; and (*c*) by the holding of Calais as a door through which help might be given the Flemings, or attacks made on France. Thirdly, the perfecting of a new method of fighting, in which the old feudal chivalry became of little use when opposed to a combination of archers and infantry. It is well to bear in mind that these results were of solid value. Edward III's reign is sometimes described as being one of barren glory rather than of substantial gains: that is true in a sense only. Substantial gains were made: the fostering of the wool trade and a control of the chief markets for wool, the capturing of the wine trade of Gascony, the supremacy in the Narrow Seas, the invention of a system of invincible tactics, were all substantial additions to England's power. As a nation she stood far higher in 1360 than in 1327. But the gains did not prove permanent, and so the glory became barren. Edward's war policy had definite enough aims, and for the time attained them; it is only condemned by its failure to hold what it had won. (*Note 29.*)

Results of
the war

Gains of
Edward
III

A period of decline followed. The barons of Aquitaine

Decline of English power rebelled against their English sovereign. In 1369 war began again — this time on different lines. Charles V, the Wise, had no intention of fighting great battles. His chief captain was Du Guesclin, a wily warrior who refused to meet the English in open fight, but let them exhaust their strength in marching about the country. The French shut themselves up in the fortresses and towns. One city, *Limoges*, stood a great siege, at which the Black Prince stained and tarnished the name he had won for himself. He had long been ill with a terrible disease, which had perhaps driven him to violence and ill-temper. When *Limoges* fell, he ordered a ruthless and horrible massacre of civilians, including women and children. Then, in 1372, the English met with a great naval defeat at the Battle of La Rochelle and lost command of the sea. It became impossible for them to fight in the south, and in 1375 a truce was signed which of all their conquests left to them only Calais in the north and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south.

5. CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III

During the last part of his life Edward III had become a feeble old man. He was senile and was now entirely influenced by a bad woman, Alice Perrers. Against her, the King's sons struggled in vain. The Black Prince tried to lead a reforming party, but he was almost an invalid by now. He quarrelled with his brother John of Gaunt, who went even further than he in his demands.

In 1376 at what was called "the good Parliament", the Black Prince scored a brief triumph over his brother, but he was a dying man and hardly had Parliament separated than his life came to its premature end. He left a little son, Richard, as heir, but one whom he feared might suffer at the hands of the ambitious John of Gaunt.

Death of Edward III Within a few months the feeble dishonoured old king followed his son to the grave. Edward III died in 1377,



FRANCE AFTER THE TREATY OF BRETAGNE. 1360

and it was said that Alice Perrers tore the rings from the dying man's fingers before leaving him.

The throne passed to the little son of the Black Prince, who became king as Richard II.

CHAPTER 21

RELIGION: WYCLIF AND THE LOLLARDS

More than a hundred years before Martin Luther began his dispute with the Roman Church which ended in the Reformation, England had seen a churchman start on a very similar career. The story of John Wyclif and his followers, the Lollards, shows clearly that many people in England were dissatisfied with the authority of the pope long before the time came when the nation broke away from the Roman authority, and the Church in England became National.

Early
movement
for
reform in
the
Church

The worst part of John's quarrel with the pope had been that it opened the door to interference and taxation from Rome. This showed itself in Henry III's reign, when that king was flattered by the popes into making loans of money to help the papacy in its final struggle against the empire in the person of Frederick II and his descendants. England was regarded by the popes as a "well of wealth from which they could draw unlimitedly". A very great deal of English land was in the hands of churchmen, and the popes strove continually to keep the churchmen under their own control, and cut them loose from the control of the State. For example, Pope Boniface VIII, in his bull, "Clericis Laicos", directed the clergy to pay no taxes to King Edward I unless by his consent. Edward retaliated by outlawing the clergy who refused to pay, and brought Boniface to withdraw. None the less, the independence of the clergy from the State was a point for which the popes strove steadily, and which the State was sure to resent.

Dislike of
the
papacy

In Edward III's reign this anti-papal feeling became very strong. Men saw a great deal of money being sent to the papal court, and they did not think it right that they should pay it. Each priest and dignitary, including bishops, had, **Annates** for example, on appointment to pay "annates" (that is to say, the first year's income from his appointment) to the pope. They saw, too, a great many foreigners who were appointed by the pope holding rich livings, deaneries, and high posts in the Church, and they would have preferred that Englishmen should have these posts. They saw a few churchmen, each holding many livings, and perhaps never going near some of them, and they contrasted the fine clothes and crowds of servants of these men with the poverty of the parish priests. It seemed to them that these rich churchmen neglected their duty, and thought more of the good things of this world than it was right for them to do. "God," they said, "gave His people to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn."

The feeling of the time is reflected very strongly by **Chaucer and the churchmen** Chaucer, who, in the Prologue of his *Canterbury Tales*, hits off all the weak points of the churchmen. He describes the Prioress as dainty, frivolous, and amiable, wearing a brooch with the motto, "Amor Vincit Omnia", and so soft-hearted that she would weep if she saw a mouse in a trap; the Monk, "full fat and in good poynt", who loved hunting and gaudy apparel more than **The Monk**

"Upon a book in cloystre alway to poure,
Or swynke (work) with his handes, and laboure
As Austyn¹ bid";

The Friar the Friar, an "easy man" to give penance, beloved and familiar with womankind, and

"The beste beggere in his hous,
For though a widowe hadde noght oo schoo (one shoe),
So plesaunt was his *In Principio*,
Yet wolde he have a ferthing or he wente";

¹ Augustine's rule, "*Laborare est orare*".

the Summoner, who taught that "purse was the Arch-deacon's hell", but did not act up to his principles; the Pardoner, with wallet

"Bretful of pardouns come from Rome all hot,
Who made the parsoun and the people his apes".

We must not think that all the churchmen in England were negligent or careless; there were many then — as there always had been — who were bent on doing their duty to the utmost. Witness Chaucer's Poor Parson, who

The
Poor
Parson

"Waited after no pompe and reverence,
But Christes lore and His apostles twelve
He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve".

Unfortunately it was not, for the most part, these men who were in high places. Bishops and the greater men were mostly little known in the countryside; monks led retired and sometimes lazy lives in their monasteries, but no one saw them. More bitter feeling was aroused by the friars, for they were in daily contact with the people.

That the friars, especially the Dominican and Franciscan Friars, should have become the object of dislike is at first sight curious, for these orders were the result of one of those periodical "revivals" in religion which aimed at bringing the Church into more intimate connection with the poor, and giving them practical help and teaching. Both orders began early in the thirteenth century. St. Dominic founded his — the Black Friars — to combat heresy and to strengthen faith. They were accordingly preachers and teachers; men of learning and zeal. St. Francis bade his followers show, by the example of a pure, simple, cheerful, and contented life and charitable acts, what the true followers of Christ should be. Hence his followers¹ — the Grey Friars — were to be like the Apostles, unlearned men, without property, living in poverty amongst the poor, healing the sick and succouring the wretched. For many years both Black Friars and Grey Friars did an enormous amount of good, the Fran-

The Dom-
inicans
and Fran-
ciscans

¹ St. Francis had no wish to found an order. This was done after his death.

ciscans especially being real benefactors of the poor. Before long the Grey Friars also became in part, like the Dominicans, a learned order, and for more than a century the Friars supplied Europe with most of its leaders of thought and learning, such as Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon. Then both sets of friars began to accumulate wealth, not for themselves, but for their orders. Thus they tended to leave the homes of the poor, going instead among the well-to-do, or to the universities, where they became great scholars, but no longer teachers of what they had first been sent to teach, the simple message of Christ. And those who remained scattered over the country were disliked because, being an order founded by a papal decree, they were obedient only to the pope; they were not obliged to obey the English bishops; they often interfered between the parish priest and his flock; they intercepted a great deal of charity for their own order; and as there were occasional black sheep among them, as among all ranks of men, the orders got a bad name. Perhaps jealousy of their popularity and success will account for some of the abuse, but no doubt some of the complaints were well founded.

All these things helped to rouse a feeling of hostility, and, to make matters worse, the popes themselves had at this time fallen on evil days. A pope who was a Frenchman decided to reside not in Rome, which was in a state of great disorder owing to feuds between the nobles, but at Avignon in France; his successors followed his example, and so the popes fell much into the power of the kings of France. Englishmen hated France, with which they were carrying on a prolonged war, and included in their dislike popes who appeared to be French popes. And some of the Avignon popes were men of no exalted aims, more interested in the getting of money than they should have been. They strove to find rich posts for their friends; they reserved the right of appointing to all benefices left vacant by any appointment they made, a claim which enormously extended their patron-

The
papacy

The
popes at
Avignon;
"the Ba-
bylonish
captivity"
(1309-78)

age; and as the popes received "annates" or firstfruits from every benefice to which a churchman was preferred, they arranged their preferments so as to get as much in annates as they could; they often granted "provisions", preferments made in advance, before the holder of an office was dead. Incessant disputes about elections all led to appeals to the courts at Avignon, and much money was gathered over these suits. Clement VI, who particularly distinguished himself by gathering money in this way, remarked with a cynical laugh that none of his predecessors had known how to be popes.

These usurpations of the popes did not go entirely unchecked. In 1351 the statute of *Provisors* was passed, which rendered persons who accepted papal provisions liable to imprisonment. This was followed, in 1353, by the statute of *Præmunire*, which forbade appeals¹ being made to foreign courts, and in 1393 the statute was repeated, in a more strict form, by mentioning that the getting of processes, excommunications, and bulls from Rome² would incur the penalties of *præmunire*, i.e. forfeiture of goods and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. These acts were strong enough, but they were not often enforced. The truth was that generally pope and king could arrange to make and approve such appointments as would suit them both. They had more to gain by being on good terms than by quarrelling. Now and again when the king was displeased, these statutes would be enforced; normally they were allowed to be idle.

The latter part of Edward III's reign was, as we see, one of those periods when king and pope were not friendly. Still worse days were in store for the papacy. In 1378 it had returned to Rome, but the pope who was chosen, Urban VI, proved so violent and insulting to his cardinals that he roused up much opposition. Finally the French cardinals declared Urban's election invalid, and proceeded to elect

¹ In matters of which the cognizance properly belonged to the King's court.

² Whither the popes had returned in 1378.

another Cardinal, who took the title of Clement VII, in 1378. A year later Clement moved from Italy to Avignon, and Europe was immediately divided into two camps, one supporting the Roman pope, the other the Avignonese. Each pope denounced the other as a schismatic; it was not long before pious men, witnessing this indecent contest, began to think that the fault lay with the papacy itself. This opinion was strengthened by the increasing taxation which fell on the Church. If one pope and his papal court were a financial burden to Europe at the best of times, it was doubly a burden to have to support two. Each of the popes busied himself in declaring the other to be anti-Christ, and Europe felt that they were in all probability both right.

Effect of
Schism

Thus when seventy years of "Babylonish captivity" (such was the name given to the period during which the popes lived at Avignon) had ended, only to give place to the "Great Schism" and the scandal of two popes at once, it was certain that there would be many led to criticize and condemn the papacy altogether; of this critical spirit Wyclif is the type.

Wyclif was a Yorkshireman (born in 1320) who had gone to Oxford, where he had become Master of Balliol College.

He looked at matters from a historical point of view. 'The faults of the Church, he said, came in the main from its pursuit of wealth and power on earth; if it had remained true to the poverty and simplicity of the apostles none of the abuses would have occurred. Thus he found nothing in the Bible to justify the payments made to the pope, called annates and firstfruits, or to excuse the holding of more than one benefice at once (pluralities), or to defend the easy and careless lives which were led alike by many churchmen and many friars. These opinions were popular. Wyclif was employed to draw up an answer disputing the pope's demands for money, and he was used by John of Gaunt in his political schemes. (Note 31.)

Wyclif and
papal
abuses

Wyclif proved a ready weapon in John of Gaunt's hand, and John of Gaunt sheltered him from the rage of the clerical party. When Wyclif was summoned to St. Paul's to be tried for what he had written, the Duke stood beside him to defend him; when Courtenay, Bishop of London, declared that Wyclif was little better than a heretic, the Duke threatened to drag Courtenay from the church by the hair of his head. A riot began; the citizens of London rushed in to defend their bishop; and Wyclif nearly lost his life. Brawling and abuse would not mend matters. Wyclif himself took no part in it. Indeed he had no sympathy with John of Gaunt, but as a scholar and reformer he tried to spread his ideas by practical means. He founded an order of preachers, "the Poor Priests", to teach his ideas among the people. He also directly appealed to the people himself by his tracts, which he wrote, not in Latin, the language hitherto used for all religious discussion, but in homely, plain, forcible English, which all could understand. We shall find Luther also discarding Latin in favour of his native German when he too begins his quarrel with the Roman Church. Finally, Wyclif anticipated Luther by causing the whole Bible to be translated from the Latin into English, so that it should no longer be the property of scholars, but open to all to read for themselves, or aloud to their friends who were too ignorant to read.

John of
Gaunt
supports
Wyclif
(1377)

Wyclif's
"Poor
Priests"

Wyclif's
Bible

Some of this work might seem offensive at Rome, but it was applauded in England. Wyclif, however, could not rest here. From attacking the practice of the churchmen, he went on to search deeper. His teaching, in his phrase, "Dominion is founded on grace", was taken to mean that it was lawful to withdraw obedience from those who were sinful, and especially from the unworthy popes; and when he went still further and attacked the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, he began to lose the support that had hitherto been given him. John of Gaunt hurried to Oxford to bid him be silent. The University itself, till then proud

Wyclif's
"heretical"
opinions

Gaunt
turns
against
Wyclif

of him, found itself forced to abandon him. The party of the friars, backed by the King and Archbishop Courtenay, and aided by the pope, proved too strong. Wyclif had to leave Oxford; but even so, though his opinions were declared heretical, his enemies dared not make him a martyr. He died peacefully in his parish at Lutterworth.

Victory
of the
clerical
party

Death of
Wyclif
(1384)

Part of Wyclif's work was before its time. The bulk of Englishmen agreed to blame the wealth and neglect of some churchmen, but they had no mind to cast off the Church. A reform in the government of the church was popular: a change in doctrine was not. We shall see even in Henry VIII's day how slowly and unwillingly England changed its belief.

CHAPTER 22

THE BLACK DEATH AND SOCIAL CHANGES

While Edward III had been waging war in France, great upheavals had taken place in England. To Edward and his warriors the war must have seemed of overwhelming importance, but looking back we can see that the great changes in social and religious life were equally interesting.

The Norman Conquest left the class who cultivated the land largely in the position of "unfree". They were "bound to the land" (*glebae ascripti*) and had to give to their lords so many days' work each week ("week work") and certain extra days' work at the busy season of hay-making, harvest, and ploughing ("boon work"). Besides these they paid small "dues" of eggs, fowls, and so on. So long as these services and dues were paid, they might expect to remain in possession of the small plots of ground on the produce of which they lived, for although it was by no means clear that the law gave them any security of tenure, or would interfere at all between them and their masters, no lord would be tempted to drive off a well-

Social
changes:
villeinage

behaved villein, since to do so would be to lose his labour. As time went on, however, many of the villeins *commuted* their services; that is to say, they had come to an arrangement with their lords to pay money instead of service; for example, if a man's labour was reckoned at twopence a day, he would pay sixpence a week if he had owed three days' work, and further amounts for extra days. The plan was convenient for both parties: the villein got more time to work on his own plot of land; the lord got money with which he could hire labourers, and was saved the trouble of continually striving to compel unwilling or lazy villeins to do their work for him.

Commu-
tation of
service

This plan of "commuting" services for money was spreading gradually over the country, but it was not complete, when it was interrupted by a disaster. This was the Black Death, a fearful plague which ravaged our island from 1348 to 1349.¹ At least one-third of the whole population perished. It is literally true that often the living could scarce bury the dead. In the diocese of Norwich two-thirds of the parish clergy died: in a religious house at Heveringland prior and canons died to a man: of the sixty monks at St. Albans only thirteen survived. From what happened to the clergy we can judge the mortality of laymen. Indeed, high and low, rich and poor, town and country fell before the pestilence. The manor rolls, which record changes among the tenants on an estate, show that often whole families were swept off, leaving none to inherit the land.

The
Black
Death
(1348-49)

It was in these rural districts that the effect was most felt. It is plain that labour would become very hard to get; and, further, since at the height of the plague men were so terrified that they left the harvest to rot ungathered in the fields, corn became scarce. This caused a rise in prices; and as prices rose, and labourers were few, we should be prepared

Fall in
popula-
tion

¹ The "Black Death" swept over all Europe, and was introduced probably from the East. It reached England from the Continent.

Rise in wages to find a rise in wages also. In fact, this is what happened. Wages rose sharply.

Difficulties of the lords This all hit the landowners hard. To begin with, many of their tenants were dead, some without leaving heirs; and so they lost the payments for commuted service which these had owed. Further, they lost in another way. They had commuted services at the old rate of wages. They accepted, say, 2*d.* a day, since for 2*d.* they could hire a labourer who would do the villein's work. But if wages doubled, the 2*d.* which represented a day's labour would only hire half a day's labour. And the rise was more than double. It was a common complaint that whereas a woman's labour had cost $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a day, now it cost 2*d.* or 3*d.* Hence ruin stared the lord in the face if he had to receive at the old rates and pay at the new ones.

Action of Parliament Something clearly had to be done; and as the landowners were strong in Parliament, we shall find their policy in tracing what Parliament did. The first idea was to check this rise in wages which seemed to them ruinous. No injustice was intended, because Parliament meant to check the rise in prices also; if prices remained the same, it was argued, there was no need for wages to rise.

Statutes of Labourers In the series of laws called the *Statutes of Labourers*,¹ labourers were ordered to take the "old" rate of wages — that is to say, the rate current in 1347. It was one thing to make the order, and another to enforce it. The task proved too big. The authority of Parliament was not very active over all England at the best of times in the fourteenth century; but when, owing to the Black Death, all local courts were paralysed, laws were easily evaded. The rise in prices went on; and so long as prices did not fall, men could not live on the old wages. Yet the lords could not afford to see their estates left uncultivated: it were better to lose half than lose all; better to give higher wages than

¹ Issued by proclamation in 1349; enacted as a Statute in 1351; repeated with additional penalties in 1357 and 1360.

have no labourers. Thus many lords were tempted to break the very laws which were intended to protect them, by offering the higher wages which Parliament prohibited. Parliament truly showed no lack of vigour or courage in its opinions. It reinforced the Statute of Labourers by threats of imprisonment, branding with a hot iron, slavery, and even death. But even ferocious penalties will not make men obey impossible laws. If it was a choice between the certainty of starvation and the chance of punishment, no one could doubt what the choice would be.

Here the class interest of Parliament stood revealed. We may find a justification in theory for their action: it may be allowed that they meant no wrong. But when their remedy failed, the selfishness of the landowners — and the landowners meant Parliament under another name — is betrayed in the obstinate savageness which added penalty to penalty to drive men into suffering. England was on the threshold of the first great struggle between labour and capital: the struggle between “we cannot” and “we will make you”.

In another respect the reign of Edward III was important in social history. It was a period during which the great *woollen industry* rose to increased prosperity. England had for long been exporting raw wool — indeed, she was the chief source of wool for all Europe. The great pastoral areas of Yorkshire and of the Cotswolds provided the flocks for this raw material, which was exported to centres abroad, chiefly to Flanders, to be woven into cloth. The right to export wool was placed in the hands of a body called the “merchants of the staple”. The King obtained an important part of his income from the tax of 6s. 8d. levied on each sack of wool exported, and the revenue from this tax rose to £68,000 per annum.

The
wool trade
under
Edward
III

Edward III used this organization of the Staple as a weapon against his enemies. The Staple had its headquarters in a town or towns nominated by the King. Edward

moved the Staple, first to Bruges when he wished to ally with the Flemings; then to England when the foreign war made Bruges unsuitable; finally to Calais, then an English possession.

He also interested himself in other gains which England might obtain from his Flemish alliance. He brought over weavers to East Anglia¹ and revived the manufacture of cloth. This was the time when the city of Norwich became one of the largest and richest in the kingdom. Norfolk, indeed, specialized in one kind of cloth, called "Worsted", after a village of that name, a little place which to-day has only its great church to show what was its former prosperity and importance. The industry thus revived was destined to grow continually until it became, as it has remained, one of the chief sources of English wealth.

The weavers, moreover, worked on their own lines, breaking away from the guilds, which from this time began to decay. The cloth industry gradually centred round the "clothier", who was a capitalist manufacturer buying wool, sending it to be "broken" and "combed", then passing it on to a fresh set of workers to be spun, woven, and dyed. Thus he managed the whole production of the article, took all the risks, and received his due profit.

CHAPTER 23

RICHARD II (1377-1399)

1. THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

Richard II was twelve years old when he became King, but government lay in the hands of his uncle, John of Gaunt.

The country was restless and unhappy. The Statute of

¹ Norfolk and Suffolk still bear many signs of this ancient connection with the Low Countries, in the houses with "Dutch" gables, steep roofs, and so on.

Labourers had "tried to put the clock back". The peasants found that they did not get a fair wage, nor could they move from their homes to the towns to get work where wages were better. Some landlords now took to sheep-farming, instead of corn-growing, and labourers' wages fell while unemployment increased. A Kentish priest *John Ball* began to preach against the lords. (Note 30.)

Agrarian
discontentJohn
Ball

He taught, "Things will never go right in England so long as there be villain and gentlemen; by what right are they whom we call lords greater than we?"

This teaching was echoed in the rhyme that ran through England:

"When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?"

Rebellion only waited for an occasion, and the King's advisers gave it. They were at their wits' end for money. In 1377 a poll tax of carefully graduated amount had been taken. In 1380 the tax was repeated, but much less distinction was now drawn between rich and poor. The wealthiest paid not more than a pound; even the poorest paid a shilling. As a shilling at the legal rates of wages represented about a whole week's wage, the oppressiveness of it may easily be understood. It caused the smouldering discontent to burst into flames. In 1381 risings took place in East Anglia and in all the counties near London. The most pressing danger came from the Kentishmen. Under their leader, *Wat Tyler*, they rolled on towards the capital, burning manor houses and the court rolls, which held the record of their serfdom, and hanging the lawyers "for", as they said, "not till these be dead would England enjoy its freedom again". The artisans of the city opened the gates. John of Gaunt, the young King's uncle, who was practically ruler of the kingdom, was absent in the north, and the rioters pillaged and burnt his palace at the Savoy; they forced their way into the Tower, and murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Treasurer, who had proposed the hated poll tax. Panic

Poll Tax

The
Peasants'
Revolt
(1381)Wat
Tyler

Richard II and the rebels seized the Court, but King Richard II, a boy of sixteen, remained cool at a time when there was the utmost need of courage and coolness. He pacified the Essex rioters at Mile-End by granting them the freedom which they demanded, and as a pledge caused royal banners to be delivered to the men of each shire as a sign that they were no more serfs, and that they were pardoned for their rebellion. Content with this, many went home, "but the great venom still remained behind" in the ringleaders, Wat Tyler, and John Ball. Next day the King went to meet the Kentishmen at Smithfield. Their leader, Wat Tyler, rode up so near to the King that "his horse's head touched the croup of the King's saddle", and began a dispute with the King's attendants. Walworth, Mayor of London, thinking that he **Death of Tyler** meant to attack the King, cut him down. The mob were bending their bows to shoot at the royal party when Richard rode forward alone and shouted to them: "I will be your leader", and by fair words and promises got them to disperse quietly.

End of the Revolt This exhibition of opportune bravery was worthy of the son of the Black Prince: unhappily the end was less creditable. The promises were not kept. It is true that the King **Promises to rebels broken** had, in promising freedom, promised more than he should have done. He was giving what was not his to give; granting away the property of the landowners, for, as we have seen, the right to command the labour of serfs was property in the strictest sense of the word. Still, seeing that the King had saved the life of himself and his friends by his pledges, some effort should have been made to keep them. Unluckily the continued rioting in the Eastern counties, the burnings, murders, and brutalities, made it difficult to pardon the rioters. So, the first crisis over, the King employed force and put down the Peasants' Revolt with great severity.

Thus injustice had led to violence, as it often does, and neither party had gained. In few cases were the lords able

to force their serfs to pay services again; on the other hand, many rioters were hanged, and the rebels did not get the abolition of serfdom which they had demanded.

Since labour could not be obtained at the old rates, or services re-exacted without danger of violence and murder, it was necessary to pay the new rates, or to do with less labour. Some lords granted land on lease to tenants for a rent, giving them stock as well as land. Thus the tenant had to find the labour; the lord avoided the difficulty. Here we have the beginnings of the modern farmer, a person who stands between the labourer and the landowner. Others, however, met the difficulty in another way. There was a great demand at the time for wool, and English wool was then the best that could be had. So, many lords started sheep-farming instead of arable farming. It paid better, because less labour was needed. Many labourers were required for a large arable farm; but when it was laid down in grass one or two shepherds could tend all the sheep on it.

Changes
in agri-
cultural
system

Land let
on lease

Sheep-
farming

Thus sheep-farming led to many men being out of employment; and as under the old system the serfs' small patches of land were often mixed up with the wide holdings of the landowner, now the latter came to wish to evict the serfs and take their land for sheep-farms. He enclosed also the "waste" or common land on which the serfs had pastured their cattle, and this, too, made it hard for the serfs to keep their holdings. Thus the landowners who had at first struggled to keep their serfs, ended by trying to drive them off altogether. No doubt great misery was often caused by this depopulation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Parliament tried to stop this process of enclosure for sheep-farms, but without much result.

Depopu-
lation

So in the end the effects of the Black Death were extraordinarily wide. It changed the face of rural England. It broke up the old "manorial system": it prepared the way for modern conditions, under which land is let at a money rent: it did much to consolidate properties, and gave

Effects
of the
Revolt

thereby the chance for the trying of better methods of farming: and in the end it caused villeinage to disappear. It was not that the peasants won freedom immediately by their revolt, for in some cases the revolt made their chains tighter. Yet this was only for the time. By degrees the labour of villeins came to be no longer required; and the lords granted freedom easily since villeinage was no longer worth keeping. The boon to the peasants, however, was an inestimable one. 'Their prayer had been granted — "Lord, Thou hast heard the desire of the poor: that the man of the earth be no more exalted against them"'.

2. MISRULE OF RICHARD II

Richard, as soon as he could, wished to throw off the control of his uncle. His reign in one sense resolves itself into a struggle between the King and the new house of Lancaster. John of Gaunt, the third son of Edward III, was now the eldest surviving uncle of the King. He was also the most powerful. His first wife, Blanche of Lancaster, brought him the Duchy of Lancaster and the earldoms of Derby and Leicester. His son Henry married the great heiress Mary Bohun, and gained the Dukedom of Hereford.

Richard's character makes him, personally, a fascinating study. Golden-haired and handsome, he was extremely attractive, but just as his father, the Black Prince, in the latter part of his life showed himself violent-tempered and cruel, so Richard, too, had a terrible streak of cruelty and violence in him, and this became worse after the death of his dearly loved wife, Anne of Bohemia.

Richard soon showed himself determined to assert his independence against his uncle, and began to oppose him in every way. John of Gaunt had favoured Wyclif and the Lollards. Richard now persecuted them. He ordered Wyclif's works to be destroyed, and issued an ordinance against the "Poor Priests". The Peasants' Revolt and its misfortunes were attributed to the misgovernment of Lan-

caster, and in 1386 he withdrew from England altogether, finding himself so unpopular with people and King. He went off to Spain where, through his mother, he considered he had a claim to the throne of Castile, and there he remained for a few years. His son Henry, however, took up his father's policy of opposition and led the attack on Richard.

Richard was extravagant, and the friends with whom he surrounded himself, especially de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and de Vere, Earl of Oxford, were unpopular. The Duke of Gloucester, the King's youngest uncle, acted through Parliament and asked for a commission to regulate the expenses of the royal household. In 1386 Parliament went further and asked for the dismissal of Suffolk and Oxford. The King refused, and his friends took up arms in their own defence. They were led by de Vere, who was defeated at the battle of Radcot Bridge (1387). Now Henry of Derby, supported by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and by the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, called themselves the "*Lords Appellant*", because they appealed to Parliament to "impeach" the King's friends. This meant that the accused were not tried by the law of the land in the law courts, but were tried by Parliament, which earned by its savagery the name of "Merciless". At the session which followed, the King's friends were condemned and executed, and the King had to put himself entirely under the rule of the "*Appellants*". (Note 32.)

Richard's
friends

Radcot
Bridge

The Lords
Appellant
(1386)

The
Merciless
Parlia-
ment
(1388)

Whatever his feelings, Richard knew how to be patient. For three years he quietly accepted the position, and Thomas of Gloucester acted practically as ruler of the kingdom. Then in 1389 Richard declared that he "was of an age to manage the kingdom", and took power for himself. For eight years he ruled peacefully, and the country had some chance of settling down. Then trouble arose, and it came from Richard's foreign policy, which was based on peace with France.

Richard's
personal
rule

The
French
War

The interminable war begun by Edward III still lingered

Disasters in France on. Disaster, indeed, had come to the English in France. Desolated by the Black Death, torn by the great Revolt of 1389, England had no energy to spend on the foreign war. The French had recaptured Aquitaine, and all Gascony except Bordeaux and Bayonne. In 1377, the year of Richard's accession, they had even crossed the Channel and raided England, penetrating into Sussex. Richard, when he began his personal rule, resolved on peace, and despite the clamour of his opponents he made a truce with France. Then, in 1396, he decided to go further and, his first wife having died, he made a formal alliance with France and married the little French princess, Isabella.

Raid on England

Truce of 1396

Marriage alliance

Gloucester and the war-party protested violently against the peace. Gloucester revived, too, the accusations of extravagance against the King and his court. Richard would not stand this revival of trouble. He struck, and struck hard. Gloucester was arrested, and hurried over to Calais, where soon after he died in prison (murdered, so men began to say); another former Lord Appellant, Arundel, was beheaded, and a third, Warwick, was banished. Richard now showed that he had never forgotten the injuries done to him through the execution of his friends. He called a Parliament at Shrewsbury, packed with his supporters, which laid down that no restraint could legally be put on the King, and which gave the King the right to rule through a commission without summoning Parliament. He became thereby an absolute ruler.

Attack on his opponents

Death of Gloucester

Parliament of Shrewsbury

He soon showed what that rule would be. So arbitrary and violent did he become that some have thought he may have been insane. He taxed ruthlessly, raising quite illegal forced loans and imposing heavy fines, and he surrounded himself with hordes of retainers in livery and broke out into the wildest extravagance. The people began to suffer under his actions and to complain.¹

Richard's despotism

¹ Piers Plowman gives a most vivid account of the feeling and sufferings of the poor, and their resentment against the King.

Finally, he made the fatal mistake which was to lose him his throne and his life. Henry, eldest son of Gaunt, now Duke of Hereford, had quarrelled violently with the Duke of Norfolk in the King's presence. Richard tyrannically banished both from the country (1398). The next year, old John of Gaunt died, and Richard at once declared all his vast possessions forfeit to the Crown. This was an offence against every owner of property, and it roused the nobles against the King. Henry was determined to resist this seizure of his inheritance. He saw his opportunity when Richard went across to Ireland to put down disorder there. In his absence Henry landed in Yorkshire. Nobles flocked to meet him, notably the Percies of Northumberland whom Richard had antagonized and banished from court. Richard on hearing the news tried to return at once, but he was detained by contrary winds, and when at length he landed in Wales, he found that his subjects had rallied round Henry while his own soldiers had deserted him. He surrendered to his cousin at Conway, and was taken to London.

Attack on
Henry of
Lan-
caster

Richard in
Ireland

Henry
lands in
Yorkshire

Probably Henry, when he first returned, meant to claim only his own estates, but the overwhelming support of all classes, and the universal discontent with Richard's rule, showed him that he could go further. The King was induced to abdicate, and from the Tower where he was imprisoned he sent a paper of abdication to be presented to Parliament.

Richard's
abdica-
tion

When the document had been read, Henry stepped forward, and standing before the empty throne, put forward his claim to the Crown. Parliament accepted that claim and he was hailed as King.

Henry
claims
the
crown

A few months later Richard, who had been removed to Pontefract, died. No one knows how, but there can be little doubt that he was put to death. Henry gave him a splendid funeral, and later Henry V gave him a beautiful tomb in Westminster Abbey. His fate was more tragic than that of Edward II, his predecessor, for Richard had greater gifts.

Death of
Richard

NOTES ON PERIOD THREE (1216-1399)

RULERS OF ENGLAND

HENRY III (1216-1272)
EDWARD I (1272-1307)
EDWARD II (1307-1327)
EDWARD III (1327-1377)
RICHARD II (1377-1399)

RULERS OF SCOTLAND

ALEXANDER II (1214-1249)
ALEXANDER III (1249-1286)
MARGARET (The Maid of Norway) (1286-1290)
THE FIRST INTERREGNUM (1290-1292)
JOHN (Balliol) (1292-1296)
THE SECOND INTERREGNUM (1296-1306)
ROBERT I (Bruce) (1306-1329)
DAVID II (1329-1371)
ROBERT II (1371-1390)
ROBERT III (1390-1406)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: PHILIP II (1180-1223)
LOUIS IX (1226-1270)
PHILIP VI (1328-1350)
JOHN (1350-1364)
CHARLES VI (1380-1422)
EMPEROR: FREDERICK II (1215-1250)

NOTE 22.—MISRULE OF HENRY III

1. During Henry's minority, *Hubert de Burgh* governed the kingdom, and ruled well, putting down disorder.
2. When Henry came of age he chose bad advisers, notably *Peter des Roches*, and under the influence of *Queen Eleanor* of Provence, foreigners poured into the country.

- 3 Henry accepted the throne of Naples for one of his sons, and involved England in war in Naples, as the ally of the papacy.
- 4 Against continued misrule, the barons protested, and in a meeting at Oxford drew up the *Provisions of Oxford* (1258)
 This set up a council of 15 to govern the realm, and this council was to consult with another 12, chosen by the barons, to redress grievances, and with yet another 12 to supervise finance
 The meeting at Oxford was later called "the Mad Parliament" but it was really just a meeting of the chief barons, led by *Simon de Montfort*
5. The government by committee failed, and Simon headed open rebellion, which triumphed at Lewes.

NOTE 23. — EDWARD I: THE GROWTH OF PARLIAMENT

1. Early assemblies.

- (a) The *Witan* was an assembly dating back to tribal days, which advised the king. It was composed of the chief men in the kingdom. In early days it chose the person to succeed to the crown, e.g. the *Witan* offered the crown to Canute and to William the Conqueror.
- (b) William I used his "council" to advise him. This was a feudal assembly.

2. Early use of representatives.

- (a) The Normans used representatives to give local information to officials, e.g. *Domesday Book* was based on information given by the priest, the reeve, and men from each vill.
- (b) Henry II used local representatives to give information in lawsuits, the jury in civil and criminal cases.
- (c) Henry II and Richard I used local representatives to assess property for taxation, e.g. the Saladin tithe and Richard's ransom, and the Assize of Arms.
- (d) The Church used representatives in its assemblies.

3. Representative Assemblies.

- (a) Under *John* representatives had been called from the shires to a meeting at St Albans (1213).
- (b) During Henry III's minority representatives of the shires had frequently been called to discuss grants of money.
- (c) *Simon de Montfort* in 1265 called an assembly of representatives consisting of 2 Knights from each shire, and 2 citizens from certain cities, and 2 burgesses from certain boroughs. Note that he only called representatives from towns which favoured his cause, and there were no representatives of the clergy.

4. **The Model Parliament.** After various experiments, in 1295 Edward I called a representative assembly which has been considered the first fully representative Parliament. To it came:

- (a) all barons, earls, bishops, and certain abbots summoned individually as tenants in chief. This is still the procedure in calling together the House of Lords.
- (b) The sheriffs were bidden to summon meetings in every shire to elect representatives (2 for each shire). The boroughs also chose representatives, 2 for each borough.
- (c) The clergy were represented by proctors chosen by diocesan assemblies of the clergy.

Note that representatives of the shires sat together with the representatives of the merchants and of the lesser clergy. Hence we do not get our assembly divided into "estates" as in France.

NOTE 21.—EDWARD I AND THE ENGLISH LAW

Edward's legislation is of great importance. His land laws have regulated the basis of our land owning system down to modern times.

1. He checked or removed the feudal influence which led to the evil power of the barons.

The statute *Quia Emptores* (1290) stopped "sub-infeudation". That is to say, if land were bought, the purchaser became the vassal of the over-lord, and not of the person who had sold to him.

2. He prevented land from passing into the control of the Church, or corporate bodies by *Mortmain* (1279) which prevented land passing to the Church in such a way that the lord would lose his feudal dues of marriage, wardship, and inheritance. Special leave had to be obtained for lands to go to the Church, though this was often granted.
3. He checked the splitting up of the estates by *De Donis* (1285) which allowed a man to create an "entail" and pass on his property intact to his heir.
4. He checked the private courts of justice of the barons by *Quo Warranto* writs, which obliged a lord to produce documents proving his right to hold such courts. Most lords could not produce such documents.

NOTE 25.—EDWARD I AND AN EARLY GREAT BRITAIN

1. **The Conquest of Wales.**

- (a) *Llewelyn* of Wales had supported Simon de Montfort. In 1277 Edward sent an expedition and defeated him, but took no severe measures.
- (b) In 1282 *Llewelyn* joined his brother David in rebellion. Edward defeated him and conquered all North Wales.

(c) By the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (1284), Wales was divided into shires, and at the same time Edward made his own heir the first Prince of Wales. He left the Principality with its own speech, laws, and customs.

2. The attempted conquest of Scotland.

- (a) Edward first tried to unite England and Scotland by marriage, but the death of the little Scottish Queen stopped this (1290)
- (b) The disputes over the Scottish succession decided by Edward in favour of *Balliol* (1292). Edward insisted on recognition of his overlordship of Scotland, and he tried to force the Scots to come and fight for him in France (1294)
- (c) National feeling was roused against him, and Balliol allied with France (1295). Edward defeated Balliol and declared *Scotland annexed*
- (d) The Scots rose under *William Wallace*, and defeated Edward's troops at *Stirling* (1297), but Wallace was then defeated at *Fal-hirk* (1298). War continued till 1305 when Wallace was captured and executed
- (e) *Robert the Bruce* now took Wallace's place as leader and was crowned King. Fresh revolts broke out. In 1307 Bruce won many victories, and Edward started from England to fight against him, but died on the way.

NOTE 26.—MISRULE OF EDWARD II

Due to the personal character of the King, and his rule by favourites.

1. Edward was influenced first by *Piers Gaveston*, and the nobles could not put up with his misrule. In 1310 the Council appointed a committee, called the *Lords Ordainers*, to govern. Gaveston was exiled, but returned, was captured, and executed (1312).
2. **Loss of Scotland.**
Edward II marched north, but his army was totally defeated at *Bannockburn* (1314) and Scotland regained her independence (Treaty of Northampton, 1328).
3. Thomas of Lancaster, uncle of the King, took advantage of the discontent over Bannockburn and headed a party against the King. Edward, to strengthen himself made friends with Lancaster's enemies the *Despensers*. In 1322 he defeated Lancaster at *Boroughbridge* and beheaded him.
4. The rule of the *Despensers* was unpopular, and the Queen and *Mortimer* plotted against the King in 1326. Edward was captured, the *Despensers* executed, and Edward murdered.

Note: The revolts against Edward are rather different from earlier revolts against the king, for they are aimed against the rule of a favourite minister, and they show members of the royal family heading the revolt against the sovereign.

NOTE 27. — EDWARD III AND THE CAUSES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1. France took the side of Scotland in her struggle against England, and received David Bruce as a fugitive (1333).
- 2 **Economic causes:**
 - (a) England traded in wool with Flanders, and the Flemish towns were in revolt against their overlord the King of France. Edward wished to draw closer to the Flemings
 - (b) England carried on a great trade in wine with Gascony, and the French frequently threatened to absorb Gascony and so cut off this trade.
3. Edward was involved in perpetual disputes as to the performance of homage to the French king for Gascony.
4. After war began, Edward wished to give the Flemings a good excuse for fighting against France, so he brought forward his claim to the throne of France, and the Flemings could claim to be fighting on behalf of their rightful overlord.

NOTE 28. — DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART OF WAR

1. The English archers used the longbow (originally Welsh). Proved effective at Falkirk (1298). At Dupplin Moor (1332) the Scots put men-at-arms in the centre, and archers on the flanks.
2. At Crécy (1346) Edward III used blocks of men-at-arms with archers pushed forward in between, so as to shoot at the flanks of advancing forces
3. At Poitiers (1356) the Black Prince used archers as a screen, and men-at-arms behind. A small force then attacked the French flanks.
4. The French invariably attacked in successive "waves", and were shot down by the archers. They never tried a flank attack. Feudal armies as a rule attempted no manoeuvres.
5. The English successes were due to their use of a combined force of archers and men-at-arms, but again this force stood on the defensive, and except at Poitiers no effort was made at flank movements. The important point was that the English men-at-arms fought on foot.

NOTE 29. — CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH POWER IN FRANCE

1. After *Treaty of Brétigny*, 1360, the English lost vigour. The King was senile, the Black Prince an invalid, and his brothers quarrelsome and incompetent. After the death of Edward III there were perpetual struggles by war factions in England.

2. On the other hand, the French leaders were stronger and more energetic, and the King, Charles V, proved one of the ablest of the French kings. The French became more united in their desire to drive out the invaders.
3. The English lost command of the sea, and thus the French could harry the English garrisons, especially in Gascony.

NOTE 30 — THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

Causes:

1. The *Black Death* (1347) had caused a great decline in the number of labourers. The lords tried to check the rise in wages which followed. *Statute of Labourers* (1349) fixed wages at the rate current in 1347.
2. As the price of labour rose, the lords tried to go back to the performance of services as rent, instead of allowing "commutation", i.e. payment of rent in money.
3. Farmers took to *raising sheep* instead of growing corn, and thus threw men out of work, but the unemployed could not get adequate wages owing to the *Statute of Labourers*.
4. The poll-tax of 1380 was very heavy, and pressed most upon the very poor with large families.

NOTE 31 — WYCLIF AND THE ANTI-PAPAL MOVEMENT

1. England had always stood out against papal pretensions. William I only allowed papal decrees to be confirmed subject to his consent. Edward I had forced the clergy to pay taxes, and defied the pope by outlawing those who refused to pay. Under Edward III people objected to "Annates", the payment of the first year's income of all benefices to Rome.
2. The *Friars* had become intensely unpopular, for they were obedient only to the pope, not to the English bishops.
3. The *Papacy* was ill-reputed, owing to the popes having fled from Rome to Avignon, and being under French influence, and in 1378 came the *Great Schism* when two popes were elected. The Council of Pisa (1404) tried to end the schism by declaring both popes illegally elected and choosing a third, but as neither of the others would resign his claim, matters were even worse.
4. In 1351 *Statute of Provisors* forbade priests to accept appointments made by the pope "providing" them with benefices before the actual holder was dead. *Statute of Praemunire* (1353) forbade appeals to the papal court.
5. Against the abuses of the papacy and of the friars *Wyclif* began to preach:
 - (a) He denounced "annates" and "pluralities", i.e. the holding of more than one benefice.

- (b) He founded "Poor Priests" to go about and teach the people.
 - (c) He encouraged the use of English, not Latin, in his tracts, and he *translated the Bible into English*.
 - (d) Finally he went further and taught that "Dominion is founded on grace", which meant obedience should not be given to a bad man, priest, pope, or king
- 6 This caused the Crown to join the papacy in suppressing Wyclif's teaching, and he fell into disgrace.

NOTE 32. — MISRULE OF RICHARD II FACTIONS DURING HIS REIGN

1. **First phase:**

- (a) During the latter years of Edward III, his sons had struggled for supremacy; the Black Prince's party had been opposed by John of Gaunt's party
- (b) During Richard's minority, *John of Gaunt* was very powerful. Held Duchy of Lancaster, earldom and duchy of Leicester, and his son held dukedom of Hereford. Gaunt favoured Wyclif, and supported him in his reforms. Richard II opposed Wyclif, and persecuted the Lollards. Gaunt was blamed for the Peasants' Revolt, and withdrew to Spain, where he claimed the throne of Castile.
- (c) *Henry*, Gaunt's eldest son, Earl of Derby (later Duke of Hereford) then joined the opposition party. After 1386 Richard's extravagance and misgovernment made him unpopular. Derby joined with Thomas, *Duke of Gloucester* and their party, the *Lords Appellant*, overthrew the King's friends and forced him to accept their domination. Richard's friends, de Vere and de la Pole, executed by the Merciless Parliament (1388). [Compare with Edward II who in the same way was forced to accept the Lords Ordainers.]

- 2. **Second phase.** In 1389 Richard asserted himself and dismissed the Lords Appellant. He governed peaceably, and apparently successfully, for eight years.
- 3. **Third phase.** Richard, who had great ability and originality, wished now to end the long hostility to France. He made an alliance with the French king, and married the French king's daughter Isabella. Gloucester headed the party which wanted war. Richard attacked and overthrew his enemies; Gloucester died in prison and the other opposing lords were executed or banished. [Compare with Edward II who overthrew the Lords Ordainers.]
- 4. **Last phase.** Richard now acted as a despot and became universally detested. His rule was in great contrast with his earlier better government, and his violence and rage grew upon him.

He first banished Henry of Derby (now Duke of Hereford) and at

Gaunt's death he seized all his territories which should have passed to Henry as elder son. Henry came to England and deposed Richard, who died in prison. [Compare Edward II who after *his* triumph ruled so badly, was deposed, and murdered in Berkeley Castle.]

Note: Richard believed in "divine right" of kings, and ruled as a despot, and was overthrown not by popular rebellion, but by action of his cousin who was supported by the nobility and the Church.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD THREE (1215-1399)

Sovereign.	Events in Britain	Date.	Events Abroad.	Date.
Henry III (1216-1272)	Henry marries Eleanor of Provence. Simon de Montfort leads opposition. "Mad Parliament" at Oxford. Battle of Lewes. Simon de Montfort summons Parliament: Battle of Evesham; Death of Simon. First Welsh War. "Quia Warranto" (Statute of Gloucester). Statute of Marlborough. Conquest of Wales. Statute of Rhuddlan. Death of Alexander III of Scotland. Statute of <i>Quia Emptores</i> (Westminster the 12th); Treaty of Brigham; Death of Maid of Norway; Jews expelled from England.	1236 1257 1253 1254 1265 1277 1273 1273 1282 1284 1282	Thomas Aquinas born. Death of St. Francis of Assisi. Louis IX King of France goes on Sixth Crusade. Birth of Dante. Teutonic Knights conquer Prussia.	1225 1228 1248 1265 1250
Edward I (1272-1307)	Balliol King of Scotland, vassal of Edward I. Model Parliament; Balliol repudiates Edward's overlordship. Invasion of Scotland; Battle of Dunbar. Rise of William Wallace; Battle of Stirling Bridge; Confirmation of the Chartres. Battle of Falkirk. Execution of Wallace. Robert Bruce King of Scotland. Lords Ordainers. Death of Gaveston. Invasion of Scotland; Battle of Bannockburn. Execution of Duke of Lancaster. Deposition of Edward II by Isabella and Mortimer.	1292 1295 1296 1297 1297 1295 1295 1297 1297	Capture of Acre by Moslems puts an end to Christian Kingdoms of the Holy Land. Boniface VIII issues bull "Clericus laicos." First meeting of States-General in France Pope Clement VII establishes Papacy at Avignon.	1291 1236 1302 1305
Edward II (1307-1327)				

Sovereign.	Events in Britain.	Date	Events Abroad.	Date
Edward III (1327-1377)	Fall of Mortimer. Scots defeated at Halidon Hill. Edward claims throne of France. Outbreak of 100 Years' War. Naval battle of Sluys. Battle of Crécy; Scots invade England, defeated at Neville's Cross.	1330 1333 1337 1338 1340	Philip VI, first of the Valois kings of France.	1328
	Black Death Statutes of Labourers passed. Battle of Pontiers Treaty of Breigny.	1346 1348-49 1349-60 1356 1360	Rienzi revives the Roman Republic Emperor Charles IV founds University of Prague. Charles IV issues the Golden Bull.	1347-54 1348 1356
	John of Gaunt in power; Black Prince returns from France The Good Parliament.	1372 1376	Black Prince makes war in Spain on behalf of Pedro the Cruel of Castile.	1366
	John Wyclif translates the Bible into English The Peasants' Revolt The Lollards expelled from Oxford; Death of Wyclif Rebellion of Gloucester; The Lords Appellant seize power	1380 1381 1384	Papacy returns from Avignon to Rome, The Great Schism in the Papacy (lasted till 1415) Risings in Farns and Flanders.	1378 1381
	Richard overthrows the Lords Appellant.	1387 1389	"War of the cities" in Germany. Turks defeat Serbs at Kossovo Charles VI of France becomes insane; Quarrels of Burgundians and Armagnacs	1387 1389 1392
Richard II (1377-1399)	Peace with France. Death of Duke of Gloucester. Henry of Lancaster banished. Death of John of Gaunt, Henry of Lancaster invades England, Deposition of Richard II.	1396 1397 1398 1399		

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD THREE (1216-1399)

1. In what circumstances did the friars come to England? What did they do there, and with what results? (LGS 1928)
2. Sketch the character and career of Simon de Montfort. (LGS 1923)
3. Trace the development of Parliament down to the death of Edward I. (LGS 1936)
4. Give an account of the relations between England and Scotland in the reign of Edward I and Edward II. (NUJB 1938)
5. Describe the growth of English commerce, and the importance of the merchant class in the period 1350-1422. (NUJB 1938)
6. Describe the career and show the importance in English history of Simon de Montfort. (LGS 1935)
7. Explain the causes of the 100 Years' War and show how England was affected by it during its course. (LGS 1935)
8. What were the causes and what were the results of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381? (LGS 1937)
9. Describe the main features of English town life in the fifteenth century. (LGS 1937)
10. Give an account of the work of the monasteries in England during the Middle Ages. (NUJB 1937)
11. What were the results of the Black Death? (NUJB 1935)
12. Describe briefly each of the following episodes and point out the connection between them: the Black Death, the Statute of Labourers, and the Peasants' Revolt.
13. Account for the initial success and subsequent failure of the Lollard movement in England. (LGS 1923)

PERIOD FOUR

THE MISFORTUNES OF THE MONARCHY — LANCASTER AND YORK

1399-1485

CHAPTER 24

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

1. HENRY IV (1399-1413)

The accession of Henry IV is usually dwelt on as a landmark in our constitutional history. It is said that Richard was deposed as a tyrant. Henry IV accepted the throne as being the choice of Parliament.

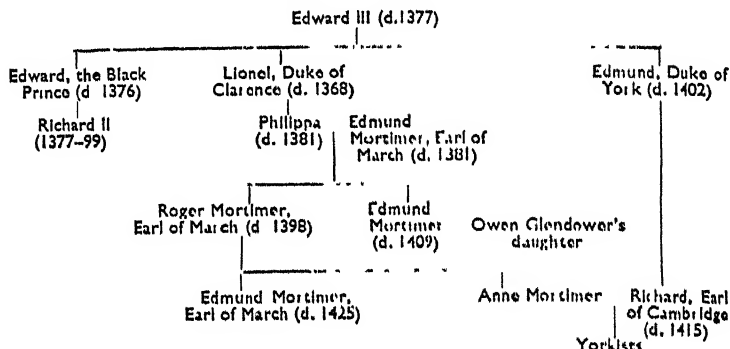
Yet Henry based his claim on his descent "from the good lord King Henry the Third", though his claim was very weak. He never stated plainly whether he based it on the idea that the rival claimant traced descent through a woman. If that were so — and we know English law never denied descent through a woman, Henry II having been King through his mother's claim — Henry might say he was the nearest male claiming descent through males. But in the accepted view, the heir was *Roger Mortimer*, who was descended through his mother from the second son of Edward III, whereas Henry was descended from the third son. Roger had been recognized by Richard II as his heir, but he was killed in Ireland in 1398, and the claims of his little son, Edmund, were disregarded by Henry, though later this Mortimer claim triumphed under the Yorkist kings.

Henry's
claim to
the throne

Claim of
Mortimer

For, though it is important to remember that Henry IV's

title was mainly Parliamentary, yet in essence the struggle was one between one family and another, it was a dynastic contest. This fact is at once plain when we recollect that from 1399 to 1407 Henry IV was never free from rebellion.



The first rising was planned before Richard's death by his half-brothers, the Hollands, Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, who plotted to seize Henry as he was keeping Christmas at Windsor and liberate Richard II from Pontefract. Henry got news of their design, and fled to London. The plotters scattered to raise their retainers, but were all captured. No trial was given them; all were beheaded: and, to prevent any further rebellions with the same object, Henry caused Richard's dead body to be brought to London and displayed there. (Note 33.)

Yet this did not end Henry's troubles — indeed, it only raised up fresh ones. Richard being dead, the Mortimers claimed to be the rightful heirs, and Edmund Mortimer's relations set to work to try to obtain the throne for him.

An ally was found in North Wales, where Richard had many adherents. *Owen Glendower*, a Welsh noble had been engaged in local warfare. Now he broke into rebellion against Henry. The new King led an expedition into Wales, which was a total failure, and he withdrew, leaving Henry Percy, known as Hotspur, to carry on the campaign.

The Percies were allied by marriage to the Mortimers, and they were now rendered discontented by the results of a Scottish war.

The
Percies

Henry, perhaps anxious to divert attention from home affairs, planned an expedition against the Scots. It achieved nothing, and, in revenge, the Scots, in 1402, invaded England. The task of meeting this invasion fell to the Percies, lords of Northumberland, and one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in England. Harry Hotspur, son of the Earl, was a dashing soldier, and he totally defeated the Scots at *Homildon Hill*, taking many prisoners. The Percies meant to make money by the ransom of their prisoners, but now Henry forbade this. Furious at thus losing the reward of their victory, the Percies decided not to fight Glendower and the Mortimers, but to join them.

Scots
invade
England
(1402)

English
victory at
*Homildon
Hill*

The result was the formation of a grand alliance against Henry. The Percies headed it; their prisoner, the Earl of Douglas, brought in a troop of Scots; Mortimer, an uncle of the young claimant, and Owen Glendower, joined against the common enemy; the alliance was cemented, as usual, by a marriage. Mortimer married Owen's daughter. Their purpose was thus stated by Mortimer, "to restore to King Richard the crown if he be alive; and if not, my honoured nephew who is right heir to the crown of England".

The
Percies
discon-
tented and
join
Glendower

The issue was fought out at *Shrewsbury*, the sternest battle seen in England since the days of Hastings. Seven thousand men fell; Hotspur was killed making a last desperate charge. Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was beheaded two days later. Henry triumphed; the conspiracy was shattered; the Earl of Northumberland submitted to the King, and Henry treated him with more generosity than he deserved. He remembered his old friendship, and forgot his treason: in six months he set "his trusty Mattathias" free, and gave back his lands. The "trusty Mattathias" made an ill use of this clemency. In 1405 he embarked on another conspiracy with Mow-

Battle of
*Shrews-
bury*,
1403. Vic-
tory of
the King

Renewed plots by Northumberland, Mowbray, and Scrope, (1405) bray, Earl of Nottingham, and Scrope, Archbishop of York. Eight thousand men gathered in Yorkshire, and Scrope put forth a series of accusations against the King, holding him guilty of winning the Crown by treachery, conniving at Richard's murder, putting men to death without trial, and ruining his subjects by illegal taxation. There was enough truth in these charges to make them intolerable, even if Scrope and his comrades were not actually plotting to dethrone Henry. The rebels dispersed in the belief that the leaders on both sides had come to terms. Nottingham and the Archbishop were seized and beheaded. To put an Archbishop to death for treason was a strong step. Men darkly hinted that Henry's subsequent illness was but the judgment of heaven on his impiety.

Suppression of revolt

In this same year Henry, besides internal plots, had to face invasion. The French planned to combine with Owen Glendower, and send a fleet against England. In addition they stirred up trouble from Scotland. The King, Robert III, now decided to send his son and heir, James, to France. The young prince was captured at sea by Henry's ships, and taken prisoner to London. With this hostage in his hand, Henry had nothing to fear, and James was actually destined to remain a prisoner for nearly twenty years.

French and Scots combine against Henry

James of Scotland a prisoner

The final flare up came three years later when Northumberland, "the trusty earl", escaped. He had been too prudent to be at Shrewsbury, and too cautious to venture, like Scrope, into the enemy's clutches. For a time he made the round of Henry's foes, visiting Scotland, Wales, Flanders, and France. At length he threw away prudence, and tried one more stroke in Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Rokeby, with the local levies, met him at *Bramham Moor*. His force was routed, and he was killed on the field. And with this fight Henry's troubles came practically to an end.

Battle of Bramham Moor. Death of Northumberland (1408)

So the first act in the drama of Lancaster and York — the Hundred Years' Civil War — occupied the reign of Richard II. It ended with the overthrow of the eldest line by the

line of Lancaster. The second act ended at Bramham Moor: it displays a struggle against the usurping Lancastrian carried on by an ambitious family which made a cat-paw of the Mortimer title; and it closed with the triumph of the Lancastrian. But it is impossible not to recognize the true features of the Wars of the Roses proper, revealed in this reign. We have rebellion, treachery, murder, beheading without trial; we have the great northern house of Percy, playing the part afterwards played by the great northern house of Neville, first raising a king to power, then trying to control him, and finally destroying itself in the attempt to overthrow him. And, most significant of all, we have the ready appeal to arms in order to back a quarrel: we have "*livery*" and the "*retainer*".

Victory
of the
house of
Lancaster
over the
Percy-
Mortimer
alliance

Features
of the
Wars of
the Roses

The "*retainer*" is sometimes described as being "*feudal*". This, strictly speaking, he was not. The essence of feudalism is the giving of service on condition of holding land. The retainer was bound to his lord, not by tenure of land, but by wages. He was not born a retainer; he chose to become one. He accepted service at his master's hands, and wore his badge, his "*livery*". Retainers were, in fact, the substitute for a regular army. When a king wished to go to war he employed his nobles to bring men into the field: in old days they brought their feudal tenants: when feudalism decayed they brought their retainers. Unfortunately these men, who proved a blessing at Crécy and Agincourt, were a curse at home. "*Retained*" by their masters after the war was over, they were employed in time of peace to pursue private quarrels at home, to overawe local tribunals, to terrify juries, to rob the barns and stables of an opponent, and even to defy the king. The disaster to the country lay in this, that the fighting power of the age rested neither in the class which formed the bulk of the nation, nor in the central government which had the interest of the nation at heart, but in the hands of a selfish class of nobles who cared for nothing but themselves.

The
"*re-
tainer*".

"*Livery*"

While rebellion thus showed how insecure was his hold on the throne, Henry tried to make himself friends in other quarters. He specially wished for the support of the Church, and he tried to win it by persecuting the Lollards. Thus in 1401 Parliament passed a famous statute, "*De Haeretico Comburendo*". By this statute, anyone who was convicted by the Church of heresy could be put to death by burning. Thus for the first time in England men and women could suffer death for their religious opinions, and some of the Lollards did so suffer.

In another direction Henry showed his need for support. Parliament had given him the throne, and he had to realize his dependence. He dared not tax as Richard had done, without Parliament's consent, and now he had to take another step. Hitherto money had been paid in return for promise of reform. Now Parliament drew up "Petitions" which were later called Bills on the lines which they wished to see followed, and the King had to accept these in order to obtain the grants he needed.

Shortly after the victory of Bramham Moor, which gave Henry victory over his enemies, he fell ill. Some said he had contracted leprosy, but whatever his illness, it made him live the life of an invalid. His son, Henry, Prince of Wales, was on bad terms with him. The Prince was leading a riotous and dissipated life, and at the same time longed to attain power. He is said to have urged his father to abdicate, but the King refused. Discord reigned between father and son, until in 1413, death ended Henry's sufferings.¹

¹ He is said to have been told by a soothsayer "You will die in Jerusalem". He was taken ill at Westminster, and was carried to a room which was then, and still is, called "the Jerusalem chamber" after an early picture on its walls. Hearing the name of the room, he declared "my time is come", and did in fact die there.

2. HENRY V (1413-1422) — THE FRENCH WAR: SECOND PHASE

Henry V became King in 1413. The wildness and dissipation of his youth now seemed to die down, though we may note that he remained aggressive and harsh.

In spite of the burnings of Henry IV's reign, the Lollards had continued to increase. Their leader was *Sir John Oldcastle*, a soldier who had fought well against the Welsh. He was arrested on Henry's orders and sentenced to be burnt. He escaped, and his followers rallied to him. A plot was formed by the Lollards to meet in St. Giles' fields, and seize the King. The plot was discovered, the gates of London were closed, and the rebellion put down. Oldcastle was captured and burnt.

Henry V
and the
Lollards

Old-
castle's
plot

Now Henry prepared to embark on a new project for which he may have had various motives. He may have wanted to distract the nation from internal plots by foreign adventure; he may, out of his naturally energetic disposition, have wished for war and adventure; he may have wanted to make the Lancastrian dynasty popular through conquest. In any case, he prepared to revive the French war, and he therefore revived the English claim to the throne of France. His own title was far weaker than that of Edward III, for if descent could be claimed through a woman, as the English urged, then the rightful heir was not Henry, but Edmund Mortimer. Henry, however, disregarded that and boldly claimed the French crown. He was encouraged to do so, and this must have been one of the chief causes of his action, by the state of France herself.

The
French
war

Causes of
Henry's
attack on
France

Henry's
claim

State of
France

At the very time when Henry IV had seized the crown, and had beaten the alliance of the Percies, Glendower, and the Scots, France was falling into ruin. The king, Charles VI, was mad: the parties of Burgundy and Orleans were quarrelling over the control of the kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy, whose chief dominions were in Flanders, was

Civil war
in France

Burgundy and Armagnac strong in the north-east of France, and was supported by the towns and especially by the lower classes in Paris. The Orleanists or "Armagnacs" were the party of the nobles; their stronghold was south of the Loire. In 1407 the Burgundians murdered the Duke of Orleans, and from that time on the affairs of the country swayed about as first one party and then the other gained the mastery. Henry IV intrigued with both, finally inclining to the Armagnacs, and intending, as the price of his support, to win back the lost English provinces. How hopelessly distracted France was, is revealed when we read that an English army under Clarence landed in Normandy, and was able to march unchecked to Bordeaux.

War flamed out in 1415. Both Commons and clergy gave Henry liberal grants of money. He prepared to sail. Yet on the very eve of his departure, a conspiracy was discovered. **Plots against Henry** *Richard, Earl of Cambridge*, was now married to Anne, the heiress of the Mortimers. He himself was descended from the youngest son but one of Edward III. He and his wife united two claims, and their child would represent the elder line as against the Lancastrians. Richard plotted

Richard of Cambridge and Scrope with Lord Scrope, a relative of the Archbishop whom Henry IV had beheaded. Both were captured, and with the third conspirator, Sir Thomas Grey, put to death. Richard of Cambridge died on the scaffold, but he left a son, who, as *Richard of York*, was in the future to rebel successfully against Henry's own son, and whose family was to found a new royal dynasty.

Henry set sail with some ten thousand men. He landed in Normandy and besieged *Harfleur*. After a siege of five **Campaign of Agincourt** weeks he took it, but at the cost of about a third of his force.

Siege of Harfleur It was an unimpressive victory, since no attempt had been made to relieve the town; at this rate it would be long before France was conquered. With no very clear object, save perhaps an imitation of Edward III's policy, Henry set off on a march from Harfleur along the coast to Calais.

Here, in the first period of the war, had the French taken advantage of their chances, he ought to have been beaten. The parties of Burgundy and Orleans had patched up a sort of peace, and, though the Burgundians gave only a lukewarm support, an army was gathering under the Constable D'Albret large enough to crush Henry if it could catch him. Henry was marching as fast as he could, keeping close to the coast; he had even mounted his archers, but the October of 1415 was wet, the roads heavy, and Henry had trouble in crossing the Somme. He had to go a long way up it before he could find a way across, every step taking him farther from Calais. This delay enabled the Constable to cross first, to get between the English and Calais, and to bar Henry's path at Agincourt with 30,000 men (St. Crispin's Day).

Henry's
march
to the
Somme

The Battle of Agincourt bears a certain resemblance to Crécy and Poitiers rolled into one. The French fought on ground far too narrow for their numbers. They allowed the enemy to shelter his weak point, his flanks, by woods; Henry had taken the additional precaution of making the archers supply themselves with long, sharp-pointed stakes which were to be stuck in the ground to check the French charges. The English waited two or three hours in their position at Agincourt and the French did not stir. They were close enough, however, for Henry to be able to compel an attack without losing the advantage of his position. He moved his whole line forward to within range and halted them: the archers fixed their stakes and began to ply the French with their arrows. Thus the French were forced to attack. Their heavily armed knights dismounted and tried to make their way across the muddy ground. They stuck fast, and the English archers shot into the helpless mass. Then the English charged, and the main body of the French was cut down. The rear division broke and fled without waiting to be attacked.

Battle of
Agincourt
(1415)

Position
of the
armies

French
attack

English
archers'
victory

The battle went near to ruin France; there were 8000 of

Effects of battle the best blood in France lying dead on the field, among them the Constable, Anthony of Brabant (Burgund brother), the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, with the less nobility round them in hundreds; and the Duke of Bourbon and Orleans, together with 1500 other knights, were prisoners. England has in the course of her history dealt France many staggering blows on the battlefield. Agincourt is perhaps the most striking of all, not only in the disparity of odds but in the completeness of the wreckage.

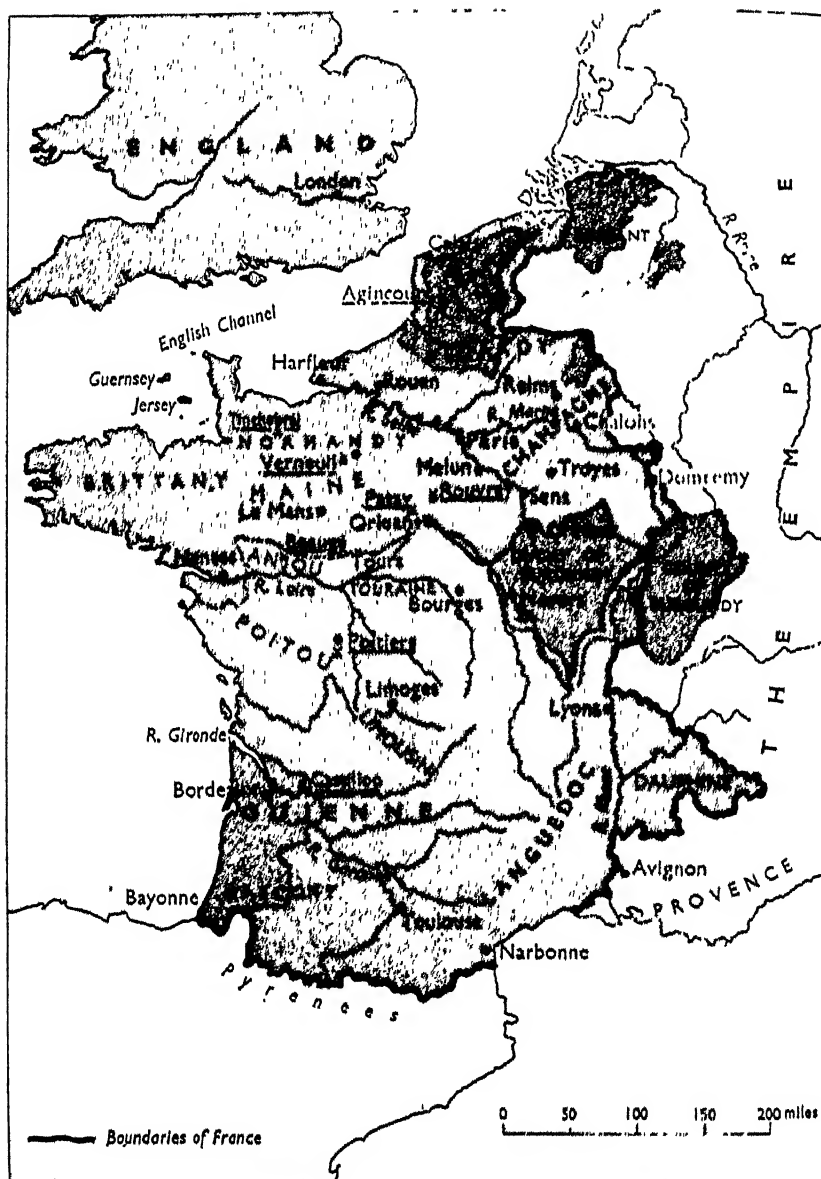
Ruin of Armagnacs The blow fell heaviest on the Orleanists. The main share of the dead was theirs, and they took the whole of the dishonour. Burgundy withdrew what lukewarm support he had hitherto given, and Henry was left to pursue his course of conquest. Three years of sieges followed, in which the most notable was that of *Rouen*, where the women and children turned out by the defenders from the hard-pressed town were callously and cruelly allowed to starve between the walls and Henry's lines. In 1419 Pontoise fell, and there was nothing left to bar Henry's march to Paris.

Siege of Rouen So far Henry had profited by the military skill which had given him an unexpected triumph over one great French army, and the paralysing disunion between Burgundy and Orleans which had prevented the collecting of another; but hitherto neither faction had actively helped him. Burgundy had remained like Achilles sulking in his tent—a malevolent neutral. Now, however, a piece of supreme and wicked folly was to turn that neutrality into enmity. A meeting was arranged at Montereau between the Burgundians and Armagnacs. John of Burgundy rashly crossed the barrier on the bridge that severed the two factions. In the sight of his followers he was set on and stabbed by Tannegui du Châtel, a violent Armagnac and friend of the Dauphin. It was a retort for the murder of Orleans in 1407. But this treacherous murder threw the Burgundians into

Murder of the Duke of Burgundy the arms of the English. By the *Treaty of Troyes*, Katherine, the daughter of Charles VI, was pledged to Henry in

Burgundians ally with England

Treaty of Troyes (1420)



English Territory

French Territory

Burgundian Territory

marriage: he was recognized as heir to the French throne to the exclusion of the Dauphin; Philip, the new Duke of Burgundy, engaged to support him. In the autumn of 1420 Henry entered Paris in triumph with his bride. Henry to inherit French throne

The Treaty of Troyes marks the high-water mark of English conquests in France. The English king had married the French king's daughter, in June 1420, and was hailed as his heir. Indeed, everyone expected he would come to the throne. Two years passed, and the King of France was clearly failing in health. Had Henry lived another two months he would have been crowned in Paris. But just two months before the miserable Charles VI passed away, Henry himself fell ill, in August 1422, and while besieging Meaux died at the early age of thirty-five. Death of Henry (1422)

3. HENRY VI (1422-1461)

(1) THE FRENCH WAR—FINAL PHASE

Henry V left a baby son, only nine months old, who was considered heir of both England and France. As Henry V lay dying he showed clearly enough in his last words what was the prop of the English power in France, and the means by which it might be shaken. "I beg you all," said he, "to see that you have no quarrel with my fair brother of Burgundy, and above all to prevent from this my fair brother, Humphrey; for if that arrive, God help us." The friendship of Burgundy was, indeed, the key of the situation. We must see on what this friendship was based, and how it was finally broken. The French war

The Burgundian alliance

One thing has been seen already; the spirit of revenge for the murder of Duke John. But we must note too the strengthening of foreign alliances by marriages. Just as Henry V had secured the help of the court party by his marriage with Katherine, so Bedford bound the young Duke of Burgundy to him by marrying his sister, Anne of Burgundy. The Burgundian alliance rested more on a family Marriage policy of Bedford

bond between the chiefs than on affection between the subjects. Yet a doubter would scarcely take the side of the Armagnacs, for they had, so far, displayed no mark of political capacity. They had failed in everything they attempted. But were circumstances to change: were parties to stand out in their true light: were the prosperous traitors of Burgundians to lose their prosperity, and the unsuccessful patriots of Orleanists to happen on success: then, as if by magic, all would be changed. Each party would be revealed in its naked truth — Orleanist as patriot, Burgundian as traitor, and Englishman as a national enemy.

This magic change came with the coming of the Maid of Orleans, commonly called *Joan of Arc*.¹ She was a peasant girl from Domrémy on the borders of Lorraine, who believed that she had been called by angel voices to deliver her country, drive out the invader, and crown Charles VII at Rheims. She went to Court and persuaded the King to accept her help. Clad in armour, and riding at the head of her troops, by her simple faith and piety she restored the hopes of the French. Salisbury had formed the siege of *Orleans*, the last Armagnac stronghold on the Loire, and was pressing it hard. When the Maid appeared before the town, broke into the city, drove off the besiegers, and defeated Talbot at *Patay*, it was as if the spell which had overcast French arms was broken. Heaven, hitherto averse, had taken pity on the French national cause. Not only was the relief of Orleans an immense military success, for it assured to the Armagnacs a gateway into the northern territory, whence they could harass the English, but its moral effect was still greater. The Maid's career was indeed short. She did see Charles VII crowned at Rheims in the centre of the enemy's country, but her army was beaten off from Paris. In 1430 she was captured at Compiègne, and in the next year burnt as a witch at Rouen. That piece of ferocity did not mend matters. She was dead, but the spirit

Joan of
Arc, the
Maid of
Orleans
(1429)

Her
victory
at Patay
(1429)

Relief of
Orleans

Defeat of
Joan: her
capture
and death
(1431)

¹ Her right name is Jeanne d'Arc.

which she had aroused lived after her. "Before her day," says the chronicler, "two hundred English would drive five hundred French before them; but now two hundred French would beat four hundred English." Perhaps it must not all be put down to the Maid. The fact is that the quality of the French soldiers was improving. The disobedient, clumsy, foolhardy, feudal array no longer came into the field, for the best of reasons: most of it was dead. It was replaced by professional soldiers who knew their work, officered by men who would not run needless risk. Repeated disasters had at last taught the French not to hazard all on a pitched battle. And there was another cause at work. Sooner or later the curse of foreign invasion will weld a country into union. The burning of Joan of Arc did no good to the English cause. The soldier who looked on at the Maid's martyrdom and uneasily muttered, "We have burnt a saint", only voiced what many felt, that a curse had indeed come on the English cause.

Revival of
French
military
strength

Joan of Arc had fought and died. The Armagnac cause was lifting its head. At the same time the union between England and Burgundy began to give way. Henry V had rightly distrusted his "fair brother", Humphrey of Gloucester. Humphrey had already given great offence to the Duke of Burgundy by marrying Jacqueline of Hainault, a vassal whose dominions Burgundy had expected to secure for himself. He even went so far as to lead an army into Hainault against the Burgundians. Still worse was to come. In 1432 Anne of Burgundy, Bedford's wife, died. This of itself was a blow to the alliance, but Bedford made matters worse by marrying the sister of the Count of St. Pol. St. Pol lay on the borders between France and Burgundy; the Count was one of these waverers who took, now one side, now the other. Bedford wished to attach him to England, but he forgot that in doing so he would offend Burgundy. From that moment the Duke began to draw off from the English side. A congress met at Arras in 1435,

Quarrels
between
English
and Bur-
gundians

Hum-
phrey of
Glou-
cester

Congress
of Arras
(1435)

when the French offered to cede Normandy and Aquitaine in full sovereignty, if the English would abandon the claim on the throne. These terms — better than those which Edward took at Bretigny — were foolishly refused. Thereon Burgundy went over to the French; in the same year Bedford, whose ability alone had kept the English cause together, died. From that time onward the English cause in France was a lost cause.

The eighteen years from 1435 to 1453 form the last stage of the Hundred Years' War, a period of English disaster. Step by step we were beaten back. One small garrison after another was overcome. The year 1436 saw the French regain Paris; and, more ominous still, the Duke of Burgundy besieged Calais. Though all went wrong we showed a wonderful pertinacity in resisting. One noble after another, Warwick, York, Somerset, went to France and failed. One man had the courage to yield some in order to preserve the rest; William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, negotiated a truce, ceded Maine and Touraine, and arranged a marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. The peace proved acutely unpopular; it is true that the French would hardly have kept it long, but it was the English who broke it, within four years of its making. Their effort to revive the struggle proved disastrous, for the French king took Rouen (1449), defeated the English at *Formigny*, and captured all Normandy. Suffolk did not survive these disasters; he was impeached and banished, but his enemies did not mean to let him go. They waylaid his ship, seized him, and, using the gunwale of a boat as the block, caused his head to be hewed off (1450).

The truth is, that, in 1450, England had fallen sick of the very disease from which France was recovering — madness in the head and paralysis in the members. For Charles VI we have Henry VI; for Burgundian and Armagnac, York and Lancaster; but the symptoms were the same. The court was surrounded by nobles all seeking their own

advantage; private feuds came before patriotism. Neither party had the energy to stave off further disaster in France, or the moral courage to withdraw. They could only be active in fault-finding.

In 1453 Talbot led some six thousand men to drive off the French force besieging *Châtillon* on the Dordogne. His command was not much less than Henry V's at Agincourt, but he had men of different mettle against him. The French withdrew to their entrenched camp, beat off Talbot's charge, and eventually scattered his whole force in rout. Talbot himself was slain, "very old and worn with years". Gascony, the last remnant of the Angevin Empire, was taken by the French. With Talbot's death a war which was also "very old and worn with years" came to an end. England had lost all her French territory. Nothing now remained to her of the Norman possessions and her later conquests except the Channel Islands and the port of Calais. (*Note 34.*)

Talbot's
attack

Defeat at
Châtillon
(1453)

The close of the Hundred Years' War marks an epoch in English history. We have seen two distinct stages of English wars with France. The first belongs to the reigns of the Norman and Angevin kings, and was the natural result of English kings holding a double position, in being Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, Counts of Anjou and Maine. These wars were essentially feudal struggles between a feudal superior and turbulent feudal barons. The second stage is that of the Hundred Years' War, in which both Edward III and Henry V asserted a claim to be Kings of France; one wrested from France the great duchy of Aquitaine in full sovereignty; the other actually won the crown for his son. These were not feudal, but national struggles. It was not the Duke of Normandy against the King of France, but England against France. The enterprise of English politics was turned to conquest in France. France was regarded as the natural field of English expansion. After many ups and downs this policy failed and was abandoned.

Close of
the war

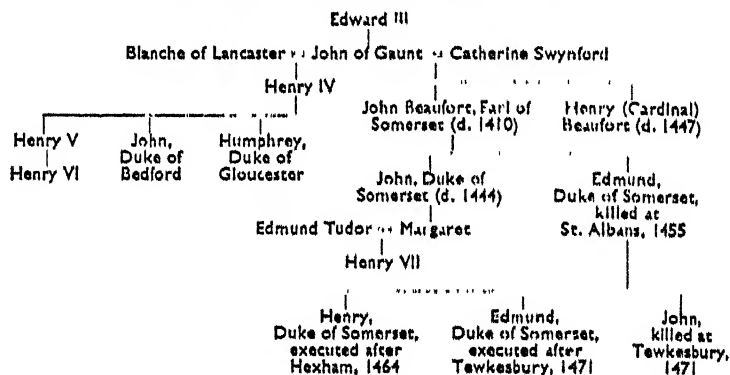
Change in
English
policy

(ii) THE WARS OF THE ROSES

We must now turn to the development of affairs in England. For the first twenty-five years of his reign Henry VI was chiefly guided by his uncles, and his cousins the Beauforts. John, Duke of Bedford, was a wise and patriotic statesman, but the care of French affairs gave him no time to mend matters in England. This left the field clear to his brother, Gloucester—that “fair brother Humphrey” whom we have seen Henry V distrust. Gloucester was greedy and self-seeking, and involved himself in bitter quarrels with the Beauforts. This Beaufort family was descended from John of Gaunt through Catherine Swynford.¹ One of them, Henry Beaufort, became Bishop of

Gloucester
and the
Beauforts

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND BEAUFORT



Winchester and Cardinal: others held, in succession, the title of Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Somerset. All were Lancastrians, as, indeed, was Humphrey of Gloucester, but the two parties were bitterly hostile, struggling for power in the Council of Regency; so far, there was no serious Yorkist party to cause the Lancastrian factions to unite.

In 1445 Henry had married his French wife, Margaret of

¹ The Beauforts were born before John married Catherine. They were made legitimate by a special Act of Parliament but debarred from succession to the throne.

Anjou. In 1447 Gloucester was imprisoned on a charge of treason, and died in prison; no doubt he was murdered. Since Henry VI had as yet no son, *Richard, Duke of York*, son of Richard of Cambridge, became heir to the throne. So far, York had shown no sign of disloyalty. For more than ten years he had held a command in France, and had made a reputation as a good soldier. The Beauforts, however, grew jealous of him. He was removed from his command, and sent into practical banishment as King's Lieutenant in Ireland. Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, superseded him in Normandy (1448).

Death of
Gloucester
(1447)

York the
heir to the
throne

Then came the hour of the last agony in France. The patched-up truce was foolishly broken. One defeat followed another: failure abroad was visited on the heads of unpopular ministers at home by a series of murders. In 1450 both the Bishop of Chichester and Suffolk were put to death. In June *Jack Cade*, pretending that his name was Mortimer, led the Kentish men in rebellion, and occupied London, murdering, there, the Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Saye, the Treasurer. The idea that York was at the bottom of Cade's rebellion was fostered when he came back suddenly from Ireland just as Somerset returned from Normandy. A Yorkist party grew in strength, posing as the friends of good government, and the opponents of the Beauforts and the Court party. York himself behaved with what may, considering the spirit of his time, be called moderation. He did indeed collect an army in 1452, but he did not fight. When, in 1453, a son was born to Henry VI, thus displacing him from being heir to the Crown, he gave his allegiance to the new prince. In the next year, when King Henry went mad and York was chosen regent, he made no attempt to seize the throne. It was not till the King's recovery brought with it the return to power of his deadly enemy, Somerset, that York actually took the field. He could not do anything else; had he submitted, his fate would probably have been the block.

Disasters
in France

Death of
Suffolk

Cade's
insurrec-
tion

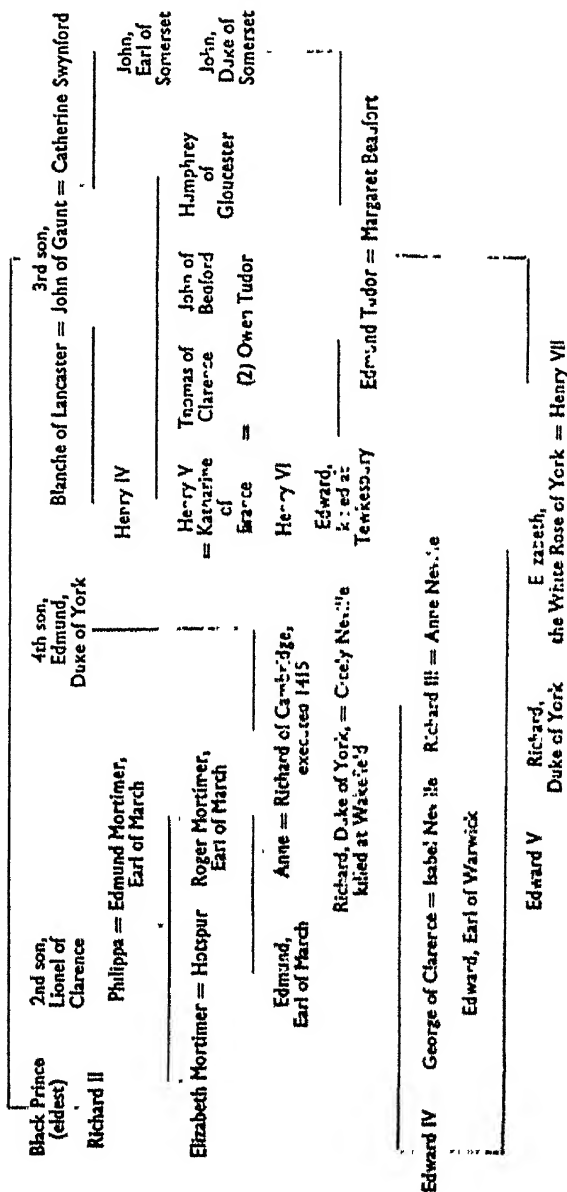
Rivalry of
York and
Somerset

Birth of a
son to
Henry VI

York
takes up
arms

EDWARD III's DESCENDANTS

Edward III

John,
Earl of
SomersetJohn,
Duke of
SomersetHumphrey
of
GloucesterJohn of
BedfordThomas of
Clarence= Katherine
of
Burgundy

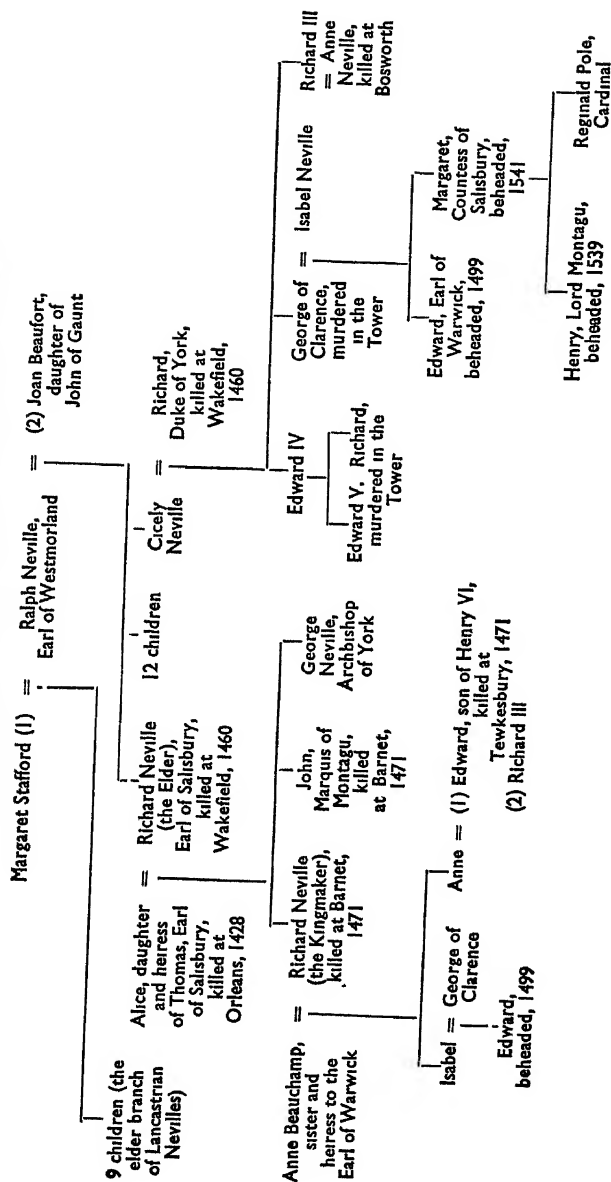
Henry VI

Edward,
killed at
Tewkesbury

Edmund Tudor = Margaret Beaufort

TABLE OF THE NEVILLE FAMILY

Observe the violent deaths, and especially the misfortunes of the Clarence descendants



The Wars of the Roses proper, beginning in 1455, fall into four subdivisions. The *first* was a struggle for the regency, and ended in the triumph of York over Somerset at St. Albans. The *second* period began in 1459 with the attempt of Queen Margaret to overthrow the Yorkists, and ended with the accession of Edward IV, the Yorkist triumph at Towton (1461), and the beating down of the Lancastrian resistance in the north. The *third* was marked by the effort of the Nevilles to master the line of York: this failed at Barnet and Tewkesbury (1471). The *last* was ended when Richard III, having alienated a great part of his own supporters, fell victim to an alliance of enemies at Bosworth (1485). (Note 35.)

The first campaign is simple and may be speedily dismissed. It was not so much York against Lancaster as York against Somerset. The object was not yet to seize the Crown: it was a struggle for the regency—the reins of power but not the name. York's army, moving on London, found the King's forces holding *St. Albans*. An attack was made on the little town. The deciding point in the fight came when Warwick and his men, making their way through the houses in St. Peter's Street, burst into the middle of the Lancastrians. Somerset was killed and King Henry captured. As the fruit of victory York again became Protector, and filled the great offices of State with his friends. Somerset being dead, all the blame could conveniently be put on him, and as the Yorkists were profuse in promises of better government, it might be hoped that the country would settle down.

Henry VI, gentle and pious, would never have provoked further trouble. But his queen, Margaret of Anjou, was fierce as her husband was meek. In spirit, resource, courage, resolution, and in the bad side of these qualities, ambition, guile, ferocity, mercilessness, the "she-wolf of France" was a match for any baron of the time. There was nothing of the softer sex about her. In an age full of treason and

Sub-
division of
the Wars
of the
Roses

1. York
against
Somerset.
Battle of
St. Albans
(1455)

Death of
Somerset.
Henry VI
a prisoner

Margaret
of
Anjou

brutality Margaret was treacherous and ruthless above the rest. To cast discredit on the Yorkist lords she did not scruple to invite French marauders into England: she even advised them where they might land, sack, burn, and kill without fear of resistance. While Henry could not bear to look on the quartered remains of a traitor, perched on Cripplegate, saying, "I will not that any Christian man be so cruelly used for me", Margaret would have agreed with Louis XI's maxim that there was "no perfume to match the scent of a dead traitor". After the second battle of St. Albans she bade her son Edward, then eight years old, choose what death two Yorkist prisoners should die. The boy's answer, "Let their heads be taken off", must have delighted his mother.

As Margaret was the mainstay of the Lancastrians, so were the *Nevilles* of the Yorkist side. At first sight two things are perhaps surprising about these Nevilles. To begin with, the grandfather of Neville the Kingmaker, Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, was a Lancastrian; and so was his second wife, Joan Beaufort, the Kingmaker's grandmother, being a daughter of John of Gaunt. Thus the Nevilles were of that large and dangerous class, royal cousins; but we should hardly expect to find them on the Yorkist side. Secondly, since Richard Neville, the Kingmaker's father, was indeed only the elder son of a *second* family, and there were nine children in the first family, it does not seem likely that he would inherit wide estates. The answer which explains both the sympathies and the power of the Nevilles can be given in two words — fortunate marriages.

The
Nevilles
support
York

Ralph Neville and his second wife Joan Beaufort had fourteen children: no inconsiderable number to add to the nine in the first family. Ralph, the father of this multitude, did the best he could for them. He left to his widow his Yorkshire lands, and she in her turn took care that they should pass to her eldest son, Richard, thus depriving the elder branch of what they considered their rights. Richard

The
Neville
marriages

Salisbury and York married Alice Montacute, heiress of the Earl of Salisbury; and his youngest sister, Cicely, married Richard Duke of York. Here is the beginning of the fortunes of the younger Nevilles: here is the explanation why they take the Yorkist side, all the more eagerly since the first family with whom they had quarrelled was Lancastrian.

The Beauchamp marriage
Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker

The Earl of Salisbury was killed at the siege of Orleans, and Richard Neville, in right of his wife, became Earl of Salisbury, and added the Montacute lands to his own Yorkshire inheritance. His eldest son, named like his father, Richard and destined to be called the Kingmaker, married Anne, daughter, and, as it proved, heiress, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Thus *Richard Neville* the younger became, in right of his wife, "Earl of Warwick, Newburgh, and Aumarle, Premier Earl of England, Baron of Stanley and Ilanslape, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgannoc", master of the Despenser lands in South Wales, the Beauchamp lands in Gloucestershire, Warwick, Oxfordshire and Buckingham, with scattered holdings in seventeen other counties all over the length and breadth of England. More than a hundred and fifty manors were his. By this amazing stroke of luck, the boy of twenty-two became far

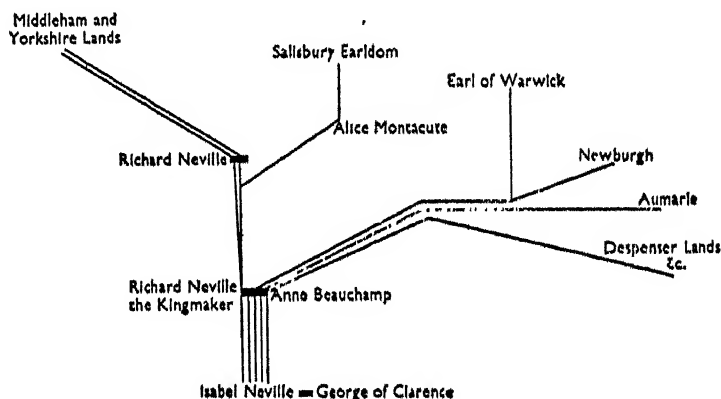


Diagram of the Neville Power

more powerful than his father. Yet ten years later his father's inheritance came to him also, when Richard the elder fell at Wakefield. When we add his other relationships: that his uncles and aunts were allied in marriage to the house of Fauconbridge, Latimer, Abergavenny, Mowbray, and Stafford; that his sisters were married into the houses of Arundel, Tiptoft, Stanley, Bonville and de Vere; that even the church had one Neville Bishop of Durham, and another Bishop of Exeter;¹ that his uncle by marriage, Richard, Duke of York, was Protector of the Realm, and ready to give any of the great offices into Neville hands, then the catalogue nears an end. It may seem a somewhat wearisome catalogue. Yet the recital of it serves a purpose if it impresses on the mind the amazing position held by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. One thing remains to be said, namely, that the man himself had all the qualities of a leader. He was a cautious and sensible statesman, an adequate general, ambitious but not without principle, firm yet not cruel, able from the early days of manhood to use the power which lay in his hands. We shall no longer be surprised that this Neville of a younger branch is called "*The Kingmaker*". We might go further; we might almost call the years 1460 to 1471 the "reign of Richard Neville".

Warwick's
relations

War-
wick's
abilities

Second
phase

It is needless to go fully into all the politics and warfare of this troubled time. All that can be done is to outline them, dwelling on the more salient points. Since the overthrow at St. Albans Margaret never ceased plotting, but it was not till 1459 that she felt strong enough to risk a blow. Even then the Lancastrians were beaten at *Bloreheath*; but they had their revenge a month later, when the Yorkist force deserted wholesale at *Ludford*, and the leaders had to flee the country, Warwick and Salisbury to Calais, York to Ireland. In 1460 they returned, defeated the Lancastrians at *Northampton*, when Lord Grey de Ruthyn turned traitor and

Mar-
garet's
counter-
stroke
(1459)

¹ And later Archbishop of York.



ENGLAND, 1827-1485

helped the Yorkists over the fortifications in the Lancastrian lines. Henry himself taken prisoner was the chief prize of the victory, and the Duke of York appearing in London began to set forward his claims to the throne. In the meantime Margaret and Lord Clifford were gathering fresh levies in the north. The Duke, marching north to meet them, was caught with an inferior force, defeated, and killed at *Wakefield*. A paper crown set on his head over the gates of York was Margaret's derisive answer to his hopes of a kingdom.

York
claims
the throne

Battle of
Wakefield
(1460)

Wakefield fight cleared away two fathers to make room for two abler sons. Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, left his cause to his son *Edward, Earl of March* (later to be Edward IV). Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, less fortunate even than his master, for he was taken prisoner and beheaded in cold blood, gave place to Richard his son, Warwick the Kingmaker. At first the Yorkist cause seemed desperate. Margaret's army, now swollen to a huge force, rolled southward plundering and burning. The Yorkists were scattered, Warwick struggling to cover London, and Edward was far away in the west, where he had been winning the battle of *Mortimer's Cross*. Margaret came on Warwick at *St. Albans* and beat him. Again treachery had much to do with the result; a Kentish squire named Lovelace went over to the Lancastrians, and left a gap in the Yorkist lines, through which the enemy passed. The Yorkists fled in confusion: next day Warwick had not above a sixth of his army with him. This crushing defeat coming on the top of Wakefield seemed fatal. The King had been once more taken prisoner — this time by his friends. Everyone expected that a few days would see Margaret in London and Henry VI on the throne again.

Edward
of York

Edward
wins
Mor-
timer's
Cross

Warwick
defeated
at second
battle of
St. Albans
(1461)

The chance was lost. Margaret dawdled; London — accustomed to become the prize of war — was willing to yield if only it could escape being entered by the Northerners, and King Henry persuaded his wife to agree.

Mar-
garet's
failure

The respite given allowed Warwick first to join Edward, and then to return at full speed to London. The Lancastrians retreated northwards, the first step in a lost cause. Years were to pass before fate would be again kind and the wasted opportunity return.

Less than six weeks saw the Lancastrian cause in the dust. Edward, now acknowledged King, pursued Margaret's army northwards and encountered it at *Towton*. This was the sternest fight in all the battles of the Roses, and it ended in the total annihilation of the Lancastrian army.

One thing would have made *Towton* absolutely decisive — the capture of Margaret. Margaret, however, escaped, and for the next three years kept up a desultory struggle in the north. She got help from the Scots and the French. The fighting went on round the great castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanborough. Warwick and his brother, John Neville, Marquis Montagu, at length captured these strongholds, and in the battles of *Hedgeley Moor* and *Hexham* shattered the last of the Lancastrians. After Hexham, Montagu enforced his victories by beheading all the Lancastrian leaders in his hands. Among them fell Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

CHAPTER 25

EDWARD IV (1461-1483) AND RICHARD III (1483-1485)

1. EDWARD IV — THE YORKISTS ON THE THRONE

The Yorkists had now nothing to fear but themselves. Hitherto the alliance of York and Neville, united by a common foe, had proved irresistible; but, the danger over, the interests of the two drifted apart. Edward of York had won the throne and became king as Edward IV; but what reward could be enough for the man who put him there?

To owe too much is the strongest temptation to repay nothing. A king cannot endure the continual presence of a Kingmaker. The thought must be present to the minds of both that it is even easier to unmake than to make.

Thus the third period of the war, from 1464 to 1471, covers the alienation of the house of Neville from the house of York, sees the alienation turn into open enmity, and ends with the death of the Kingmaker and the second triumph of Edward IV — this time over a Neville-Lancaster coalition.

Quarrel
of York
and
Warwick

Third
phase of
the war

As soon as Edward IV found the Nevilles were no longer useful, he perceived how dangerous they were. He set himself to break free from their control, and began by delivering a snub to Warwick. He allowed him to busy himself over negotiating a marriage for him with a French princess.¹ Edward must have smiled at the diligence Warwick displayed, since he was, as a matter of fact, already secretly married to a lady of no high rank, Elizabeth Woodville, widow of a Lancastrian knight, Sir John Grey. When the news was at last revealed by the King, Warwick was left to swallow the snub as best he could. This was not all. Edward followed it up by promoting all his wife's relations. The Woodvilles were to rise as a counterpoise to the Nevilles, and by the same means — royal favours and politic marriages. In 1467 the breach became open. George Neville, the Archbishop of York, was dismissed from the Chancellorship, and Lord Rivers, the Queen's father, put in his place; then the King persuaded the Duchess of Exeter to break off her intended match with Warwick's nephew, and marry instead John Grey, the Queen's eldest son. To complete Warwick's disgrace, the King sent him oversea to prepare a match for his sister, Margaret of York, with a French prince, and, directly he was out of the way, betrothed her to the son of the chief enemy of France, the Duke of Burgundy.

Edward
IV's
policy

The
Woodville
marriage

Disgrace
of
Warwick

¹ Bona of Savoy, sister to Louis XI's queen.

Once more we observe how completely the politics of the time were marriage politics. Each side strove by success in marriage to win wealth and estates, because estates and wealth meant retainers and military power; and in days when men of noble family so often died in battle or on the scaffold¹ there were plenty of marriageable and wealthy widows. No match was too sordid, so long as it were profitable; witness John Woodville, aged twenty-two, marrying the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, aged eighty, old enough to be his grandmother; witness, again, Warwick's counter-stroke to Edward's exalting of the Woodvilles. He tempted George of Clarence, the King's brother, into prospective treason by offering the hand of his own daughter, heiress of his estates, Isabel Neville; and Clarence accepted the bribe.

Affairs were once more reaching a point when the only decision could be by the sword. Lancastrian partisans again appeared in the country. In 1469 the whole of South Yorkshire burst into rebellion under Sir John Conyers, a relation of Warwick's by marriage. At Edward's summons Warwick himself came over from Calais, with George Neville and the Duke of Clarence (now his son-in-law) with him. Far from helping Edward, Warwick raised a force against him. Some of the King's soldiers went over to the Neville side; the force under Lord Herbert, who remained loyal, was shattered by Conyers at *Edgecote*. Edward himself was captured at night by George Neville and a party of Warwick's men-at-arms.

Warwick had the game in his hands, but was just too honourable to win it. He might have put Edward to death, and once more played the part of a kingmaker, this time for his son-in-law, Clarence's, benefit. Yet, though doubtless Edward would have had no hesitation in ordering Warwick's head off, Warwick was more scrupulous. He contented himself with taking vengeance on the Woodvilles,

¹ See the Neville table on p. 249; and also the Beaufort table on p. 246.

two of whom he caused to be beheaded; from the King he exacted no more than promises. Probably, over-confident of his own strength, he thought that he had given Edward a sufficient lesson. In a sense he had, yet scarcely what he intended. He had wished to discipline a young man, but he had created an implacable enemy, all the more dangerous that the pupil had taken the lesson with a smiling countenance.

Then came a year of revolutions. In March, 1470, Edward collected forces to subdue a rising in Lincolnshire, and turning suddenly on Warwick and Clarence, forced them to flee overseas. In France they found the scattered remains of the Lancastrian party, with the dauntless Margaret of Anjou at their head. Strange were the privations they had gone through, the young prince "begging from house to house", the Queen, without money, baggage, or gowns, sharing a herring for the food of herself and her son, and reduced to borrow from a Scottish archer, met by chance at the service of the mass, who, "rather loath, drew a Scots groat from his purse, and lent it to her". Louis XI saw his chance of striking a counterblow at Edward to punish him for his alliance with Burgundy. He persuaded Warwick and Margaret to come to terms. It was not easy to reconcile the two who for twenty years had been the bitterest of foes, but in such tortuous policy Louis XI was a master. Warwick at length declared for King Henry, and crowned the alliance with the usual betrothal, this time of his daughter Anne to Margaret's son, Prince Edward. At first fortune smiled on this perfidious alliance. In September Warwick and Clarence landed in the west; again Edward's men deserted him. He narrowly escaped capture at the hands of Montagu, Warwick's brother, and hastily fled from Lynn to Burgundy. Henry VI was taken from the Tower, "not cleanly kept, as should seem such a prince", newly arrayed, and set once more on a puppet throne.

Edward's
success
(1470)

Warwick
and
Clarence
ally with
Margaret
of Anjou

Louis XI
supports
Margaret

Return of
Warwick.
Restora-
tion of
Henry VI.
Flight of
Edward
IV

Then the wheel went round again. Edward gathered

Edward's his men, and landed at Ravenspur. He had but 300 with
 return
 (1471) him; Richard of Gloucester arrived in the Humber mouth
 with another 200; Earl Rivers brought another handful.
 It seemed a hopeless enterprise to unmake the Kingmaker
 with so small a force. Yet Ravenspur was of good omen as
 a starting-point for a cast at a throne, "since even in the
 same place the usurper Henry of Derby landed after his
 exile". The parallel goes closer; even as Henry of Derby
 gave out that he came only to claim his rightful Duchy of
 Lancaster, so Edward of March announced that all he
 sought was his Dukedom of York; as the one adventurer
 became Henry IV, the other established himself as King
 Edward IV. (*Note 36.*)

Edward's march south shows what courage and fortune
 may do. Montagu missed him, and followed too slowly in
 pursuit. Warwick drew in Clarence, to stop him in the Mid-
 lands, but Clarence went over to his brother. The King-
 maker prepared to defend his own castle of Warwick;
 Edward marched straight to London. Then, as Warwick
 followed, Edward again came northwards, and met him at
 First Battle of
 Barnet
 (1471) *Barnet*. The battle, fought in a dense fog, which caused the
 wing of each army to overlap the other, was decided more
 by chance than skill. The Earl of Oxford's Lancastrians,
 after driving off their Yorkist opponents, lost their way,
 and came back on the rear of their own force. Their badge,
 the "Radiant Star", was mistaken for Edward IV's
 badge, the "Sun with Rays", and they were greeted with
 a shower of arrows. At once a cry of "Treachery!" ran all
 down the line. Treachery was what all the array of Nevilles
 and Lancastrians had expected; none trusted the other,
 since times without number they had been foes. Imme-
 diately their ranks were broken. Warwick himself paid the
 usual penalty of a lost battle — being killed "something
 flying" in the chronicler's words. Heavy armour made
 battle safe, but defeat fatal.

Fortune indeed had turned her back on the Neville cause

at last; for a month Margaret had been on the French shore waiting to cross; for a month a great storm had held her prisoner. She landed at Weymouth too late, on that same Easter Day which saw Warwick fight his last fight at Barnet. Her help, which would have changed the fate of that day, was now useless. She turned westwards, but on 4th May was overtaken and beaten at *Tewkesbury*. There, in the pursuit through the "Bloody Meadow", Prince Edward fell, vainly begging for mercy. Somerset was taken prisoner and executed, adding one more victim to the roll of his luckless house. No male was left to the line of Lancaster, and the Yorkists may have rejoiced at the extinction of their hereditary enemies. They had still, however, to reckon with one descendant of the female line, a boy named Henry Tudor, then fourteen years old.¹

Landing
of Margaret

The defeat
at
Tewkes-
bury
(1471)

Death of
Prince
Edward

End of
House of
Lancaster

Tewkesbury ends the third acute phase of the Wars of the Roses. The first battle of St. Albans saw the allied houses of York and Neville triumph over the Beauforts; Towton marked their victory over King Henry; Barnet and Tewkesbury found the old allies at each other's throats, and ended in the downfall of the Neville power. The last phase traces the gradual break-up of the Yorkist power owing to the same cause that had exalted it — family ambition.

The remaining years of Edward IV's reign passed quietly. The King was personally popular; Henry VI had been put out of the way — he died on the day of Edward's triumphant return from Tewkesbury, possibly murdered by Gloucester; most of the Lancastrian leaders were dead; those who survived were exiles, poor, and in misery. Parliament, when it met, was on the whole content to let the King rule according to his pleasure. And pleasure was the main thing Edward sought. He did indeed embark on a war with France; if it was not glorious, it was at any rate of more practical use than many of our wars, for Louis XI

Death of
Henry VI

¹ Henry was the son of Margaret Beaufort, who married Edmund Tudor. See table, p. 248.

bought him off with the payment of 72,000 crowns down, and promises of a further annuity. Edward might look forward to many years of life; he had two sons to succeed him; it might be assumed that the house of York was secure. Suddenly, in 1483, Edward died, at the early age of forty-two, leaving his kingdom to his young son, Edward V.

Death of
Edward
IV

2. RICHARD III -- THE YORKISTS LOSE THE THRONE

England now was again thrown into confusion by the ambition of *Richard of Gloucester*, that uncle who personifies the wickedness of so many historical uncles. Richard had already given proof of that ruthless and unscrupulous ability which was the mark of his house. Battle, murder, and sudden death were his constant companions. He had fought well at Barnet and Tewkesbury; men believed that he had helped to stab Prince Edward; the murder of King Henry VI was laid at his door; he had quarrelled with his brother George of Clarence over the Neville inheritance, for each of the two had married a daughter of the Kingmaker, and he contrived to fill Edward's mind with those dark suspicions which caused Clarence to be imprisoned in the Tower, and there put to death. With the death of a king, a prince, and a brother already possibly laid to his account, he was an ominous "Protector" to two young nephews. Yet in the eyes of the nation, who knew little of State secrets and had grown used to violence, he was not distrusted. He was rather looked on as the strong man who might secure peace.

Richard
of
Gloucester

"Pro-
tector"

We have seen first Richard of York, and then Richard of Warwick pushed into treason, in order to secure their own lives. In a sense it was so with Richard of Gloucester. Between him and the Queen's party, the Greys and the Woodvilles, there was an old feud. If they were supreme, his life was likely to be forfeit. Richard's first step was to

Richard's
position:
overthrow
of the
Woodvilles
and the
Queen's
party

"rescue" the young King from the hands of his Woodville uncle, Earl Rivers. Together with the Duke of Buckingham he met the King's retinue at Stoney Stratford, bringing a number of retainers with him. He captured Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, sent them to prison at Middleham, and himself escorted the King to London. His next step was to rid himself of Lord Hastings, with whom he picked an intentional quarrel over the council table, and ended it by causing his head to be smitten off on a log outside the door. Little Edward V was installed in his royal palace of the Tower, soon to become his prison and his grave. It was no use to lop off one heir if the younger brother survived, and the younger brother was in sanctuary with his mother Elizabeth at Westminster. Gloucester inveigled him out as a companion for his brother, and sent him too to the Tower.

Edward
V seized
by
Richard

All was now ready. London was packed with retainers bearing the Boar and the Knot.¹ The court chaplain and Buckingham urged Richard's claim to the throne, on the ground that Edward's marriage had been invalid: the silent arguments of the men-at-arms in the background were perhaps more convincing. The peers offered Richard the throne. Richard accepted it: to guard against opposition he had already ordered Rivers and Grey to be beheaded. To make himself more secure he caused James Tyrrel, governor of the Tower, to procure the murder of the little princes (Aug., 1483).²

Richard
pro-
claimed
king

Murder
of the
princes

Henceforth Richard had no friends save the cowards who feared to desert him, or the obscure men whom he promoted. One after another, plots were made. First his former ally the Duke of Buckingham, aided by the Courtenays and other westerners, plotted to put Henry Tudor,

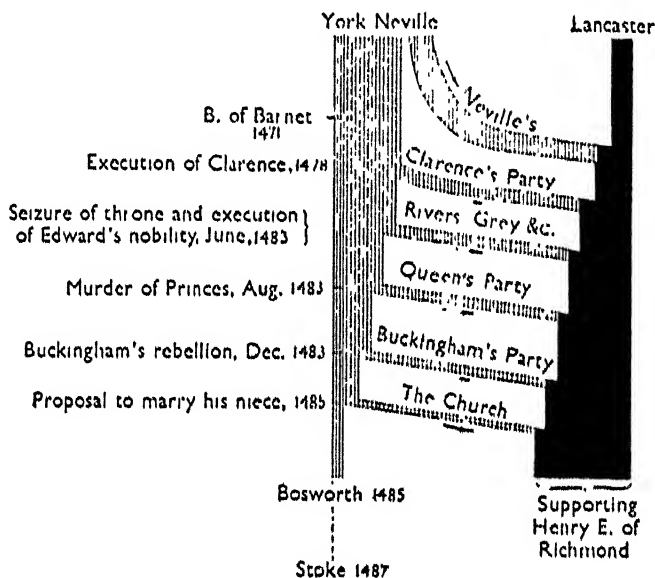
Plots
against
Richard:
Buck-
ingham

¹ Gloucester and Buckingham badges.

² Later historians have shown that at the time Richard was not accused of this. In the list of crimes which Henry Tudor declared that Richard had committed, there is no mention at all of the princes, or of their death. The accusation is of much later date, and has never been proved.

Fourth
and last
phase of
the war

Earl of Richmond, son of Margaret Beaufort, on the throne. The stars in their courses fought against Buckingham. Storms prevented Richmond from landing, while a huge flood of rain so swelled the Severn into what was long remembered as "Buckingham's great water" that the Duke was cut off from his friends, captured and beheaded.



THE BREAK-UP OF THE YORKIST POWER

Richard's ferocious treatment of Buckingham had only made one more section of Yorkists into Lancastrians. His next wild scheme was to divorce his wife, Anne Neville, and marry his niece Elizabeth of York, daughter to Edward IV. In universal horror all who still held by the cause of York resolved that it were better to have a Lancastrian on the throne than Richard III.

Thus in 1485 Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, now allied with the Queen's faction of the Woodvilles, and under a promise to marry Elizabeth of York, landed in Wales to

win a final victory for Lancaster. Welshmen joined a man with a Welsh name. The Lancastrian houses of the Marches joined him; yet he seemed to have but a puny chance when at Bosworth, with 5000 men, he met Richard with more than double his number. But when Oxford led the Lancastrian attack, half Richard's men hung back, while the Stanleys turned traitors and fell on Richard's flank. The battle was won at a cost of a bare hundred men, and even the defeated side lost but few more. Yet, though the numbers lost were small, the battle was decisive because of the death of one man. Richard himself, pierced with many wounds, lay dead on the field. (Note 37.)

Henry
Tudor.
Joined by
Woodvilles
and the
Welsh

Death of
Richard
III.

NOTES ON PERIOD FOUR (1399-1485)

RULERS OF ENGLAND

HENRY IV (1399-1413)
HENRY V (1413-1422)
HENRY VI (1422-1461)
EDWARD IV (1461-1483)
EDWARD V (1483)
RICHARD III (1483-1485)
HENRY VII (1485-1509)

RULERS OF SCOTLAND

ROBERT III (1390-1406)
JAMES I (1406-1437)
JAMES II (1437-1460)
JAMES III (1460-1488)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE:	CHARLES VII (1422-1461)
	LOUIS XI (1461-1483)
BURGUNDY:	CHARLES THE BOLD (1467-1477)
SPAIN:	FERDINAND OF ARAGON (1479-1516)
	ISABELLA OF CASTILE (1474-1504)
FLORENCE:	COSIMO DE MEDICI (1388-1464)
	LORENZO DE MEDICI (1449-1492)

NOTE 93. — THE LANCASTRIAN EXPERIMENT

1. Henry IV owed his throne to Parliament, as his claim was a doubtful one. Frequent rebellions kept him weak, so Parliament grew strong, and began to draw up 'Appeals' (which later are called Bills), which the King accepted.
2. He needed support of the Church, hence began persecution of heresy and Lollards.
3. Scotland, Wales, and France all attacked him. Hence, his son Henry V was led on to renew the French war, and thus (a) attacked France and her ally, (b) distracted the minds of the English from home affairs, by an aggressive foreign policy.

NOTE 34 — SECOND PHASE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

- 1 Henry V revived the English claim to France as he wished for a bold foreign policy
- 2 He was encouraged to invade France because she was then torn by civil war between the factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs
- 3 Henry's spectacular victories were largely due to French weaknesses
 - (a) He had Burgundians fighting on his side.
 - (b) The King being insane and his son and heir in disgrace, Henry could bring about the Treaty of Troyes and get himself named heir to the throne of France.
- 4 **The Loss of French Possessions.** On death of Henry V his brother John, *Duke of Bedford*, carried on the conquest of France successfully for ten years Then
 - (a) Faction broke out in England and Gloucester's quarrels with Beaufort weakened English policy
 - (b) The French united, for Gloucester alienated Burgundy, and Burgundy returned to French allegiance
 - (c) The English produced no capable leader, while *Joan of Arc* restored French spirit and first led the French to victory.
 - (d) The French, heartened by success, and free from feuds, united as a nation once more, and the English could not hold their French possessions against the new French method of war
 - (e) The Kings of the two countries seemed to reverse position, for whereas Charles VI of France had been mad, and Henry V of England full of vigour, in this last phase the French King Charles VII showed great ability as he grew older, while Henry VI of England was feeble, and eventually suffered from his French grandfather's mental illness. The outbreak of strife between York and Lancaster completed the ruin of the English.

NOTE 35. — THE CAUSES OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

- 1 **The Royal Family.** The house of *York* represented (but through a woman) the elder branch of the descendants of Edward III. York was for many years loyal and was recognized as his cousin's heir. Gradually he was driven into opposition, and finally the birth of a son to Henry VI in 1453, just before Henry became insane, deprived York of all hope for the future

The *Queen*, Margaret of Anjou, proved the ruin of Lancaster, and the curse of England. Violent and vindictive, she hated York, and by advancing her own friends she misgoverned the country and alienated all

The *King*, always weak, was out of his mind at intervals and could do nothing

2. **Feuds between the Nobles.** The great noble houses had become very powerful (especially Nevilles, and Howards, and Mowbrays), and feuds between them led to trouble. This was greatly increased by the practice of "livery", i.e. keeping bands of retainers, who were really private troops, and "maintenance", i.e. taking part in law suits and "maintaining" one person's cause against his opponent ("unlawful support given to a disputant by one not concerned in the case").
3. **Unpopular Foreign Policy of the Crown.** Led by the desire first for a French alliance and then by the Queen (herself French), to keep on good terms with France, the Crown steadily followed a policy of peace at any price, which became extremely unpopular. In the end, the Yorkists became the champions of an active warlike policy.
4. **Continued Misgovernment.** Distress at home led to revolts *Jack Cade* (1450). The country became completely disordered with the nobles and landowners bullying the weak and quarrelling themselves. The Crown's ministers, Somerset and Suffolk, were incompetent, and so the Yorkists stood for reform, dismissal of the Queen's favourites, and finally were driven to demand the deposition of the King as incompetent to rule.

NOTE 36. - STAGES OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

1. York against Somerset.

York wished to drive Somerset, who was incapable and unpopular, from power. York *Regent*, during Henry's first attacks of madness, but on King's recovery, Somerset restored to power and swore vengeance on York. York took up arms in self defence. War. 1st *St. Albans*, Somerset killed, York made Protector (1455).

2. York against the Crown.

(a) In 1459 the Queen attacked York, and defeated him at *Ludford*. He and Warwick fled abroad. Returned and won *Northampton*, captured Henry, and claimed the throne.

(b) Margaret rallied, and defeated York at *Wakefield*. York killed and others executed. Margaret showed great cruelty, and so did her little son Edward. (Asked what should be done with prisoners, he said, "cut off their heads", and it was done.)

(c) Margaret went on and defeated Warwick at 2nd *St. Albans*, and rescued King Henry. Delayed advance on London. York's son *Edward* joined Warwick, and they won a great victory at *Towton* (1461). *Edward IV* King, and won various victories up to 1464.

3. York Quarrels with Warwick.

(a) Edward as King alienated Warwick by his marriage policy and the rise of the Woodvilles. Warwick plotted with King's brother Clarence, and together they defeated Edward and executed the Woodvilles.

- (b) 1470 Edward turned the tables on Warwick and Clarence, who fled abroad and now joined with Queen Margaret
- (c) Warwick, Clarence, and the Queen returned to England, Edward was defeated and fled *Henry VI restored*.

4 End of the Lancastrians.

1471 Edward attacked again (landed at Ravenspur in Yorks, and defeated (a) Warwick at first battle of *Barnet*, (b) Margaret at *Tewkesbury* Warwick was killed in battle, Prince Edward was killed after Tewkesbury, Margaret fled, and Henry VI died in prison

5 Result of the Wars.

Enormous proportion of the barons and nobility killed The country accepted Yorkists as Lancastrian dynasty now ended The ordinary country folk took little part in the wars, as they were "a mere faction fight between great families".

NOTE 37 — CAREER OF WARWICK THE KINGMAKER

Warwick, called "the Last of the Barons" represented the power of the noble family at its height The Nevilles a huge family with vast estates and many connections

1. Warwick as Ally of York.

- (a) Warwick *first supported Richard of York*, his cousin, against Somerset. Shared Richard's disgrace, and in 1459 fled with him to France
- (b) Returned with York, and won battle of Northampton, but was defeated by Margaret at St Albans Then helped Edward of York to win Towton Acted as warm *supporter of Edward as King*, 1461-64
- (c) Warwick meant to be chief power behind the throne Was a man of great ability and great courage, and Edward owed his throne to him. *Edward IV now alienated Warwick*
 - (i) He married Elizabeth Woodville, and disappointed Warwick's plan for a French match, and advanced all her family
 - (ii) He thwarted Warwick's plans for marriage of his (Warwick's) relatives.
 - (iii) He opposed Warwick's foreign policy of friendship with France, and instead allied himself to Burgundy.
- (d) Result, *Warwick plotted with Clarence*, overthrew Edward and captured him at Edgecote, and executed the Woodvilles. Restored Edward as King, thinking he had taught him a lesson (1469).

2. Warwick as Ally of Lancaster.

(a) Edward bided his time, and in 1470 collected troops, and forced Warwick and Clarence to fly for their lives. They went to France, where Louis XI, whom Warwick had always supported, brought about reconciliation with Queen Margaret. Warwick now *allied with Lancastrians*, and planned invasion of England. (Warwick's daughter married Prince Edward.) Warwick and Clarence returned to England, Edward IV's men deserted him, he fled to Burgundy (his ally), and *Warwick restored Henry VI*.

(b) Edward with his brother Richard decided to attack. Landed in Yorkshire, and marched south. Clarence deserted Warwick and joined his two brothers. Armies met at second battle of *Barnet*, and Warwick was defeated and killed.

Warwick showed great courage and ability, and Edward IV who owed him his throne, showed ingratitude towards him. Edward's later career showed him to have had no real capacity.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD FOUR (1399-1485)

Sovereign.	Events in Britain.	Dates	Events Abroad.	Dates.
Henry IV (1399-1413)	De Haeretic Comburendo, Rebellion of Owen Glendower; Percy-Mortimer Plot Battle of Homildon Hill Battle of Shrewsbury	1401 1402 1403	Quarrel of Burgundy and Armagnac.	1400
Henry V (1413-1422)	Henry invades France (Battle of Agincourt) Sir John Oldcastle burnt Treaty of Troyes Regency of Bedford; Quarrels of Bedford and Gloucester	1415 1416 1420 1422	Murder of Duke of Orleans, Battle of Agincourt Murder of Duke of Burgundy, Death of Charles VI Joan of Arc End of Anglo-Burgundian Alliance.	1407 1415 1419 1422 1428 1431 1435
Henry VI (1422-1461)	Death of Bedford. Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Cade's Rebellion End of Hundred Years' War; Birth of Prince of Wales Wars of Roses begin; 1st Battle of St. Albans, Battle of Wakefield	1435 1445 1450 1453	Columbus born Battle of Formigny Battle of Châtillon, Constantinople taken by the Turks	1446 1450 1453
Edward IV (1461-1483)	Quarrel of York and Neville Battle of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Murder of Clarence Buckingham's Rebellion.	1455 1461 1471 1478 1483		
Richard III (1483-1485)				
Henry VII (1485-1509)	Henry Tudor's Rebellion, Battle of Bosworth.	1485		

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD FOUR
(1399-1485)

1. Sketch the part played in the Hundred Years' War by: (a) the Black Prince; (b) Joan of Arc. (LM 1932)
2. What difficulties faced Henry IV on his accession, and how did he deal with them? (CL 1932)
3. Show how Henry IV overcame his difficulties. (NUJB 1935)
4. Compare the efforts of Richard II and Henry IV to assert the royal authority against the nobles. (NUJB 1938)
5. Write a short account of *two* of the following: (a) foreign trade in the fourteenth century; (b) the Peasants' Revolt; (c) the Lollards; (d) Henry V's conquests in France. (NUJB 1938)
6. Why were the English driven from France in the reign of Henry VI? (NUJB 1937)
7. Describe the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Yorkists on the English throne. (LGS 1925)
8. Sketch the career of Warwick the Kingmaker and indicate its importance in English history. (LM 1931)
9. Illustrate from the Wars of the Roses the character and aims of the two contending parties. (OL 1927)

PERIOD FIVE

THE STRONG MONARCHY — THE TUDORS

1485-1603

CHAPTER 26

THE NEW MONARCHY — HENRY VII

(1485-1509)

1. INTRODUCTORY: THE NEW IDEAS

Henry VII began a new dynasty, and a new order. The world was to change greatly during the period when the Tudors ruled England. We pass into what is reckoned "modern" history.

Henry VII's reign is on the parting of the ways between medieval and modern England — its character is indeterminate. Most of the King's legislation was medieval; much of his policy, especially his marriage policy, was modern. Yet if we go back or forward a little we have no doubts about the character of the surroundings. Warwick was medieval, but Wolsey was not. Richard III, with an environment of axe and dagger, murder and sudden death, belongs to the museum of historical antiquities; Henry VIII, though scarcely less blood-stained, is yet essentially modern.

The
turning-
point
between
Medieval
and
Modern

It is not difficult to find the new characteristics which mark off the age of the Tudors. There is the policy of what historians call "*dynastic marriages*" — marriage alliances by which monarchs attempt to build up world empires, adding kingdom to kingdom by marriages, as the barons in the Wars of the Roses had added estate to estate. One development of this policy threatened to link England

Charac-
teristics
of the
Tudor
times: 1.
Dynastic
marriages

with Spain; another seemed likely to couple Scotland and France; a third, with more auspicious union, did join England and Scotland, and the union has not been shaken. There was the invention of *printing*; and there was the *new learning*, the substitution of criticism for entire obedience to authority. Then there was also the moving of the waters of religion, ending in the *Reformation*. The realm wavered between the old faith and the new, and in the end became Protestant; that change, too, was final. Lastly, there was the abandonment of the old policy of conquering territory in France, and, in its stead, the inrush into the *New World* which began the making of the British Empire, our latest and greatest inheritance. Any one of these would suffice to mark a new epoch; together they cleave a huge chasm between the old and the new.

2. New Learning.
3. Reformation.
4. England as a sea power

These characteristics, it is true, are not peculiar to England, nor indeed English in origin. Spain gave the earliest examples of successful dynastic marriages; she also, with Portugal, was first in the New World. The new learning had its birth in Italy. Germany led that revolt against Rome, which, with varying severity, attacked in turn every European country. Not merely does Tudor England differ widely from Plantagenet England; the same difference reveals itself between fifteenth-century Europe and sixteenth-century Europe, and to understand English history at this period we must note the change that was taking place in the states around.

Changes also European

Put briefly, it is the change from the old word "Christendom" to the modern word "Europe". In old times, though men of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England spoke different tongues and were of different race, yet they had some common bonds. They were all of one church, all members of Christendom, all in a sense under the headship of Pope and Emperor — the "Two Swords" to which Christ's words after the Last Supper were held to apply. The name "Christendom" had, thus, a *monarchic* sense; it

implied a common faith, some unity of purpose, and a common obedience to Christ's Regents on earth. But the name "Europe" bears no such meaning. It is *anarchic*, for Europe owns obedience to no ruler, and has no community of purpose; there is no longer even one Church. Europe is a collection of independent states, each under its own government; these states are indeed joined by geography and entangled by politics, but each is seeking its own interest. This momentous change from "Christendom" to "Europe" was brought about by the appearance of a new political idea — the idea of the "*nation*".

The idea
of
"nation"

The latter half of the fifteenth century saw the decay of feudalism and the building up of strong monarchies. It saw Louis XI create France; it saw that union of Aragon and Castile in the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which made Spain; it saw the Tudor line begin to heal the wounds left by the Wars of the Roses, and set up a monarchy which was really supreme. In each country, too, came a vigorous growth of national spirit, and a pride in national power. This spirit of national ambition revealed itself in Charles VIII of France's expedition into Italy; in the long struggle between France and Spain, in which England took now one side, now the other; in the new idea that the religion of each nation was a matter for its own concern and its own decision; and in the rivalry of the New World. Thus in a sense the new characteristics which we observed as marking Tudor England spring from a cause which is common to the whole of Europe, the *growth of national feeling*. For a time the new spirit was encumbered with the wreckage of the past — old beliefs, old policies, old traditions of the Medieval Papacy and the Medieval Empire. By degrees these were cleared away, and the new system, the society of "nations", set up in its place. True, that to begin with the important nations were only France, Spain, and England. Germany and Italy were still unnational, overweighted the one with the Empire, the other with the Papacy; and

New
mon-
archies

Growth of
national
feeling

Rise of
the powers

centuries had to elapse before these, or the unwieldy power of Russia, entered upon the scene of international politics. (*Note 40.*)

2. REVOLTS AGAINST HENRY: REMEDIES FOR DISORDERS

Marriage of Henry: Union of York and Lancaster In England at first Henry VII had to meet the backwash of the Wars of the Roses. By his marriage with Elizabeth of York he joined the Red Rose to the White. If Henry's own claim was weak, that of his wife was strong; the children of that marriage would have an undisputed claim to the throne. We are tempted to think of the fairy prince, after many persecutions by robbers and demons, killing the ogre in single combat, wedding the princess, and living happily ever afterwards. The comparison is singularly false. There was nothing of the fairy prince about the astute, relentless, money-getting character of Henry VII.

Revolt of Lambert Simnel Nor did disorder die as suddenly as Richard III; it did not perish on Bosworth Field. It revived in Lovel's insurrection, which broke out in 1487. Edward, Earl of Warwick, was the son of George, Duke of Clarence, and thus, after the death of Richard III represented the last male heir of the Yorkist line. The young Edward was actually living in the Tower, as a state prisoner, but the Yorkists now put up *Lambert Simnel* to impersonate him. A mixed army of Yorkists, German mercenaries, and levies from Ireland was collected under his banner. A battle was fought **Battle of Stoke (1487)—the last battle of Wars of the Roses** at *Stoke*, where the Yorkists lost what was to be the last battle of the Wars of the Roses. Henry treated Simnel with leniency, thinking this the best policy, and he paraded the true Clarence through London to show the fraudulence of Simnel.

Perkin Warbeck A far more formidable and troublesome person was *Perkin Warbeck*, who for seven years gave Henry trouble. In 1492 he appeared in Ireland claiming to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two Princes in the Tower.

He made the round of all Henry's enemies. Margaret of Burgundy took up his cause, and was consistently the chief person behind him. The King of France invited him to Paris, but by the Treaty of Étapes (1492) Henry secured his expulsion from France. He went to Flanders to Margaret, and from there a great plot was made which, being discovered by Henry, led to the execution of Clifford, Stanley, and Mountfort. Warbeck himself landed in Kent (1495), but this expedition proving a complete failure, he went to Ireland, and on to Scotland. There the King, anxious to harass Henry, took up his cause, and provided him with one of his own kinswomen as a bride. But two Scottish invasions of England failed, and, in 1497, James IV asked Warbeck to depart from Scotland. He could no longer take refuge in Flanders, for Philip of Burgundy now came to terms with Henry. The treaty, which was signed in 1496, was known as the "*Magnus Intercursus*" and encouraged the export of wool to the Netherlands, but it also contained a clause forbidding the entry of rebels against Henry into Philip's dominions. After crossing to Ireland to collect troops, Warbeck now made his fourth and final attempt to gain England. He landed at Penzance, took St. Michael's Mount, and besieged Exeter. The royal army advanced and he could not withstand it. He fled and surrendered (1497). Henry at first intended to treat him leniently and sent him to imprisonment in the Tower. After two years he tried to escape with Warwick, and their failure brought about the execution of both, Henry's patience being at an end. Warbeck deserved little sympathy; but it was hard measure for the young Clarence, who had been sixteen years in prison, first Richard III's captive and then Henry VII's. The change of dynasty had brought him no relief; he was dangerous to both sides. Henry no doubt felt as Essex felt about Strafford, that "stone dead hath no fellow". There were no more plots. (*Note 39.*)

Supported
by Mar-
garet of
Burgundy.

by
France,

by English
plotters

Warbeck
sup-
ported by
Scotland

The
"Magnus
Inter-
cursus"
Treaty

Final
attempt
on Eng-
land
(1497)

Henry was now victor, and he never allowed the nobles

Action of Henry against baronage to rise again. Their power had rested on the retainers; they and not the Crown wielded the fighting force of the nation. By his statute of "Livery" Henry destroyed the retainer. It was made illegal to dispense "Livery", the uniform or badge "delivered" to those who had contracted to fight for their employer. No longer would the Bear and Ragged Staff, the Knot, the Portcullis, or the White Lion disturb their neighbours¹. The "private soldier" disappeared, and with him the curse of private war. Even so staunch a friend of King Henry's as the Earl of Oxford was sentenced to a heavy fine for welcoming the King with a body of men wearing the "Radiant Star" of de Vere. Henry could not endure to see his laws broken in his sight.

Statute of Livery Just as the Statute of Livery disarmed the rebel, so the Statute of Maintenance crippled the bully. For fifty years the law courts had been of little use, because no jury dared to do its duty against a great lord. When a case in which he was concerned was tried, his men-at-arms would crowd the court, ready to intimidate the jury by what is cynically called "moral" force, ready even to back this up by physical violence, should the other fail. This "Maintenance" of an adherent's suit in court by pressure was now made illegal. Relieved from fear, the ordinary law courts could be trusted once more to give justice.

Statute of Maintenance Yet one more precaution was taken by Henry VII in his creation of the Star Chamber. This court, though set up by Act of Parliament, owed its powers indirectly to the Crown. The King in theory was the fount of justice. Sitting in his council he could deal with offenders too powerful for the ordinary law. Henry VII had no wish to be judge himself; the days for a king on the bench were past; but his powers were handed over to the Star Chamber. In it sat the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal, a bishop, and two chief justices, armed with powers to suppress all breaches of the law by offenders too noble or too high to be reached by the

The Star Chamber

¹ The badges respectively of Warwick, Buckingham, Beaufort, and Mowbray.

ordinary courts. It could punish by fines and imprisonment; it could deal with juries who gave unsatisfactory verdicts; it was, in short, a court to protect the weak against the strong. It is strange that in its later days it should be turned from its original use, and become the engine of tyranny.

Thus either in battle, or on the scaffold, or under the new authority of the Crown, the barons' power dwindled. No longer monopolizing the great offices of State, no longer exalted by intermarriage with royal sons and daughters — for Henry began a new policy of marriage — the great houses ceased to be a menace to the kingdom. Their power passed away, but the dread of it lived on later. As we shall see, under the Tudors the nation steadily supported the Crown, even when it seemed tyrannous, for fear that to weaken it might open the door to disorder once more. The great baronial houses perished in the turmoil they had created. They perished, however, alone. The Wars of the Roses hardly touched the common folk. The struggle was of the barons, not of the people. True, the party of York was more "popular" than the party of Lancaster. The Lancastrians had enjoyed a longer time to exhibit their capacity for misgovernment, and their supporters from the Welsh borders and the north were unusually fierce and lawless, even in a lawless age. Hence well-to-do merchants, peaceful traders, and honest craftsmen, were Yorkist rather than Lancastrian. But they confined their encouragement to sympathy; they took no active share. Hence, save for the local disorder, the realm thrived well enough; its industrial progress went on steadily; its wool trade with Burgundy was not interrupted; some of the older towns decayed, but new ones were springing up.

Collapse
of the
baronage

3 THE SEED TIME

Henry VII's reign was a period of remedy and a period of seed time. The remedies belonged to past ills. The sowing

was to bear great fruit in the future. For the meantime the results were hidden. We need only notice briefly what the seed was like.

1. First came the planting of the overpoweringly strong Tudor monarchy. The Wars of the Roses had left the barons exhausted, the Commons utterly discredited, and the realm filled with one great longing, namely, for peace. Peace could only be assured by the keeping of good order: order, it seemed, could only be kept by a strong king. Hence the determination of the nation to support the Crown. Let the king only be strong and of a good courage, and all would be well. Were he weak, or were the succession doubtful, disorder might break out again. Henry VII was avaricious, and Henry VIII seemed fitful and bloodthirsty; Mary was a Catholic, and a persecutor of Protestant subjects; yet all had, on the whole, the support of the people. The Tudors are sometimes spoken of as despots. If this be understood to mean stern absolute rulers, on whom Parliament imposed very little check, the name is fitting. If we infer that they held their people crushed down in an unwilling servitude, the inference is wrong. The Tudors were absolute because England believed in them, trusted them, and was willing that they should be absolute.

Various causes helped them to be absolute. Henry VII gathered a great hoard of money, then as now an unfailing source of power. His ministers — Cardinal Morton, Empson, and Dudley — used all sorts of methods to fill his exchequer, partly by demanding benevolences, more by imposing large fines on all who had trespassed on the rights of the Crown. Henry VIII spent all that his father had collected, but enriched himself in his turn by plundering the monasteries and the Church.

The coming into common use of gunpowder also strengthened the Crown. For more than a hundred years gunpowder had been known, but the early guns and cannons were so clumsy that they did not at first supersede

The
Tudor
despotism

Based on
popular
support

Financial
strength

Control of
armed
force

the bow and the old siege-engines. When, however, artillery began to be efficient, the value of the old baronial castle dwindled away; and as the king alone possessed artillery, he had an advantage in war with which no rebel could compete. Further, since bullets were no respecters of either persons or plate-armour, the armoured knight no longer enjoyed comparative immunity in battle, and so was less ready to fly to arms in order to back a quarrel.

2. In his later years, Henry's commercial policy took a step forward. He wished to foster the wool trade, and in 1506 chance gave him a great opportunity. Philip of Burgundy was wrecked on the English shores, and Henry, before letting him leave the country, forced him to sign a commercial treaty. This gave England such very favourable terms for the export of her wool that the Flemings called it the "*Malus Intercursus*".

Further, Henry enforced the old Navigation Acts, passed in the reigns of Richard II and Edward IV, which ordered English ships to be used in foreign trade. In particular all wine from Gascony was to be brought in English ships. The idea was to increase our mercantile marine even if it meant that the English shipper, having a monopoly, charged more for the goods.

Henry VII's reign saw the Genoese navigator Columbus discover the New World for Spain (1492), and Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope and open the route to the East for Portugal (1497). Nor was England content merely to look on. In 1497 some Bristol merchants fitted out an English ship, which under Venetian leaders — John and Sebastian Cabot — first reached the mainland of America. The value of these discoveries was slow to reveal itself. None the less, the change when it came was enormous. Commerce began to pass from the "thalassic" to the "oceanic" stage; that is to say, that while hitherto it had gone along the landlocked seas, especially the Mediterranean, it now began to put out on to the Atlantic. The

change of trade routes meant much to England. While the Mediterranean had been the highway, England had been far off. The new highway lay at her door. Henceforth the States with an oceanic seaboard rose. England, France, Spain, and the Low Countries thrived; Venice, Genoa, and the Mediterranean ports dwindled. Henry VII's reign saw only the sowing of the seed; yet when the harvest came long years after, it was a great one for England.

3. So, too, with the new learning. Taking its second birth, its "renaissance", in Italy, it spread to other lands, bringing with it an enthusiasm for learning, especially for classical learning, and a desire to search out what was true. In its origin there was nothing about the new learning hostile to the old faith. Indeed, more than one pope encouraged and patronized the scholars. And when some of these, in their enthusiasm for Greek and Roman culture, were tempted into irreligious expressions, the Church treated them on the whole with the mild disregard which parents extend to wilful children. But the new spirit of research and criticism did not confine itself to classical texts; it attacked theological claims also. This the Papacy felt to be undesirable, if not dangerous; and thus the new learning and the theologians gradually parted company. In Henry VII's reign the parting of the ways had not been reached; Grocyn and Linacre, who taught Greek at Oxford, and Colet, who lectured on the Greek Testament, were mainly interested in spreading *learning*. Yet in the Flemish scholar Erasmus the signs of the coming struggle appear. Erasmus was always ready to mock the theology of the monks. Doubtless the monks' erudition was old-fashioned and often absurd. Yet ridicule is the first step in sapping the foundations of belief. Erasmus never became a Protestant, but he set the feet of many of his followers on the road. Again the seed lay in the ground germinating.

4. So it was also with the policy of dynastic marriages — marriages, that is to say, among royal houses, intended to

bring great inheritances and unite realms. It may seem at first sight out of character that this policy should accompany the growth of a national spirit, since it is absolutely at variance with ideas of national policy as we know them. Dynastic marriages

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a monarch had not yet become merely an official. He directed the policy of the country, and his friendship would naturally express itself in marriage alliance. Marriages formed the easiest bond, and might prove most profitable in acquiring new dominions. Hence all statesmen were matchmakers. That a nation might object to such political *mariages de convenance* would not be a matter of serious concern to the kings and statesmen who arranged them. England was now for the first time about to join in a group of dynastic marriages, the effects of which deeply influenced European history during a great part of the sixteenth century; indeed European history of the time all hangs on them.

We have already mentioned Charles VIII's expedition to Italy. In 1494 that French monarch had allied himself with Milan, Genoa, and Florence, had marched an army through the length of Italy, and had seized the kingdom of Naples. The ease and effrontery with which his success was won alarmed everyone. Maximilian, who as Emperor had claims on Milan, and Ferdinand of Spain, who had claims on Naples, and the Pope, who was terrified at this sudden thrust from over the Alps, all sought means to guard themselves against this pushing, dangerous French monarch. The natural enemy of France was in their eyes England. Hence they strove to make alliance with Henry VII. They argued that he could, if he chose, keep France occupied at home; and if France were occupied at home, she would not be in mischief in Italy. Henry was willing to join them, and thus England took the first step in the dynastic marriages which were to prove a menace to the country for a whole century, and, after all, end fortunately. The French in Italy
The Emperor and Spain seek English alliance

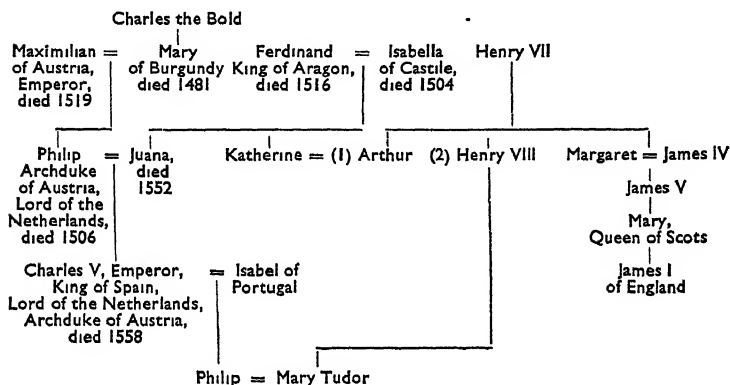
It is impossible to understand the history of the time without a knowledge of this group of marriages in which England was now joining.

Spain and the house of Habsburg The story begins with the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, which formed the nucleus round which the nation of Spain gradually formed out of the mass of little kingdoms and provinces of the Peninsula. About the same time Maximilian of Austria (of the house of Habsburg) had married Mary of Burgundy, thus winning for the house of Habsburg all Charles the Bold's Burgundian dominions, including the Low Countries. The daughter and heiress of the Spanish sovereigns, Juana, married Philip the Handsome, Maximilian's only son. This brought the Habsburgs into Spain. The new-born son of Philip and Juana, Charles (born 1500) would be heir to vast dominions. Spain, the duchy of Austria, Burgundy and the Low Countries, lands in Italy, and the Spanish possessions
Offer of Spanish marriage with England; Katherine of Aragon marries Prince Arthur and then Prince Henry oversea would all be his. The prize that was offered to Henry VII was the hand of Katherine of Aragon, younger sister of Juana, and Henry accepted it for his eldest son, Arthur. Arthur, however, died in 1502 within a year of his marriage, and the bride was affianced to the King's second son Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

Hostility to France Here, then, was the first great marriage-stroke, entwining the fortunes of England with those of Spain and Austria, securing its aid against the ambition of France. In the future lay other unexpected great events destined to spring from it — the English Reformation and the Marian persecution. Henry had before this joined in hostility to France. He had made a show of fighting, and sent an expeditionary force in 1492, taking ships and besieging Boulogne. But the proceedings were a mere form, and peace was made by the
Treaty of Etaples *Treaty of Etaples* (1492). The French King paid him a large indemnity in money, and promised to withdraw his support of the Pretender, Perkin Warbeck. Henry had gained both cash and increased security.

Not content with this, another blow was aimed at France by the politicians of the house of Habsburg. France had been the enemy of England, and therefore the ally of Scotland. To detach the Scots from the French and so leave France isolated would be a master-stroke. To effect this the hand of Margaret, Henry VII's elder daughter, was offered to James IV of Scotland, and he accepted it (1502).

Marriage
alliance
with
Scotland



Having thus raised England to a position of great influence in Europe Henry VII died, and left the working out of his schemes to his son. (*Note 38.*)

CHAPTER 27

HENRY VIII (1509-1547)

1. WOLSEY

Henry VIII's long reign divides naturally enough into two periods. In the first the interest lies mainly abroad; eyes are fixed on international rivalries between France and Spain, the Empire and the Popes, and on diplomatic struggles amongst them. The second is taken up with the Reformation. The connecting point between the two is the

Henry
VIII's
reign
Divisions

question of the King's divorce. The two periods present a contrast. The earlier one, though full of an appearance of greatness, is in reality curiously barren of material results. Out of all the scheming, intrigues, and alliances emerges practically nothing that is tangible. The later period is perhaps the most momentous time in the whole of English history. Yet though in most respects the first period was fruitless, it was notable for one thing. It contained Wolsey: and Wolsey was the first statesman to raise England to a great place in European politics. (*Note 41.*)

The new feature of European politics of the time has been already mentioned - it was the rise of national feeling showing itself in the creation of nation-states. This new idea, however, was still striving with the Medieval notion of Christendom, the headship of Papacy and Empire. Hence the chief theatre of the politics lay in Italy. But there England had no direct interests or claims. Hitherto in the eyes of Papacy and Empire, in the ideas of Christendom, her place had been unimportant. It is a significant fact that at the Council of Constance (1414), where the voting went by *nations*, England was not recognized as a separate nation at all. She was grouped with the Germans.

By intervening in these European politics which had their centre in Italy, Wolsey hoped to make England of importance, and by the skill which he showed in setting off one nation against the other, England for a time did carry weight in Europe. Finally it was partly through Italian politics that Henry's divorce was refused, thus bringing about the breach with Rome and the Reformation.

Since for the first twenty years of Henry VIII's reign the attitude of England was the chief question for all diplomatists, and since, further, England's diplomacy lay in the hands of one of the greatest diplomatists she has ever produced, some knowledge of the course of events is essential, even though at the end none of the results aimed at appear to be attained.

Henry's early policy was to attack France, and events abroad gave him his opportunity. Italy after Charles VIII's expedition had been in a constant state of confusion. France, Spain, and the Papacy had first united to attack Venice in the *League of Cambrai*, but now they had quarrelled.

Attack on France

The Pope, Julius II, wished to drive the French out of Italy. He formed a *Holy League* to do this.

Ferdinand of Spain persuaded his son-in-law, Henry VIII, to join the Holy League, and invited him to attack France in the rear. Henry, anxious for glory, agreed. The outcome of this was a fruitless expedition to Guienne in 1511, and the more successful campaign of 1513, in which Terouenne and Tournai were taken and the Battle of the Spurs won. Another result was the battle of Flodden, where the Scots, faithful as usual to their French alliance, invaded England and were completely routed. Then, as Henry saw that he was being left to do all the work, while Ferdinand and Maximilian reaped the rewards, he withdrew from the alliance.

Henry joins the Holy League

Expeditions to France (1511-13)

It is this turn of policy which marks the rise of Wolsey. So far, all had been in the old fashion — an attempt to recover the lost lands in Guienne, a war against the old rival, France, accompanied as usual by an irruption of the old enemy, Scotland, over the borders. In the diplomacy and in the preparations for war Wolsey had made a sudden great reputation. Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, rector of Lymington, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, royal chaplain to Henry VII, he found in the new King a master who gave him work and rewarded the vigour with which he performed it. In gratitude for Wolsey's efforts to fit out the expedition of 1513 Henry made him Bishop of Tournai, and in the next year Bishop of Lincoln. More important still, he gave him his confidence. Thus a new steersman stood at the wheel and gave a totally unexpected turn to it. He abandoned the policy of opposing France, and determined to turn that country into an ally.

Thomas Wolsey and his new policy

Wolsey's success in French war

Change of policy

Henry was already angry with Maximilian and Ferdinand, and readily agreed to Wolsey's schemes. The chance soon came. Louis XII's queen died: he was looking out for a new bride. With the utmost secrecy Wolsey negotiated a match between him and Henry VIII's youngest sister, Mary. That the King was fifty-two and the bride seventeen was, of course, not worth considering by a statesman. Questions of personal feeling did not weigh beside strokes of diplomacy. And the stroke was a master-stroke. Not only did it show that England had a diplomatist as subtle, silent, and speedy as any Spaniard or Italian; but by allying England with France it marked the beginning of a complete change in policy, a policy which by degrees became established as traditional, namely to treat *Spain* as England's rival and encounter her power at sea and in the New World.

The eventual results were clear and of great consequence; on the other hand, the immediate results were confused and unaccompanied by any very tangible advantage. To put it in another way, Wolsey's statesmanship only became clear as the century rolled on. For the present it was obscured by his diplomacy. And as diplomacy has to deal immediately with events as they arise, it often conveys the impression of being vacillating and opportunist. Since the first result of Wolsey's abandonment of the Holy League for a French alliance was to demonstrate how important England might be in European politics, the object of all diplomatists was to secure England's friendship. Thrown into one side of the balance or the other, England's weight would be decisive. Wolsey saw that the best and indeed the only way of preserving this position of authority was to keep, or to seem to keep, an open mind. To decide firmly for one side or the other was to lose the power of decision. Yet, while Wolsey's policy at times swayed between France and Spain, on the whole, at each important crisis, he turned towards France as the better ally.

If we summarize the course of events we shall see this more clearly. His first stroke, the marriage of Mary with Louis XII, was robbed of its value by the death of Louis in 1515. His successor, Francis I, an ambitious young man, immediately plunged into war to regain the duchy of Milan, and defeated the Swiss allies of the duke at Marignano. Europe again grew alarmed lest France should grow too strong. In the next year Ferdinand of Aragon died, and his grandson Charles became his heir, uniting under his rule an alarming mass of territory — Burgundy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sicily. Again Wolsey met this danger with a French alliance, and confirmed it with the pledge of Henry's infant daughter Mary to the Dauphin. With great skill he negotiated a Universal Peace, in which the Pope, the Emperor, France, Spain, and Scotland joined. Thus he made England appear as supreme arbiter in European politics.

Francis I
The passing of the old men — Louis XII (1515), Ferdinand (1516)

Charles of Spain

Peace treaty of 1516

In 1519 came a fresh change with the death of the Emperor Maximilian. Francis and Charles V were both candidates to succeed him as Emperor. Henry's vanity compelled Wolsey to put his claim forward too, though his chances were never seriously treated. Eventually Charles was elected, England maintaining a position of neutrality towards both sides in order that each might feel that any unfriendliness might throw Henry into his rival's camp. Each power tried to win Wolsey and the alliance of his royal master, by dangling before him the bait of the Papacy, and promising support at the next vacancy in the Holy See. This phase is marked by the glories of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where Henry first met Francis, but having made no treaty with him went on to Calais to interview the Emperor Charles.

Death of Maximilian (1519). Contest for the Empire

The Field of Cloth of Gold

Henry allies with Charles

All was now in the hands of the young men. Charles of Spain, Francis of France, and Henry of England were much less cautious and wary than Louis XII, Ferdinand, and Maximilian. The problem, too, had been narrowed and intensified, for Maximilian's and Ferdinand's powers had

The young men

Influence
of Kath-
erine of
Aragon

Wolsey's
dis-
approval
of the
Spanish
alliance

French
defeat

Sack of
Rome

England
allies with
France
again

coalesced. There was no longer Spain and the Empire to be considered. They were under one ruler, and they lay on either side of France. The rivals, however, could not keep at peace; and Henry, urged by his Spanish wife, by the national connection between England and Flanders in commerce, and by the old-fashioned liking which his nobles had for a war with France, took the side of Spain. Wolsey disapproved, but he could not sway his master. Two campaigns, however, showed that it was easier to plan the reconquest of the lost English provinces than to carry it into effect. It was almost impossible to get money to carry on the war. Parliament would give no supplies. Wolsey's device of a benevolence, under a new and more alluring title of "the Amicable Loan", was met with clamour and even tumult. In 1525 Francis was defeated and captured at Pavia,¹ and Wolsey had drawn off from the Spanish side. In 1527 the Imperial troops, under the Duke of Bourbon, sacked Rome, and made Pope Clement VII prisoner. Wolsey used the indignation which this outrage on the Pope caused to prepare a fresh French alliance.

Close on the heels of this came the trouble of the King's divorce, leading to Wolsey's fall, and the Reformation. The languid interest which the country had shown in Wolsey's somewhat bewildering diplomacy suddenly sprang into a flame when the old grievance of the papal power in England came to the front. Here must be traced the beginnings of the Reformation.

2. THE REFORMATION

(i) THE NEW LEARNING AND THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

It is almost universally true of the great figures in the world's history that they are partly shaped by the trend of current opinion, and are so far the product of their time:

¹ "Tout est perdu pour l'honneur (et ma vie)," he wrote to his mother.

yet more still they react on public opinion, and so shape their time to their own opinions. So with Luther. To grasp the significance of his work it is needful to see where he merely took up a movement already started, and also how far he gave a new turn to its direction.

A scholarly knowledge of ancient Greek was, during the greater part of the Middle Ages, a very rare accomplishment even in Constantinople, and in other parts of Europe it was almost non-existent. But in Italy at the close of the fourteenth century, and especially during the fifteenth century, came a great revival of the study of ancient Greek. An interest in Greek once stimulated in Italy, there came a demand for Greek writings to read. These were first the classical writers, and above all Plato. Curiosity, once stirred, spread. Classic Greek revived classic Latin; and the Italian Renaissance took the shape of a classic revival in letters and art. To it the world owes an amazing debt in scholarship, sculpture, literature, painting. But it does not owe the Reformation. The spirit of the New Learning showed no signs of being in any way anti-papal. It would study, comment, and criticize; but it would do nothing.

Yet in Italy, as elsewhere through Europe, there was much that needed doing. While the New Learning was rekindling Italian scholarship, the Church, as illustrated by its leaders the popes, seemed to be decaying in morals and influence. Even so honest and well-meaning a pope as Pius II could not raise a spark of real enthusiasm in his attempt to stir Europe once more to drive back the Turks. The days of crusading zeal were past. Gradually, from 1470 onwards, the popes slipped into what was going on around them. They became Italian princes, seeking to build up for the Church a strong principality. Only by having such a strong principality, so it was thought, could the papacy maintain its independence against the Italian princes.

Still, the manifold abuses of the time, the emptiness of the Papacy, the alliance that was growing closer between

the Church and the world, the aloofness that prevailed between religion and life, the gap that was widening between the new learning and the old theology, caused no real troublings of heart in Italy. Italy had acquiesced for so long in the position and claims of the medieval Church, as embodied in the papal system, that it believed this to be as enduring as the sun in the firmament. The scholars may have despised the churchmen a little, as being ignorant and unenlightened, but they accepted the Papacy and its ways. The Papacy, in its turn, tolerated the scholars with easy confidence. Indeed, some popes, such as Nicholas V and Leo X, were great patrons of literature and art; and Julius II gave architects and artists such as Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo wonderful opportunities at Rome.

The Pope
as patron
of art

The New
Learning
in Ger-
many and
England

Desire for
reform

Germany and England had got what Italy had not — a sense that wrong is not the less wrong for being long upheld, and that right, even if new, may still be right. In Germany and in England the New Learning was practical. Men felt that learning was barren unless it bore directly upon life. To know better was useless, if it did not lead men to live better and to do better. Thus the scholarship which in Italy worked among the classics turned across the Alps to the field of the New Testament.

Two types, then, were characteristic of the New Learning in the north: the theologian, who, while not regardless of tradition and of what men had been taught in the past, yet applied his learning to it to find out what he believed to be the *truth*; secondly, the reformer, who, fearless of power and dignitaries, followed out his conclusions to do what he felt to be *right*. The best examples of these two types are Erasmus and Luther.

Desiderius Erasmus was a Fleming. Left an orphan and pushed into a monastery, he had as a boy acquired an intense dislike for monks and their life, and on coming of age had quitted his monastery. He had studied at Paris and then at Oxford, and later his wanderings included

Erasmus

Germany and Italy. Too wide-minded to fall in with either the impractical spirit of the Italian Renaissance, or the theological brawling which was disturbing Germany, his critical mind set others on the path from which he himself ultimately shrunk back. His influence was displayed in two ways. First, in his book, the *Praise of Folly*, he taught the world, and especially the world of scholars, to laugh at the old-fashioned scholastic learning of the monks.¹ Many had in different ages assailed the monks with abuse, and done them on the whole little harm. To the poisoned shafts of Erasmus's wit no effective reply was possible. Yet ridicule of the monks and their opinions naturally resulted in a contempt for their order and their faith; this meant a sapping of one of the buttresses of the Church. But much more important than Erasmus's work as a wit was his work as a critic. He published, in 1516, a complete edition of the Greek Testament, and placed beside the Greek a new Latin translation, in which he corrected what seemed to him to be mistakes, while in notes he expressed freely his ideas upon current beliefs. One example will illustrate the whole. On the text, "Upon this rock I will build my church", he observes that this does not refer only to the Pope, but to all Christians. Methods of this kind would speedily call upon all the claims of the papacy to justify themselves from the Bible, and would press for their rejection should they fail to do so.

His edition
of the
New
Testa-
ment

What Erasmus taught was put into practice by Martin Luther. A peasant by birth, he had entered an Augustinian house at Erfurt, but the life of the cloister gave him no comfort, for he was oppressed with an intense consciousness of inward sin. He left the monastery in 1508, and became a teacher of theology in the new Saxon university of Wittenberg. A visit to Rome which he paid in 1510 revealed to him the depth of carelessness and indifference which pervaded the papal court. He set himself more anxiously than

Martin
Luther

¹ The book was not directed against the monks particularly, but against fools. Erasmus merely found the species plentiful in monasteries.

Indul-
gences

ever to study the Bible, in the belief that here was to be found the only remedy against what he called "the reign of slothfulness" which "made the way to heaven so easy that a single sigh suffices". So, when the Dominican friar Tetzel came into Saxony with a commission to grant indulgences (which remitted penances imposed after sin) in return for a gift towards the fund for building St. Peter's in Rome, Luther took fire. There was, he felt, grave danger that simple or careless men would interpret the giving of money in the wrong way; that they would not realize that sin must be atoned for by inward penitence, and that till this was done and absolution granted, charitable and pious actions and gifts, however virtuous, were useless. Accordingly he posted on the church door at Wittenberg a series of theses explaining his views, inviting discussion, and asking for an expression of "the mind of the pope".

Luther's
quarrel
with
Rome

Luther wished to have a discussion on a doubtful point of theology, but the papacy had no wish for such a discussion. Doubtless the doctrine of indulgences led to abuses; later, at the Council of Trent, the Church had to condemn "disreputable gains" made by those who desired to obtain them; yet equally certainly the system of indulgences had proved most profitable to the papacy. To destroy it would throw papal finance into confusion; to meddle with it was dangerous. Accordingly Luther must be bidden to hold his tongue.

Luther
attacks
the Pope

But Luther persisted. When commanded again to be silent, he inquired into the pope's motives for ordering silence, and began to question whether the pope might not himself be wrong. Other popes had erred. Why not Leo X (who was Pope at that time)?

The dispute went busily on, and Luther's ideas were listened to with attention. He began to speak also in a way that could be understood. Discarding Latin, the learned language in which till now all the theological discussions had been enshrouded, he appealed to the Germans in their own

German tongue. And his ideas soon became more extreme. He began to demand changes in doctrine. He wished to sweep away four of the seven sacraments, and he began to talk of the powers of a General Council over the papacy.

His
demand
for
reforms

The one way now to extinguish Luther was to deprive him of support by removing grounds of complaint. This could be done only by making a serious attempt to right abuses and cool down anger by reasonable reform and concession. This, however, was not the policy of the Papacy.

Luther was condemned at the Diet of Worms in 1521, and the princes of the Empire were adjured to root out his heresy.

Condem-
nation of
Luther

But five years later Pope and Emperor quarrelled. The Pope had absolved Francis I from keeping the promises Charles had exacted from him after the defeat of Pavia, and accordingly Charles refused to support the Papal cause against the heretics. The imperial policy was reversed; each prince was given liberty to act about Luther "as he thought he could answer to God and the Emperor" — that is to say, as seemed best to his own taste. Immediately after, the Imperial troops — a mixture of Spanish Catholics and German Lutherans, led by the French renegade Bourbon — sacked Rome with every species of horror and blasphemy, and held the Pope imprisoned in his Castle of St. Angelo.

Quarrel of
Pope and
Emperor

Yet, though Lutheranism had spread in Germany, no powerful state had put Luther's views into practice by rejecting the authority of the Pope. This momentous step was first taken by England. Here is the reason why the English Reformation was an event of paramount importance not only in our land, but all over Europe. (*Note 44.*)

(11) THE BREACH WITH ROME

English scholars had been as zealous as the Germans in seeking the New Learning, and had sought it in the same practical spirit. *Grocyn* studied at Florence, and came back to lecture at Oxford in 1491. *John Colet*, Dean of St. Paul's,

The
English
Reformers

Colet had, like Erasmus, valued his Greek most because by it he could unlock the treasures of the Gospels: he had unhesitatingly set aside the learning of the schoolmen, as being barren or misleading, and based his teaching on the literal words of the New Testament. In his foundation of St. Paul's Grammar School he gave clear proof of his aims, by causing to be placed over the master's chair in his new school the image of the child Christ, with the words, "Hear ye Him". **Erasmus** himself taught at Cambridge, and inspired Latimer and Fisher with his ideas. In brilliance of wit and in seriousness of mind he found a rival in his own friend, **Thomas More**. More's book, *Utopia*, describing the ideal land of "Nowhere", was far in advance of its time in its wide and tolerant principles. He pictures a commonwealth where the aim of law was the good of its members; where all were free to worship as they pleased "because it is not in a man's power to believe as he list"; where none were poor, because goods were held in common, yet all had to work because work was necessary to human wellbeing; where the sovereign was removable "on suspicion of a design to enslave his people"; where all children were taught; and where the punishment for crime was so to be ordered to make the criminal "ever after live a true and honest man". This foreshadows all that the modern state has striven after and a good deal that it has not yet attained. No book shows so well as *Utopia* how the human soul may leap forward out of the trammels of its time. Yet though More, Colet, and the "Greeks" at either University struggled against the "Trojans", who still clung to the old teaching and the old ideas, they could make little practical progress in the real task of reform by themselves. Till **Wolsey** the King or Wolsey would stir, nothing could be done, and both were for the present immersed in foreign diplomacy. Wolsey, it is true, saw the need for reform, but the moment was not propitious, and he was too busy ever to find a time. Being Cardinal-Legate he had the power to deal with the

Church, but he put off doing it. His few efforts were cautious and prudent. He realized that some of the monasteries needed reform, and he suppressed a few of the smaller ones, using their funds to found "Cardinal College"¹ at Oxford.

His reforms

Yet should cause of affront be given, the King would find his people willing supporters against Rome. One great source of Henry's power was that he was so completely an Englishman of his time. He understood his subjects and they him. So far he had no quarrel with the Papacy; he heartily condemned Luther, and had caused to be published in his own name a confutation of that heretic which Pope Clement had rewarded with the gift of the Golden Rose. Clement's predecessor, Leo X, had conferred on him the title of "Fidei Defensor" — a title which still figures on our coinage. But Henry had no deep-grounded respect for the Papacy, and in 1526 the cause of quarrel was not far off. Henry was tiring of his wife Katherine.

Henry VIII opposes Luther

It must be admitted that Henry and Katherine had little to hold them together. Being a Spaniard, she had disliked the French alliance to which Henry, under Wolsey's guidance, had turned so frequently, and she had pestered the King with more zeal than wisdom. Henry on his side was disappointed that she had borne him no son to follow him, and secure the succession;² each grew cool towards the other, and Henry found her companionship more and more distasteful. But his ideas were suddenly turned in the direction of a new marriage by the fact that he fell violently in love with a lady of the court named Anne Boleyn. To win Anne, it was needful to get rid of Katherine; once more Henry turned to Wolsey for help. A technical ground was not far to seek. Katherine had been his brother Arthur's widow; hence the marriage had been illegal but for a dispensation

Henry and his wife

Anne Boleyn

¹ Now Christ Church

² Katherine had given birth to four sons, but they all died at birth, and Henry believed this was the "judgment" of God on him for marrying his brother's widow.

from the Pope; the King's conscience now became convinced that the dispensation was wrong; could not his marriage be declared null and void? Popes had done greater things for monarchs than this.

Wolsey did not oppose the idea: perhaps he even suggested it to Henry; he would be glad to be rid of Katherine and her Spanish views, and he hoped to negotiate a marriage between Henry and a French princess. But though he hoped the Pope might be persuaded, yet there were many difficulties. Nothing could be said against Katherine, who was of most virtuous character. England would probably sympathize with her, especially when the King's real object, namely, to marry Anne, had leaked out. Both France and Spain would oppose it — France, because Henry and Katherine's daughter, Mary, was betrothed to the Dauphin, and such action would leave her illegitimate; Spain, because Charles V was Katherine's nephew. And in 1527, when the affair was being cautiously broached, came the sack of Rome, which left Pope Clement at Charles V's mercy. No more inauspicious moment could be chosen for trying to persuade the Pope to offer the Spanish king a deadly affront. No wonder that Wolsey hesitated.

Things went as he expected. Neither Spain nor France gave him any help. Clement put things off, then appointed Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio to hear the cause in England, but did not give them the power of final decision. Campeggio reached England in October, but the trial did not begin till the following June. Its verdict was expected in July, but at the end of that month Campeggio declared the sitting adjourned for two months more. This renewed delay made Henry furious.

Here was revealed what had been hitherto but dimly seen. The real master of England was after all not Wolsey but Henry; and Henry showed the quality which Wolsey lacked — determination, and disregard of tradition and consequence which might stand in his way. Hence, while men were

waiting for the cautious Wolsey to find his way round this thicket of political thorns, Henry, like a bull, burst through it.

He threw over Wolsey, and directed his attorney to sue for a writ of *præmunire* against his minister on the ground that, acting as Papal Legate, he had broken the statute which forbade appeals to foreign courts. The charge was iniquitous, since Wolsey had obtained his legatine authority at the King's own pressing desire, in order to use it for the King. But that, he knew, would not save him. He made instant and humble submission, acknowledging that all his goods were most justly forfeit to his "most merciful" master. Henry seized his goods, deprived him of the Great Seal, and dismissed him to his see of York. He probably was not quite sure that he might not want him again. Wolsey's enemies, however, were too strong; the Cardinal was arrested at York for high treason, and dispatched southwards to the Tower. Death, however, was more merciful than the King: broken-hearted, feeble, and despairing, Wolsey struggled to Leicester, and there died. Henry's last act was to send instructions to an envoy to question his old servant on his deathbed as to what he had done with £1500 which he had scraped together after his fall, the last remnant of that vast wealth which had been spent for the King, or seized by him. (*Note 41.*)

Wolsey's
disgrace

Præmu-
nire

Wolsey's
death
(1530)

Two steps which the King took close on Wolsey's fall are most significant of the future. He issued writs for the summoning of a Parliament, and he appointed *Sir Thomas More* to succeed Wolsey as Chancellor. Parliament save for one brief session had not met for fourteen years; it was much longer since a king had entrusted his conscience to a layman's keeping.¹ But both signs point the same way: the sway of the Church in politics was tottering, the "minister" and the layman were rising to take its place.

More
made
Chan-
cellor

It must be noted that in all his attacks on the Church, Henry was really aiming at destroying Papal power in

Anti-
papal
policy

¹ The Chancellor is "the Keeper of the King's Conscience".

England. He never attacked Roman Catholic doctrine — indeed, as we shall see later, he insisted on his subjects observing it.

In 1529 the Reformation Parliament, as it is called, met. It proceeded at once to carry out the King's policy towards the Church. The first attack fell on a vulnerable point — the pocket. Hitherto the clergy and the Church had been in the habit of getting large fees from the probate of wills, and from "corse presents" (mortuary fees, paid when a dead body was taken through a parish); some of the clergy had made money by farming and trading; all these sources of revenue were docked. Many of the clergy had held more than one benefice; these "pluralities" were now forbidden, as was the practice of non-residence, unless special leave was granted by the King. Hitherto this leave had been granted by the Pope. Here was the first grasp of the royal hand that was to tighten round the clergy.

In the second session all the clergy were entangled in the mesh that had snared Wolsey, the penalties of *Præmunire*. Wolsey was guilty, and so were they. The Convocation of Canterbury hastily bought their pardon with a gift of £100,000, York followed with £18,000. Under the law the laity were involved too, but the King graciously pardoned the rest of his subjects wholesale — for nothing — "of his benignity, special grace, pity, and liberality" as the Act of Parliament put it.

Before the next session came round the King's agents had been busy at Rome, but had made no progress over the annulling of the King's marriage. Consequently Parliament gave another turn to the screw by the *Act of Annates*: "albeit the king and all his subjects be as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of Holy Church as any people within any realm Christian", yet the payment of annates (the firstfruits of a benefice) to the Pope was henceforth to cease;¹ any bishop who paid them should forfeit lands and

¹ They did not lapse altogether: an act of 1534 bestowed them on the Crown.

goods to the King: and if in consequence of the act the Pope were to refuse the bull confirming the election of a new bishop, the bishop should be appointed by two of his brethren without waiting for the Pope's consent. But as King and Parliament did not wish to use violence "before gentle courtesy first attempted", the King was to have the power of declaring whether the Act should be put in force.

But if nothing could be got from Rome, Henry was ready to do without Rome.

A considerable body of opinion held that Henry's marriage to Katherine had not been legal, and the King now tried to reassure himself by getting the support of those who held this view. The Universities were places where qualified divines studied, and Henry now wished to have the judgment of the Universities on his marriage. Actually, the foreign Universities gave varying answers, but Oxford and Cambridge upheld Henry's view.

The universities and the annulment of marriage

Cranmer himself undertook to pronounce Henry's marriage with Katherine as invalid, and he celebrated the King's union with Anne Boleyn. The ceremony was performed in private. Parliament now stepped in too, and by the *Act of Appeals* forbade all appeals to Rome in matters of will, marriage, or divorce, either for the future or already entered on: henceforth the appeal was to go to the Upper House of Convocation. Henry could control that.

Appeals to Rome forbidden (1533)

By the time Parliament met for its fifth session Katherine had been put aside, and the marriage with Anne publicly acknowledged. Matters having been driven to this extreme point, Parliament was still bolder. For the first time it spoke of the Pope as "the Bishop of Rome otherwise called the Pope"; arranged that bishops for the future were to be elected by the dean and chapter of the diocese under a royal writ called the *congé d'élire*, but that they must elect the person named by the king in the writ — conferring a liberty with one hand and taking it back with the other. Peter's pence and every other payment made to Rome were

Marriage of Henry and Anne acknowledged

Payments to Rome stopped

stopped. No church ordinances were to be made save by the king's consent. Yet in case the Pope should even at the eleventh hour repent, Henry was again empowered to suspend or enforce these acts at his pleasure. Further, by the *First Royal Succession Act* the marriage with Katherine was declared null, and Katherine's daughter Mary cut out of the succession.

Between the fifth and sixth sessions the Pope annulled Cranmer's sentence dissolving the marriage, and to this the King retorted with a Royal Proclamation ordering all manner of prayers, mass-books, and rubrics "wherein the Bishop of Rome is named or his presumptuous proud pomp preferred", to be abolished, "and his name and memory to be never more remembered". Parliament followed this up with the *Act of Supremacy* declaring the King to be the supreme Head of the Church of England, and an oath was exacted calling on men to refuse all obedience to any foreign authority, and to accept all Acts made by the present Parliament. For refusing to take this oath the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More,¹ and Bishop Fisher were imprisoned.

The seventh and last session saw the overthrow of the smaller monasteries. As the King had now absorbed all the ecclesiastical powers which the Pope had formerly wielded in England, he had become visitor of the religious houses, which had hitherto been under the control only of the officers of their own order and of the Pope. They were soon to learn what a visitation meant. All of less annual value than £200 were suppressed, and their lands forfeited to the King. With this last blow delivered the Reformation Parliament ended. Many of these monasteries deserved to be suppressed. Throughout the Middle Ages inquiries had often been held into the state of monasteries, and action taken where required. Wolsey had previously found much amiss with some of the smaller houses and had suppressed

¹ More had accepted the divorce and the Anti-papal legislation of Parliament, but he would not accept the supremacy of the King as expressed in the oath.

them, and, indeed, few could object to the action Henry now took. These small institutions had outlived their usefulness and in many cases become places of idleness and vice.

Looking at the work of Henry and his Parliament as a whole two things emerge. To begin with, there never was a Reformation so completely political. Neither justice nor sentiment was allowed to interfere with business, and we may consider that the stopping of payments of money to Rome was the prime motive of the parties who carried through the severance. (*Note 42.*)

Reformation a political movement

Secondly, we must observe that the Reformation Parliament, which had overthrown the Pope, raised the Crown to a height unmatched before or since in English history. Besides seizing for himself all the Papal powers and much of the Church's property, Henry had been permitted to enforce statutes or not as seemed good to him; the succession had been practically left in his hands; he was armed with a new Treason Act which made even *thought* against him treasonable.

Power of Crown increased

These two qualities of the Reformation Parliament's work are reflected from the man who, under Henry, had most to do with the shaping of it. *Thomas Cromwell* was a lawyer who had grown rich by moneylending, had sat in the House of Commons, and had served Wolsey. But he was essentially a King's man at heart: not a Cardinal's. His early days of adventure in Italy had made him familiar with despotic power ruthlessly exercised, and he stopped at nothing to make the King supreme. As "Vicar General" under the Act of Supremacy, he devised the measures which brought the Church under the King. He restricted even the right of preaching to those who held royal licenses, forced the clergy to preach in favour of the Act of Supremacy, overthrew first the smaller monasteries and then the larger, turned over their property to the Crown, and swept out of his way all opposition. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, the foremost scholar and the most saintly bishop of

Thomas Cromwell

Cromwell as Vicar General

Execution of More and Fisher

the day, were executed for refusing to accept the Act of Supremacy. The monks of the Charterhouse were hanged in a batch on the same charge, or left to die in chains in Newgate. When the dissolution of the smaller monasteries provoked the north to rebellion in 1536, Cromwell never faltered. This "Pilgrimage of Grace", as the rebellion was called, was dangerous enough, for it was inspired by very genuine religious alarm. Men in the north who were more firmly Catholic than the south, less ready for the new ideas, believed that the attack on the monasteries would be followed by an onslaught on the churches. The rebels, led by Robert Aske, took as their banner the Five Wounds of Christ, and demanded that the monasteries should be restored, the reforming bishops turned out, and Cromwell banished. This last aim brought in the northern nobles, for Cromwell was looked on with mingled loathing and fear by the old nobility, as an upstart venomous snake. The Percies, Lords Westmorland and Latimer, Earl Dacre of Yorkshire, all joined; and these could bring the finest fighting men in England with them. Abbots and priors all gathered to the cause; the Abbot of Barlings rode up in full armour. Henry sent Norfolk to meet the rebels; but as he was too weak to fight, bade him make terms. He was only waiting his time; the rebels dispersed, but renewed rioting soon after gave Henry and Cromwell the excuse for revoking all that they had yielded. The leaders were seized; Lord Darcy, Lord Hussey, and the Abbots of four great monasteries were all hanged. Lesser rebels shared the same fate in dozens throughout the north. It was a stern lesson in what the Royal Supremacy meant.

This failure of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" led to the downfall of the greater monasteries. Some were forfeited for treason; others found it wisest to submit to the King. The monks were pensioned. Six of the great monasteries were refounded as secular chapters round the six new bishoprics; a little of the property was used for schools;

Revolt of
the Pil-
grimage
of Grace
(1536)

Attack on
Cromwell

Rebels
joined by
Northern
Earls

Revolt
put down

Dissolu-
tion of the
greater
mon-
asteries

a little for erecting fortresses on the coast. But the bulk of it went to the King; and he dispersed most of it — some by gift to his ministers and courtiers, much by sale — so that in a few years it had passed into many hands, and thus afforded an effectual guarantee that the Reformation would be permanent. If England were to submit again to Rome, that land would have to be restored; and in the course of a few years it was so parcelled up that 40,000 families were reckoned to have an interest in it, and these 40,000 would be sturdy Protestants. It was on this rock that Mary's schemes for restoring Roman influence shipwrecked. To take this land back by force was impossible; she had not money to buy it back. The effect of the dissolution of the greater monasteries on the economic life of England was considerable. The monks had been very large land-owners, but their methods had been old-fashioned and had been wasteful in the amount of labour employed. Now came new landlords and new methods. Sheep-farming and enclosures led to the employment of fewer men, and distress due to unemployment was made worse.

The very year which had seen the rebellion of the Pilgrimage of Grace had been marked by a great event in Henry's private life. He had married Anne Boleyn in 1533 and their daughter Elizabeth was born in September of that year. But Henry's great wish for a son had not been fulfilled. Anne's son, like those of Katherine of Aragon, died at birth. When Katherine died in January, 1536, Anne had already lost her hold on the King's affection, and on the very day of her rival's funeral she knew that her fate was sealed when she again gave birth to a child that did not survive. Within three months she was arrested, tried, and executed (19th May, 1536). Before the month was ended Henry married his third wife, Jane Seymour. Jane was to give Henry what he so ardently desired, a son. A boy was born in October, 1537, and christened Edward, his mother surviving his birth for only ten days. He was the undoubted heir whom

Henry's
marriages
and the
succes-
sion

Henry desired, for when Jane was married, both her predecessors were dead, and there could be no doubt as to the position of her son.

The remainder of Henry VIII's reign bears no very marked characteristic, either of progress or reaction. Some men deplored what had been done; others felt that a halt had been called too soon. Yet both these were small parties; the bulk of the nation was for the time quite satisfied, and the King was satisfied too.

Effect on
economic
life of
England

One important step was taken in the translation of the Bible. Most of the copies of Tyndale's version, printed abroad and smuggled into England, had been destroyed. Miles Coverdale was encouraged by Cromwell to make a new translation; this was combined in 1537 with Tyndale's work by John Rogers, who published it under the assumed name of Matthew. The King was persuaded to license it; "Great Bible" and Cranmer having written a preface for it, the "*Great Bible*" was placed in the churches. Private persons were also allowed to have copies. Although in 1543 the liberty of reading the Bible was withdrawn from "husbandmen, workmen, and women except gentlewomen", yet in 1544 the Litany and in 1545 services for morning and evening prayer were issued in English.

Transla-
tion of
the Bible

The
"Great
Bible"

While the Bible was thus placed in the hands of the people, no encouragement was given to depart from the old faith, and indeed, belief in the doctrines of the Church was insisted upon. Opposed to Cranmer and the Reformers in doctrine stood the Duke of Norfolk, leader of the nobles; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Bonner, Bishop of London; and, above all, Henry himself. Their attitude is expressed in the statute of *Six Articles* (1539), which was intended as a dam to the rising tide of the Reformation. It enjoined (1) a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation; (2) the practice of communion in one kind; (3) the illegality of the marriage of the clergy; (4) the necessity of keeping

Henry
upholds
Catholic
doctrine

The Six
Articles
(1539)

vows of chastity; (5) the continuance of private masses; (6) the use of confession. It will be seen that these maintain a great part of the essentials of the old faith. Having added the penalty of death for the first infraction of the first article, and for the second breach of any of the others, Parliament felt comfortably assured that under no circumstances could those who kept the Six Articles be accused of being heretics.

This extremely definite declaration against any attempt to change doctrine was followed by the downfall of Cromwell. In 1539 he had wished to strengthen the Protestant princes in Germany by an English alliance, and he persuaded the King to promise to marry Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves. The alliance broke down; but Henry, who had now been wifeless for four years, determined to keep his promise. Anne had been represented to him as beautiful; she was, however, exceedingly plain, and though Henry manfully went through with the marriage, he at once procured a divorce from his "Flanders mare". He showed his annoyance with Cromwell; and Cromwell's enemies, the nobles with Norfolk at their head, at once turned on him. He was attainted on an absurd charge of treason and executed (1540). (*Note 43.*)

Cromwell
attempts
a Protestant
alliance

His
failure

His
execution

Little calls for notice between 1540 and 1547. The war with Scotland falls in its place in the chapter on Scottish history. The King married twice more: first, Catharine Howard, and then, after her execution for misconduct, Catharine Parr. In order to make it easier for the government to pay its debts, the coinage was much debased; but the effects of that measure belong to the reign of Edward VI. Almost the last thing that the King did was to cause the Earl of Surrey (Norfolk's son) to be put to death for aiming at the Crown.

So the reign ended as it had begun — with the headsman's axe: and in truth this political engine, with its less dignified helpmeet the halter, is so prominent that we are tempted

at first to think the reign particularly blood-stained. It did not present that aspect to men of its own time. After the long-drawn-out disorders of the Wars of the Roses, and the nervous dread of their revival in Henry VII's day, Henry VIII's time was a period of peace and prosperity. England was "merry", and "good King Harry" popular even to the end. He was neither merciful, nor logical, nor faithful, nor grateful. But he knew what he wanted and what England wanted, and he took the first and gave the second without scruple of conscience.

CHAPTER 28

SCOTLAND FROM 1329 TO 1542

Since the final defeat of Edward I's scheme of annexation England and Scotland had influenced each other but little. Scotland since the 14th century They had remained bad neighbours; fighting on the Borders had been almost continuous; Scotland had steadily adhered to her alliance with France; every now and again quarrelling had developed into open wars in which Scotland usually lost the battles. No real progress had been made towards union. Now the time is at hand when the two countries were at last to find a common aim and a common interest in their religion; and while sympathy thus drew them closer, fortune — and Elizabeth's sagacity — gave the chance of the two crowns to join in the person of James I. It is therefore desirable to cast a glance over the policy and social condition of Scotland during these two hundred years of hostility, in order to see how in the end the two nations came together. (*Note 45.*)

Robert Bruce died in 1329, having survived but one year after the Treaty of Northampton, and his son David, aged five years, became king. Death of Robert the Bruce (1329)

The purpose of this chapter is not to attempt any continuous account of Scotland under David II and the Stuart

kings, but merely to remark what were the general characteristics of the time; to observe, therefore, (1) *the main relations with England*, who, as Scotland's domineering neighbour, was bound to influence her politics most deeply; (2) *the French alliance*, to which Scotland was permanently faithful, on the principle of a common enmity with England; (3) *the elements of disorder at home*, such as powerful barons and fierce Highlanders, who harassed king after king, and hindered progress in the country. For more than two hundred years invasion from without or rebellion at home tended to paralyse Scotland.

Characteristics of Scottish policy in the 14th century

David II's reign saw both invasion and rebellion at work. Edward Balliol, son of John, and the "Disinherited", Scottish nobles who had lost their estates because they had supported England, were tempted to try a stroke to regain their lands when King Robert was gone. They defeated the King's forces at *Dupplin Moor*, near Perth, in 1332,¹ and Edward Balliol was crowned as a vassal king. Four months later, however, he was driven out of Scotland, and in 1333 Edward III marched north and defeated the Scots at *Halidon Hill*. The English overran the country; Edward Balliol returned, and the little King David was sent for safety to France. Then, however, Edward became absorbed in French wars; in 1337 Edward Balliol was driven out, and by degrees Scotland regained her lost fortresses.

David II (1329-70)

War with England (1333)

The constant aim of Edward III's Scottish policy was to break the Franco-Scottish Alliance. His plan to subjugate Scotland had failed, so now he tried more diplomatic methods—he proposed to the Scots that if they would abandon the French cause, he would restore to them the Lowland counties which had been handed over to him by Balliol in 1334. David II, who had returned from France in 1341, eventually decided to stand by France, and in 1346, when Edward III was besieging Calais, he led an expedition into England. He was defeated and captured at the battle

Franco-Scottish Alliance

¹ See p. 193.

Scots defeated at Neville's Cross (1346) of *Neville's Cross*, near Durham, and all the lowland areas which Scotland had recently regained again fell into English hands.

David was a prisoner in England for eleven years, but was released in 1357, his ransom being fixed at 100,000 merks to be paid within ten years. This sum, huge at that time, was a sore burden on Scotland, but Scotland shouldered it — the country could not be free while the King was in captivity. The King himself was not worth one merk, let alone 100,000, and hatred for his uncle and heir, Robert the Steward, led him to propose that an English prince should succeed him. This project was indignantly vetoed by the Scottish Parliament in 1364, and from that time onward, Scottish independence was never again in danger.

To conclude the relations between England and Scotland, we must note that fighting on the Borders went on pretty constantly during the latter half of the fourteenth century, the most picturesque event being the great moonlight affray of Otterburn (1388). But during this time, and under the Lancastrian kings, no serious attempt was made by England to press the conquest of Scotland. The only considerable battle of the time is *Homildon Hill* (1402), where the Earl of Douglas, raiding the north, was waylaid and defeated by the Percies. The battle had important results in the history of England, for it led up to that great league of Percy, Glendower, Douglas, and Mortimers, which harassed Henry IV; but, save that it once more showed the helplessness of the Scots against English archery, it had no result on Scotland. The Scots clung to their French alliance, and sent men to fight in France against Henry V and Bedford; they helped to win Beaugé (the first turn of the tide, 1422); and Douglas, keeping up his reputation,¹ lost another battle at Verneuil — and his life this time. Stewart of Darnley was killed at the "Battle of the Herrings", and other Scots fought in

¹ He was nicknamed the "Tineman" (the *lose-man*), and justified it by losing the battles of Homildon, Shrewsbury, and Verneuil.

the Maid of Orleans' company. But in Henry VI's reign England's hands were too full with French troubles for her to be able to resent these Scottish unfriendlinesses effectively; and then came on the Wars of the Roses, so that till Tudor times Scotland was left mainly to herself. Her internal calamities now call for mention.

David II had died in 1370, leaving no heir, and the crown passed to a grandson of Bruce through his daughter Marjory and her husband, Walter the Steward. This grandson came to the throne as Robert II, and began the line of the unlucky house of Stuart. Six kings and one queen descended from him sat on the throne of Scotland. Of these only one (Robert III) had a peaceful end, and he, before his death, saw one of his sons cruelly murdered and the other a prisoner in England. Robert III, too, was the only one to attain old age; none of the others lived to be forty-five; three of them were cut off ere they had entered on the second half of life's natural span; James I was murdered; James II killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh; James III assassinated; James IV killed at Flodden; James V died of a broken heart; his daughter had the worst fate of all, for she perished on the scaffold after nineteen years of captivity. Yet, unlucky as the kings were, their country was even more so. Not the least misfortune, inevitably following on the premature deaths of the kings, was the constant succession of minorities. James I succeeded at the age of eleven; James II at six; James III at nine; James IV had reached fifteen. But James V was not eighteen months old when he came to the throne, and his daughter Mary at her accession was aged but one week. So minority followed minority, and regency regency, with every opening for ambition and violence; year after year, and reign after reign, war followed rebellion and rebellion followed war in dreary succession. National independence was a good thing, but no use could be made of it while there was neither order nor firm government. A king could do

The
House of
Stuart

Robert II
(1370-90)

Misfor-
tunes of
the house

little for his people so long as his whole resources were being strained to crush the great families into obedience.

Robert III was more or less a cripple, and the government fell into the hands of his brother, the Duke of Albany, and he, with Douglas (the Tineman), was concerned with the arrest of Robert's eldest son, Rothesay, and probably with his death, which occurred (conveniently) while he was in prison. As the younger son, James, was captured by English vessels while voyaging to France in time of truce in 1406, and Robert III died soon after, Albany had the regency till his death, in 1420. James, however, on his return in 1424, at once struck at the new regent, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his two sons. They were executed, and James seized their estates. This stroke was followed up with laws against "bands" (covenants of alliance between nobles), a hanging of disorderly Highland chiefs, the imprisonment of Douglas, and the forfeiture of the earldom of Strathearn. This last proved his undoing, for Sir Robert Graham, heir to Strathearn, hatched a plot in the Highlands to murder the King. The chance soon came. James went to Perth to keep Christmas, and was lodged in the Monastery of Black Friars. Late at night the conspirators burst noisily in; the King, who had been sitting with the Queen and her ladies, was stabbed to death by Graham.

The next reign, that of James II, saw the culmination and fall of the power of the "Black" Douglasses. As that house played in Scotland somewhat the same part as the family of Neville (the Kingmaker) played in England almost at the same time, it is worth following in a little detail.

James II was a boy of six, and Archibald Douglas (fifth earl) was his regent. This earl was unenterprising for a Douglas, and died in 1439 without having distinguished his regency by anything in particular. The Earldom of Douglas, but not the regency, passed to William (sixth earl). This William, a boy of seventeen, was in a position that reminds one of that of Richard Neville the younger. Duke of Tour-

aine, Earl of Douglas, owning land in Scotland right across the Lowlands, able to bring 5000 men of the best fighting quality into the field, himself with a title to the Crown, for he was great-grandson on the female side of Robert III, he was by far the most powerful subject of the King of Scotland. The King's ministers — Crichton the Chancellor, who was Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and Livingstone, the King's Guardian, lately at feud with each other — united to set a trap for Douglas. He and his brother David were invited to Edinburgh Castle to meet the young King. At dinner the Douglas brothers were seized, hurried into the castle-yard, and beheaded (1440).¹

The leadership of the house of Douglas passed, after a few troubled years, to another William (eighth earl). For some years James II was on friendly terms with Douglas. But in 1452, when James was twenty-one, he decided that the quarrels between Douglas and other nobles (such as Crichton, Livingstone, and the Earl of Crawford) were ruining the land. Accordingly he invited the Douglas to Stirling, where the two dined and supped together; then the King accused him of being in "a band" with the Earls of Ross and Crawford to rebel, and bade him break the band. Douglas refused, and thereon the King dirked him. The ninth Earl — James, brother to the murdered man — naturally fell into rebellion and treason with Henry VI. He was forgiven for a time, again intrigued with the English and the Highlanders, gathered an army and was overthrown at Arkinholm in Eskdale, and fled to England. So fell the family of the Black Douglas; but the King was not quit of them, for he had won the day only with the help of the younger branch, the Red Douglasses, Earls of Angus. These were to prove as intolerable as the elder branch had been.

Ruin
of the
Black
Douglas

In 1460 James II was killed at Roxburgh by the bursting of a bombard. James III being but nine, there followed the

¹ This is the occasion on which the famous "black bull's head" (the sign of death) was said to have been placed on the table

usual regency. Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, an honest and patriotic statesman, favoured the Lancastrian cause. Edward IV won over the queen-mother, and allied with the exiled Douglas and some of the Highlanders. So the rebound of the Wars of the Roses led to more fighting in Scotland and on the Borders. When James grew up he quarrelled violently with his two brothers. The elder played the usual traitor's part, made alliance with England, claimed the crown as Edward IV's liegeman, and marched with an English army, led by Richard of Gloucester, into Scotland. James summoned his nobles to his assistance, and they gathered under Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. But before fighting the enemy they had a grudge of their own to settle. James, who was a peaceful man, with refined tastes, had made friends with men who had some skill in music and architecture — chief of them Robert Cochrane, a mason — “a person of mean and sober estate”, as a chronicler calls him. The nobles hated this favourite, and wished to overthrow him, yet did not see the means to do it. “I will bell the cat,” cried Angus to them — hence his nickname, “Archibald Bell-the-cat” — and he kept his word by marching to the King's aid, arresting Cochrane in his tent, and hanging him from Lauder Bridge (1482). James himself was made prisoner and sent to Edinburgh Castle, and Angus and his friends made terms with Albany. Then Albany and Angus quarrelled, and Albany was for a short time reconciled to the King. He soon broke with him, however, and intrigued with England, whither he fled in 1483. In the following year he and the Earl of Douglas led an English force into Dumfriesshire, but it was defeated. Albany escaped to France, where he was killed in 1485. Three years later a new conspiracy was formed against the King by Angus and the southern barons who had in their power the fifteen-year-old Prince James (afterwards James IV). In June, 1488, the King and the northern nobles met and were defeated by the insurgents at Sauchieburn,

James III
(1460-88)

English
invade
Scotland

Conspir-
acy
against
James III

Revolt of
Angus

Death of
James
after
Sauchie-
burn
(1488)

near Stirling. James was killed — perhaps murdered — after the battle.

Ominously as James IV's reign had been preluded with the son in arms against the father, it showed for a time promise of better things. The King grew strong, and enforced the law; one curse of Scotland, disorder at home, died down. An alliance made with England by the marriage of James with Margaret Tudor (Henry VII's elder daughter), checked the fighting on the Border; while the Highlands were kept in control. The country prospered, and the reign was rightly spoken of as a "golden age". So, till the death of Henry VII, all went well. When Henry VIII succeeded, the royal brothers-in-law began to bicker on personal matters. The old fascinations of the French alliance attracted James, and so, when Henry entered a European league against France, he, like a knight-errant, adventured and lost all at Flodden (1513) where he was completely defeated by Surrey. The battle was for Scotland a shattering blow. High and low alike, from palace, castle, town, and cottage, were stricken there. Surrey's work was done; there was no need to go farther; more than a century was to pass ere a Scottish army was again to penetrate into England.

James IV
(1488-1513)

Marriage
alliance
with
England

Quarrel
with
England
(1513)

Flodden
(1513)

James V's reign was in the main a repetition of the reigns of James II and James III. The internal feuds revived; the country was distracted between warring houses struggling for the possession of the King. This disorder was increased by the part played by Henry VIII and his ministers, who fostered an "English" party (of traitors) in Scotland, and, further, by the beginnings of the Reformation; obviously, when the Tudor King became the enemy of Rome, the Stuart King clung more closely to the old faith. For the present, merely noting that at first the beginnings of the Reformation tended to widen the gulf between the nations instead of closing it, we may leave the story of the Reformation in Scotland till Mary's reign.

James V
(1513-42)

After Flodden the chief persons left to rule Scotland were

Regency
of Mar-
aret and
Douglas

the queen, Margaret Tudor, Angus (head of the Red Douglasses), and Arran (head of the Hamiltons). Within a year the queen married Angus, and henceforth the Douglasses were the English party in Scotland, in constant traitorous correspondence with Henry VIII.

French
send
Albany to
oppose
Margaret

France was naturally perturbed at the power wielded by the English party, and, in 1515, the Duke of Albany, son of the traitor duke of James III's reign and heir-presumptive to the Scottish Crown, came to Scotland as regent. Margaret and Angus fled to England, but returned a few years later and became bitter enemies. Albany left Scotland in 1524, and the King came under the power of his mother, who had divorced Angus. Then Angus secured the King. Eventually James escaped to his mother at Stirling, and rallying to him those who hated the Douglas rule and their treason with England, was able to make himself king in reality. Angus was driven into exile in England, where he became a pensioner of King Henry.

The
Red
Douglas
Exiled

The last fifteen years of the reign were fairly prosperous. On the whole there was peace with England, and this kept treason at home within bounds. James did something to pacify the Borders by clapping the great Border lords in hold, and going round hanging notorious rascals. He made a similar tour round the Highlands, established some garrisons, imprisoned some chiefs, and took the Lordship of the Isles for the Crown. There was talk of reform of the Church, and the College of Justice was set up in Edinburgh. But though outwardly there was peace with England, Henry and James were not at one; Henry, having severed himself from Rome, desired James to do the like, and break from the Auld Alliance with France. James had no mind to lose his old friend and the support of Rome. Further, his marriage policy vexed Henry. First, he married Madeleine, daughter of Francis I, when Henry had ideas for him to marry his own daughter, Mary. When his first queen died James went again to France and espoused Mary of Guise,

James
supports
the
papacy

Marries
Mary of
Guise

whom Henry had his eye on for his own fourth bride. Henry had to content himself with Anne of Cleves — a further source of vexation. Then James refused an interview with his uncle, and gradually the two kings drifted into war. An English raid, with Angus traitorously leading it, was badly beaten in Teviotdale. In reply James mustered his nobles at Fala Muir in 1542, but they refused to follow him in an invasion. Borderers, however, were always ready to fight, and the King collected a mass of them in the West Marches, and at the last moment put them under a friend, Oliver Sinclair, a commoner whom the Scottish nobles disdained to follow. Wharton, the English Warden, had early news of the raid, and advanced with about two thousand men to repel it. The Scots were caught between the Esk and a morass; they made a disorderly retreat, which soon turned to a hopeless panic. The rout was complete. The "battle" of *Solway Moss* was finished before it had begun. All the guns were lost, 1200 men were captured, many more were drowned; the English lost seven men.

Invades
England

Defeated
at Solway
Moss
(1542)

The disgrace of it crushed King James. A fortnight later a daughter was born to him. "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass," was all he found to say. In a sort of stupor, murmuring at intervals, "Fie, fled Oliver!" the poor King lingered another week, and died at Falkland.

Birth of
Mary
Stuart

The story of the first five Jameses is tragic, but that Scotland survived through all the internal feuds and recurrent minorities is evidence of how firmly based was the sentiment of essential unity and of national independence. But not only did Scotland survive, she also progressed; in the fifteenth century trade increased, the legal system developed, and the three universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were founded, while under the five Jameses a great Scottish literature grew up. James I, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, are the outstanding names of the "Golden Age of Scottish Poetry".

CHAPTER 29

EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

Henry VIII had been empowered by Parliament to set the succession in his will, and he left the throne first to son Edward; if he died without an heir, the crown was to go to his daughter Mary; if her line failed, to Elizabeth and finally, to the descendants of Henry's younger sister Mary. It will be noticed that Henry's presage of the failure of descendants came true; but his will was not completely carried out, for the crown in the end passed to the descendants of his elder sister, the Scottish line, which he passed over.

Meanwhile, as Edward was only nine, a Regency was inevitable, and everything would turn on the political and religious ideas of the Regency. Henry had nominated a council, with men of different shades of opinion included in it, in the hope that it would do nothing but maintain things as they were. Yet here again Henry's plans failed for the young King's uncle, Seymour, managed to win over to his side part of the council, and got himself declared Lord Protector of the Realm. With their help, and adding to himself the title of the Duke of Somerset, he prepared to put his ideas into practice.

There are two main lines to be distinguished in Somerset's policy. First, he had to deal with *economic changes* which were producing much distress, and second, with the question of religion. (*Note 46.*)

Several serious dangers lay ahead of him; opportunities which might be taken, but which if neglected would prove fatal. To begin with, there was a growing party desirous of further change in religion, some of them genuinely anxious for a complete form of Protestantism, others merely greedy for further plunder of property devoted to religious use. This party, though prominent, was small; large masses

the country, especially in the conservative north and west, were opposed to any meddling with their old faith. Besides religious trouble there was serious economic distress. Ever since the Black Death the process of converting corn land into pasture, often by driving off the old manorial tenants,¹ had been going forward. As sheep-farming employed fewer men, there were many left without work. This distress was aggravated by the dissolution of the monasteries. The monks had been old-fashioned landlords, often well content with old ways and employing large numbers of men. The new owners of the monastery lands were active "improvers", with no respect for custom or old tenants. And where distress had existed the monasteries had done something to relieve it. Further trouble was caused by Henry's debased coin, for money no longer circulated at its face value; when men were in doubt whether a shilling was worth a shilling or only sixpence, all business transactions were upset, and the evil tended to grow. Not all the coin was bad; but men naturally were unwilling to part with good shillings when they got them, and strove to pay away the bad coins. The good money was hoarded, or even melted down for the sake of the silver, and the bad money took its place. Thus, with doubt and division in religious matters, widespread distress in agriculture, and confusion in all business transactions, the new Lord Protector would have his hands full. Another important, though less urgent question, would also demand attention — that of the young King's marriage. In all these matters Somerset failed, the more lamentably since, though he was an enlightened and honest man, the goodness of his ideas was quite obscured by the badness of the methods which he employed to carry them out. In aims his policy was admirable, in results purely disastrous.

At the outset he had an opportunity which had not been given to any English statesman since Edward I — the

Econo
distre

Conve
sion o
arable
land to
pastur

New
metho
of new
landlo

Debase
coinag

¹ See p. 210.

Somer-
set's
Scottish
policy
VI. Scotland being divided between a French Catholi
party, headed by the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, and
an "English" party, who favoured a Reformation, Somer
set's plain duty was to take care not to unite these parties
in the one thing in which they could be united, namely, in
a common hatred of England. This, however, he at once
proceeded to do. Finding that his scheme of betrothal was
not at once kindly received, he marched an army into Scot
land which utterly defeated the Scots at *Pinkie Cleugh*,
(1547). This was not the way to win Scotland. Huntly put
the Scottish feeling into memorable words: "I mislike
not the match, but the manner of the wooing". The little
Queen was sent over to France, where she was shortly
allied to the Dauphin. Somerset's hasty violence had
ruined his own plans.

In religious matters he acted just as rashly. Convinced
that England was ready to go much further with the Reformation, he ordered the abolishing of the mass and of the
use of Latin in the service. Cranmer was asked to draw up
a service in English, and this he did, the *First Prayer Book*
being compiled by him. Cranmer's beautiful prose gave
that service a dignity and beauty which have come down
to us to-day.

Somerset next sent commissioners round the country to
pull down the images in the churches and destroy the
pictures on the walls. As some of the commissioners' ser-
vants carried out these orders in an offensive way, parading
the streets dressed as mock-priests, and burning the pic-
tures, this caused intense anger in all the old-fashioned parts
of the country. For time out of mind generation after gen-
eration had used the same service, and, in their own simple
way, had treasured it as the sacred ground whereon men
may approach to the presence of God; unnumbered prayers

had been uttered before images which helped dull minds to contemplate their Redeemer and the saints; sacred pictures had hallowed and beautified churches, and had grown to be loved for the permanence of the blessed hopes they had given to one sorrowful heart after another. Now all were rudely swept away, and to the simple country folk it seemed as if the gateway of heaven had been closed, and new prison-houses with whitewashed walls put in the place of the many mansions of the blest on earth.

On minds still in bewilderment, seeking reasons for this change, fell another blow, but this time chiefly on the towns. The old gilds, so common in every town, were almost as familiar in men's lives as their religion. They had had many objects: some, such as the regulation of trades, declining in value; some taking the shape of festivities and miracle plays, more amusing perhaps than useful; some chiefly religious in aim; others, however, were of great practical use. Were a gildsman sick or in distress, he looked to his gild for aid; if his tools were stolen or his house burnt, his gild helped him. If he died in poverty his gild buried him, educated his children, looked after his widow, and paid for masses for the repose of his soul. If a man wished to leave money or lands in charity, he left it to his gild, and, as this form of bequest was common, many of the gilds were rich. The greedy eye of the Government fell on them; they, like the monasteries, held much property devoted to religious uses in the shape of masses for the dead. And so an Act was passed confiscating their property; in theory their religious property — in reality everything that could be seized. The effect was something as if at the present day the Government were to seize the property of all benefit societies, sick clubs, and workmen's friendly societies. Here again was a measure angering and injuring masses of poor men, all the more offensive because the London gilds were spared, being, it may be supposed, too dangerous to molest.

Gilds
abolished

Forfeiture
of gild
property

Results of
policy
Rebellion

Trouble was not long in coming. Somerset's brother Lord Seymour of Sudely, first plotted a rebellion. He married Henry VIII's widow, Catharine Parr, and sought to make for himself a position like that of Warwick the Kingmaker. He coined money and forged cannon in his own foundries, fortified Holt Castle, and intrigued against the Protector. The Council dealt with him by Act of Attainder, and had him executed; but the treasonable scheme of so near a relation did Somerset no good. Next, further proof of the Protector's failure was provided by two insurrections, which burst out at the same time in the west and in the east, and here once more Somerset's incapacity was made plain. These insurrections were caused by quite different motives, and were dealt with differently, and we have to distinguish between the two.

Religious
revolt in
the west
Economic
revolt in
the east

The insurrection in the west, where men were still mainly Catholic in faith, was entirely religious in character; it was caused by the *New Prayer Book* of 1549, which had been put in place of the old service. In the eastern counties there was no religious discontent, for Norfolk and the east, owing partly to immigrants from the Low Countries, was strongly Protestant. Rebellion here sprang from social causes: the enclosures of commons and arable land for the purpose of sheep-farming had thrown many out of work; the debased coinage had upset all manufacturers and all workmen, all wages and all prices; in Norwich and the towns men were indignant at the confiscation of the gilds. Thus at the same moment the most widely severed parts of the country, the poorest and the richest — the backward, agricultural, Catholic west, and the progressive, manufacturing, Protestant east — were each driven to rebellion.

Western
Rebellion
severely
dealt with

There is only one thing which a Government can do with rebellion, and that is to put it down. Inquiry into the reasons for it, sympathy with men misled into it, remedy for the causes of it, can only come after, namely, when the rebels have laid down arms and become once more citizens.

This the well-meaning Somerset did not see. For the Devonshire rebels, in arms for their old religion, he had no sympathy and no mercy. It was indeed some time before he had the upper hand of them. Through the summer of 1549 the west was in a flame; 10,000 men, under Pomeroy and Arundel, in arms; the mass everywhere celebrated; and Exeter besieged. So urgent was the danger that a body of German mercenaries had to be taken into the Government service. These under Lord Grey de Wilton met the rebels at St. Mary Clyst and Sampford Courtenay, and, with every advantage of arms and discipline, had hard work to overcome them. Some four thousand were killed in these fierce combats, and at the end the leaders were hanged at Tyburn, and so order was restored.

Somerset, so stern in the west, where German firelocks were turned against English peasants, was in the east mild to the point of feebleness. With the great body of rebels, who, under their leaders *Robert* and *William Ket*, encamped on Mousehold Hill, outside Norwich, dominating the town, and levying provisions from the gentry round about, he felt some sympathy, for he had realized the evils of the enclosures and of the bad money, and meant in time to mend them. Hence he tried to make terms. This only encouraged the rebels to remain under arms. Inevitably, fighting began between them and the neighbouring gentry, and the Council naturally turned from Somerset to a stronger man. They ordered the Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) to attack the rebels, which he did with great vigour, slaughtering a number and dispersing the rest.

Ket's
Rebellion:
Somerset's
leniency

Warwick
subdues
rebels

With this reputation as a man of energy, Warwick turned to overthrow Somerset. The Protector's failures had been many; his rivals in the Council were jealous of him; he had no strong party behind him. In 1551 he submitted to the Council, and was sent to the Tower; pardoned for the time, he was restored to his place in the Council; but Warwick feared him too much to leave him in peace, and

Fall of
Somerset

in January, 1552, he was executed on a charge of conspiracy.

So fell Somerset, one of those tragic failures, an honest and well-meaning man, whose real fault was that he was in advance of his time. Misled into thinking that the opinions round him in London and at court were held throughout the country, mistaken in his belief that the nation, which under Henry VIII had thrown off the yoke of Rome with such enthusiasm, was really anxious for a reform in doctrine, rash in his changes, yet, in spite of his failures, many in England loved him. At his execution those near the scaffold dipped handkerchiefs in his blood to treasure as relics of a good man. He was, after all, honest, which is more than can be said for the man who followed him.

At the date of Somerset's death Edward VI was nearly fifteen. All had the highest hopes of him. The nation looked forward to the rule of a king who would sweep away all the failures of the Regency. "When he comes of age," cried an enthusiastic Hampshire squire, "he will hang up an hundred heretic knaves." Probably such methods would not have overmuch distressed a king who noted coldly in his diary his uncle's death thuswise: "This day the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." As it happened, Edward was destined never to rule.

In 1552 a *Second Prayer Book* was issued, which was more extreme, and closer to the continental doctrines of Reform. It went much further towards Protestantism than the first.¹

More of the ceremonies of the Church were abolished; The Articles of Religion — forty-two in number — were published, and other changes made, all following the ideas of the more extreme Reformers. At the same time some useful steps were taken. To relieve the distress from which the labourers were suffering efforts were made to check the

¹ In the prayer of consecration at the Communion service words were added making the service more clearly one of commemoration only. Some urged, too, that the Communion should not be taken kneeling.

enclosures and to revive agriculture; the first *Poor Law* enacted that collections were to be made in each parish for the poor; and the expenses of the royal household were lessened. Unluckily time, the one great healing element in all political troubles, was lacking; what England needed was stable government, and it became increasingly clear that another change was at hand. Edward's health failed, and the next heir was the Catholic Mary. Where the future was so uncertain, the present was bound to be dark, unsettled, troublous.

The first
Poor
Law

To no one was the prospect more menacing than to the Earl of Warwick, who had contrived Somerset's fall, and now ruled in his place. The son of Henry VII's minister, that Dudley whom Henry VIII had put to death chiefly because his enterprise in collecting money for the Crown had made him bitterly hated, Warwick — now created Duke of Northumberland — had proved himself a capable soldier and a successful, if unscrupulous, politician. He had at any rate the politician's instinct of being on the crest of the wave. Neither sincere nor trustworthy, he had taken the side of the extreme Reformers, partly because it agreed with the young King's ideas, partly because he knew that the old nobility who favoured the system of Henry VIII would, if they returned to power, at once overthrow him. But if the honest Somerset could not succeed in making the country accept a form of Protestantism for which it was not yet ready, the dishonest and selfish Northumberland was certain to fail. Balancing thus upon the favour of the young King and the unsteady support of the Council, Northumberland in 1552 found his position becoming more and more precarious as Edward VI's health failed. Accordingly he set to work to secure himself. It was not difficult to convince Edward that, if Mary came to the throne, the Reformation would be undone, and Edward was sincere in his support of the Reformation, even if Northumberland was not. Accordingly, by Northumberland's advice, he made

The
Protes-
tant suc-
cession.

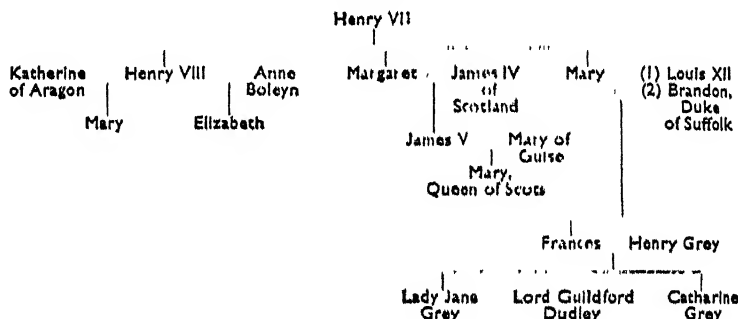
Character
of
Northum-
berland

Will of
Edward
VI

ady Jane Grey and leaving the crown to *Lady Jane Grey*, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's youngest sister. As Northumberland had shortly before married his second son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane, this stroke would not only have secured the Protestant succession, but also the family influence of the Duke himself. He would at any rate be safe, and as father-in-law of the new Queen he might hope to be ruler of the kingdom. (*Note 46.*)

allure of Northumberland
The "Nine-Days' Queen"

If the nation had been set on having a Protestant sovereign, Northumberland's scheme was sound enough. Lady Jane certainly had all the good qualities of a queen. It soon became clear, however, that the nation was not so set. When Edward died, in 1553, Northumberland tried to lay hands on Mary before she learnt the news. But a friend brought her immediate warning, and she slipped away to her Catholic friends, the Howards, in Norfolk. She at once declared herself Queen, and everyone supported her claim. Even in London Northumberland's plans failed hopelessly.



His proclamation of Lady Jane as queen was received in silence or with protest. His son, Lord Robert Dudley, sent to arrest Mary, reached her in Norfolk, but his men would not fight. The fleet declared for Queen Mary. Thousands of men were rallying to her cause. Even Northumberland's own force, which he led into the Eastern Counties, mutinied

and deserted him, and on 20th July, less than a fortnight from Edward's death, he was forced to give up hope, and himself proclaimed Mary queen at Cambridge. If he thought to disarm the anger of a Tudor in this way he was soon undeceived. He was arrested the next day, and sent to the Tower. There he grovelled further, and on the scaffold just before his execution announced that he had been always at heart a Catholic. His recantation earned for him the scorn of the Protestants and he died despised and detested by all.

Execution
of
Northum-
berland

CHAPTER 30

MARY TUDOR (1553-1558)

THE CATHOLIC REACTION

At her accession Mary was thirty-six; half a Spaniard and half a Tudor; neither by age nor blood likely to be easily turned from what she had set her mind on. Moreover, all her life she had been soured. Her mother repudiated and scandalously treated, herself declared illegitimate, her claim to the throne doubted, surrounded by enemies, often held as a sort of prisoner, half a foreigner, holding ardently to the supremacy of Rome which the nation viewed with suspicion, she was by training and faith quite out of sympathy with England. Northumberland was not a wise politician, but he did know what Mary was likely to be as a queen.

England had no such terrors. A Catholic sovereign was not feared, because England had so far never known any other sovereign than a Catholic. Henry VIII, even in his most anti-Roman moments, had never doubted that he was a most sincere Catholic. Edward VI had never ruled; all his reign was filled by Somerset and Northumberland, and if such were examples of Protestant rulers, they were not encouraging. The mass of Englishmen looked on their new

England
welcomes
Mary

Queen as a daughter of Harry Tudor, and welcomed her with the loyalty they always gave to all Tudors. The attempts at reform in doctrine under Edward VI had been profoundly unpopular. They wished for a return to the days of "good King Harry". That Mary would try to bring England again under the power of Rome, was ignored in the enthusiastic welcome which was given her.

Hence Mary's brief reign is divided into two parts. First came a period of consolidation, and of reversing the pre-mature reforms made under Edward VI. In the second period the Queen disclosed her real plans, married a Spaniard, and tried to restore the Papal power; and it was during this second period that the persecution was made which left such bitter memories of her reign.

At first, then, Mary and her subjects were at one. By common consent the mass came in again. Parliament, meeting within two months of the Queen's accession, repealed the religious Acts of Edward VI, and went back to the "divine service used in England in the last year of Henry VIII's day". Some of the more prominent Reformers left the kingdom — John Knox, who had been Edward VI's chaplain, among them. Archbishop Cranmer, and the bishops of the same party, Latimer and Ridley, were deprived of their sees, and the old occupants of the sees of Winchester and London, Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner, restored. Even the Queen's ideas for her marriage did not offend England. The nation, indeed, wished her to marry Courtenay, Earl of Devon — the last representative of the Yorkists; but, urged by her cousin, the Papal Legate, Reginald Pole, and the Spanish Ambassador Renard, she refused this, and insisted on marrying Philip II of Spain. The idea of a Spanish match was unpopular, and there was discontent which ended in rebellion. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* collected a band of adherents, and he had the support of Suffolk (Jane Grey's father) and the friends of Northumberland. He collected a body of men and tried to

Mary's
reign
visions

atholic
restora-
tion

The
shops

The
Spanish
marriage
(1554)

Wyatt's
rebellion

seize the Queen. London, however, rose on her behalf, and Wyatt was captured and beheaded, together with Suffolk. Mary used this attempted revolt to rid herself of her unfortunate young cousin. Lady Jane Grey had been innocent of the plot, but she and her husband were now both beheaded. Even Princess Elizabeth was accused of being concerned, and was sent as a prisoner to the Tower, where she dreaded lest she herself was to be put to death. Mary dared not go so far, but she went on with the Spanish marriage, hoping she herself might have a child and so provide another heir to the throne besides Elizabeth.

Execution
of Lady
Jane
Grey

This was the most threatening of all the dynastic marriages of the time. True, it nominally secured for England the alliance of the most powerful state in Europe. It might be regarded as a counterblow to the contemplated marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and the Dauphin. France and Spain were at the time the two great lords of Europe. Mary of Scotland was betrothed to France: then Mary of England would marry Spain — and Spain was a greater country than France. National vanity so far might be soothed in the glories of the Spanish match, but in truth there were innumerable dangers. Not only were both kingdoms in danger of being involved in the struggle between France and Spain; not only might an actual union of the French and Scottish thrones be menacing for England if Spanish troops were to be landed to protect us; far worse than either was the peril that England might be absorbed into the Spanish monarchy. She might lose independence, as the Netherlands became, but a Spanish province — and with disastrous results. True, that in the marriage-treaty precautions had been taken: Mary alone was to manage English affairs and revenues; no foreigner was to hold command in army or fleet; England was not to be drawn into war with France through the match; if there was a son, he was to rule in England, Burgundy, and the Netherlands, but not in Spain. These were sane pre-

Dangers
of the
Spanish
marriage

Turning-point of the reign cautions; but men take precautions against what they fear to be likely to happen; and treaties are not always kept. The son of such a match — of a half-Spanish mother and a Spanish father — would have every element of danger about him. As it happened, England was spared that son. Wyatt's battle-cry, "No Spanish match!" voices the popular dread; and he and his supporters were right.

England again under Rome (1554) This "Spanish match" is the turning-point in Mary's reign. With Spain at her back she set out on her scheme of restoring England to the Roman allegiance. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole, was permitted to land. Careful management of the elections produced a compliant Parliament, which repealed Henry VIII's ecclesiastical laws and begged that their sin of separating from Rome might be pardoned. Pole accepted the submission, withdrew the interdict, and England was again included in the Roman obedience. He yielded, indeed, something more: the old monastery lands were to be left to their present possessors. Everything could not be rubbed off the slate all at once.

Persecution The old heresy laws were now revived by Parliament, and there began the persecution of the Protestants. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, Rogers, a canon of St. Paul's, Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, and fourteen others were tried for heresy. Doubtless Mary and her advisers expected them — or most of them — to recant. Only *one* did so; the rest all went to the stake. This was the prelude. In May, 1555, it became clear that the Queen was not going to have the child she expected, and her disappointment may have quickened her zeal for Holy Church. Through the summer the persecution sharpened. In September, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were tried together. Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford. A delay was given to Cranmer; burning an archbishop required special authority from Rome, and besides there were hopes that he might recant; but after making a submission he manfully withdrew it, and declared that he would die a Protestant, thrusting "that

Burning of Ridley and Latimer

Burning of Cranmer (1556)

unworthy hand " that had signed his submission first into the flames.

Cranmer was the last notable victim of the persecution; indeed, with the exception of about half a dozen Church dignitaries, there were no notable victims. No distinguished layman suffered for his faith — either the distinguished laymen, or the government, were too cautious. But there were some two hundred and seventy martyrs — little-known men — "some there be that have no memorial". Everyone knows Latimer's bold words to his brother bishop Ridley: "Play the man, Master Ridley; and we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out". The candle was lighted, doubtless. But it may be questioned if it was Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and the greater martyrs who did most to light it. It is not easier for a bishop to be a martyr than for an ordinary poor man, but if need be, it will be expected of him to die for his faith as a soldier will die for his country: martyrdom at times becomes an episcopal privilege. Ordinary men are more shocked by the sufferings of the great, but more convinced by the heroism of their fellows. It was possible to doubt the reforming zeal of Henry VIII's day which was rewarded with Church lands, or the enthusiasm of Edward VI's reign, when the King and his ministers led the way, but there could be no doubt about Mary's Protestants who died the martyr's death for conscience' sake. Hitherto Protestantism had been somewhat suspect, as savouring of worldly gain, dubious motive, and wavering faith. Persecution there had been before in England. Henry IV and Henry V had burned the Lollards, and the reign of Henry VIII had seen men die for conscience' sake. More and Fisher were executed because they refused to swear the oath required by the Act of Supremacy. More, as a trained lawyer, had admitted that Parliament and King could fix the succession and he was prepared to accept Henry's settlement. But he would not swear an oath which

denied the Papal authority. Hence he died rather than act against his religious beliefs, and Fisher with him. But these two were isolated individuals, and though their deaths made a profound impression, yet they were not part of a great movement resisted by many. The determination which took simple folk to an agonizing death by fire, rather than give up their faith, made the Protestant cause.

Mary hoped by her persecution to convert England, and she did much to convert it — but it was to the other side. **Hatred of Mary** A sullen hatred rewarded her and Pole and Bonner and the Catholics, and above all Mary's Spanish husband Philip, who, it was assumed without much reason, had pushed Mary to persecute. Yet little could be done. A rebellion **The French war** would fail without help from abroad. If French troops came, Spanish troops would certainly come also, and the realm become a battle-ground. Anything was better than that. Besides, it was known that Mary was stricken with a mortal disease. To wait was best.

Yet short as the time left to Mary was, it was enough to bring one more humiliation — another result, men said, of the Spanish match; for friendship with Spain had meant war with France. England had nothing to gain from war, but France had, for Calais was still in English hands. On Calais, then, the French attack was directed, with every hope of success, for the garrison was small and the fortifications ruinous. Lord Wentworth, in command at Calais, knew what was preparing. He wrote urgently for men and money, but Mary would send neither. Every penny she could spare was spent on the pious task of restoring churches and refounding abbeys. In answer to Wentworth's letter of 29th December, that the French army was at hand, Mary replied that she had certain information that "no attack on Calais was intended". Before the letter reached him Wentworth had information even more certain, for 25,000 French were at the gates: with a garrison just able to oppose one man to every fifty of his assailants Wentworth held on

for five days, but not one man or ship was sent from England. On 6th January he surrendered. Lord Grey in the neighbouring fortress of Guisnes still hung on, but on 20th January he too had to yield. The loss of Calais

So vanished the last English possession in France. At first valuable as giving a gate for English trade to the Continent, or as a point of attack on France, the use of Calais had long passed away. England's policy was changing to a new phase. She no longer sought a conquest of France; her eyes were beginning to turn over sea; and Spain was to be henceforth her national foe. But that was not seen at the time; Calais had been in English hands since 1347. It was the one fruit left of the harvest of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the memorial of the Black Prince and Henry V; the nation's credit seemed to rest on its safe-keeping, and deep was the humiliation at its loss. Mary declared that when she died the word "Calais" would be found written on her heart.

Worn out by suffering, and heart-sick at the total failure of her plans, both for this country and for her personal happiness, Mary lingered on only a few months. She died leaving behind her a record of unrelieved disaster, and a memory as sad as her life itself. Death of Mary (*Note 47.*)

CHAPTER 31

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Before turning to Elizabeth's reign, it is perhaps advisable to consider what events had been passing in Scotland while England was thus slowly moving away from Roman Catholicism. For in Scotland a Reformation was achieved which was both peculiar in its character and of immense importance not only in the life of the Scottish nation, but also in its relations with England.

Political
importance of the
Reformation in
Scotland

The first fact to be borne in mind about the Reformation in Scotland is this: it stopped the weak spot in England's defences, and this at a time of England's greatest danger. Scotland had always been an ally of France, and a Catholic Scotland would have been, in Elizabeth's reign, a base from which the Counter-Reformation could strike. A Reformed Scotland gave the enemy no opening for dealing a stab in the back.

Secondly, it led to the union of two relatively small powers into one big one. To the European diplomatist of the early sixteenth century England was a second-rate power, mostly following the lead of Spain; Scotland a hanger-on of France. Thanks to the Reformation in Scotland and to the statesmanship of Elizabeth, the two were united in one Protestant power of first-rate importance — a fact of incalculable consequence in Europe; and for the first time Britain reaped the full value of being an island.

Thirdly, Scotland gave the first example of a country making a successful Reformation in defiance of its rulers. It was the first "popular" reformation, as opposed to royal or political reformations.

Union of
Reformers
not easily
achieved

These are great happenings; yet one is tempted at first to say they are inevitable. Each of the two countries has a Reformation at the same time; it is only natural that the Reformers join in self-defence. So far from this being inevitable, it was at first exceedingly unlikely. Not only were the two nations bitter foes, but they had everything to keep them apart; and their Reformations were totally different in character. Henry VIII would have treated the Scottish Reformers as rebels.

Peculiarities
of the
Scottish
Reformation

In England the King had taken up the Reformation to suit himself, and shaped it to his own political purposes. The Scottish Reformation had in its beginning nothing to do with politics, nor could it be led by the King. James V relied upon his clergy, upon France, upon the Pope, for his nobles were already turning greedy eyes on the vast wealth of

the Church. To side with the Reformers meant to break with all of these ancient allies, and the King could not face that.

The Church in Scotland was rich, but much of the wealth was not used for Church purposes. The bishops were far more nobles than ecclesiastics — warlike, greedy for wealth, and worldly-minded. They were often the younger sons of great families, who used their position to plunder the Church for their own house. They fought among themselves — James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, having ordered the Prior of St. Andrews to mend his immoral life, the Prior — who belonged to the wildest of all Lowland families, the Hepburns — retaliated by arming his retainers and threatening war on the archbishop. Incidents of this kind, involving clerical magnates, were by no means rare. The common clergy were poor, and ignorant, and ill-behaved; “dumb dogs” who did not preach — “drunken Sir John Latinless”, is Sir David Lindsay’s name for them. The exactions found so burdensome in England were even more oppressive in Scotland. The “corse presents” (mortuary fees), the taking of the “best cloth” and a cow from the family of the dead, pressed hardly on the poor. Marriage, too, in a small country where family relationship spread so widely, offered another point where the influence of the Church was oppressive. The prohibited degrees of cousinship came in so often that dispensations had perpetually to be obtained; and dispensations were not to be had without fees. Finally, the morals of the churchmen were openly and notoriously bad. In no country was the rule that the clergy must remain celibate more openly defied. Over and over again come the records of priests’ children being made legitimate, and no steps were taken to check the loose morality. Proposals for reform were made, orders issued, and so forth, but nothing was done.

The
Church in
Scotland
(1500)

Meanwhile the influence and writings of the German Reformers reached Scotland; translations of the Scriptures became common; Parliament and the Church tried to crush

the new opinions, and in 1528 Patrick Hamilton, who had travelled in Germany and picked up the ideas of the time, was tried for heresy and burnt. "The reek of Mr. Patrick", however, did not deter others, and George Wishart, another who had learnt the new doctrines abroad, returned to Scotland in 1543, and began preaching, at first in Dundee, and after in Ayrshire. His quarrels with the clergy grew, and Cardinal Beaton had him arrested, tried, and put to death at St. Andrews. Three months later Wishart was revenged; a gang of Beaton's enemies — Leslie, Melville, and the Kirkcaldys — slipped into the castle and stabbed him in his chair. His body was hung over the walls for the townsfolk to gaze at, just where, three months before, he had looked on at Wishart's execution. The murderers held out in the castle for more than a year. At length some French ships came to help the besiegers; then the "Castilians" surrendered, and were banished to the French galleys; with them went a man, after to be famous; a minister, "an earnest professor in Christ Jesus", a friend of Wishart, who had entered the castle during the Easter truce, and had been preacher to this band of godly murderers. This man was John Knox.

Murder of
Cardinal
Beaton

May,
1546

In 1547 Henry VIII died, and Somerset's policy was for a match between his young King and the child Mary Stuart; but, as has been seen, the battle of Pinkie shattered that hope. Mary was sent to France — England and Scotland being bitter enemies — and the Reform party in Scotland was checked. England was the only place whence the Reformers could get help, yet to ask for English help was to play the traitor. Edward VI, however, welcomed Scottish Protestants at his court, and procured the release of John Knox from the French galleys.

The accession of Mary Tudor gave another shift to the wheel; with England once more Catholic, the Reformers of the two countries, each party downtrodden and persecuted, began to draw together. Knox came back to

Scotland with some knowledge of Englishmen and their ways. After his release from the galleys in 1549 he had been Edward VI's chaplain, and had been offered a bishopric, prudently refusing it as he foresaw "evil days to come". The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland had failed to reform itself from within, but Knox found the time not yet ripe, and retired again. But the cause went on. Some powerful nobles — Glencairn, Argyll, Morton, and Erskine — united in a "band" to establish the "Word of God and his Congregation" against "wicked power that does intend tyranny". The people had shown by demonstrations that they as well as a strong party of nobles had declared for the Reformers; the Roman Church had to rely on the Crown and the French alliance. That, at any rate, seemed firm, for in April, 1558, Mary Queen of Scots married Francis, Dauphin of France.

CHAPTER 32

ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

When Mary Tudor died, in November, 1558, Elizabeth succeeded her sister, following the terms of Henry VIII's will — indeed, Mary, on her deathbed, recognized her as heir, and there was no dispute raised as to her succession.

Accession
of
Elizabeth

1. RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT —

The first and most pressing problem to be faced was that of a religious settlement. The past thirty years had seen many changes. First Henry VIII's *political* Reformation, the overthrow of the Papal power in England but the leaving of doctrine practically unchanged; then under Edward VI an attempt at establishing a *reform in doctrine*. This had proved premature and unpopular. Then under Mary *reaction*, first to Henry VIII's system, and then back to

The
question
of religion

Roman Catholicism pure and simple. This last had also been exceedingly unpopular. Now the cautious wisdom of Elizabeth and her great minister Cecil devised a fresh system which proved enduring.

Elizabeth herself was bound to take the Protestant view. Elizabeth as Protestant leader No Roman Catholic would acknowledge that the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was legal. Hence Elizabeth, if she were to keep the throne, must be herself Protestant, and England must deny Papal supremacy.

Certain conditions of the problem, however, had altered and so made Elizabeth's task easier. Elizabeth's advantages The Protestant party had grown stronger, and the Catholic weaker. The translation of the Bible, for one thing, had worked on the side of the Protestants, for though the Bible itself is on no side, yet the more the Bible was in men's hands, the more they inclined to judge in religious matters for themselves; and this habit of "private judgment", in place of accepting what is laid down by "authority", is the basis of Protestantism. Effect of Marian persecution Secondly, as has been shown, Mary's persecution had worked for the Protestant cause; it had made waverers see that the Protestants were really honest and in earnest. Thirdly, it was no longer possible to rest content with the system of Henry VIII: no country could continue to profess itself Catholic and yet be in flat defiance of the Pope. If Elizabeth's government was to endure it must have the support of either the Protestants or the Catholics. Finally, the Catholic cause had weakened, owing to the idea that it was a *foreign* cause. It was the cause of Philip of Spain; and Elizabeth's Catholic rival, Mary Queen of Scots, was the wife of a French prince. Hence the loyalty to Elizabeth grew more and more to be a Protestant loyalty; and as the Protestants were the loyal party, the Catholics tended to be thought the disloyal party — a charge which was sometimes quite unjustified, yet sometimes true, and always hard to rebut.

As the conclusion of the long drama of the Reformation

one seems to expect some great political stroke, some wide-reaching act that will settle the vexed question. There is, of course, nothing of the kind. The details of "the Elizabethan Settlement" are not striking. Compared with the fierce changes of the last reigns they seem moderate. As Pole was dead, the Archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant. It was given to Matthew Parker, a moderate Protestant. Elizabeth followed this by granting leave for the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments to be said in English in the Church service, and for the gospel and epistle to be read from the English version. In 1559 Parliament met and drew up the Settlement. Briefly the details of it were:

Elizabeth's religious settlement

1. The Repeal of the Act of 1554. Thus once more the Papal power in England was abolished, and Henry VIII's ecclesiastical legislation brought into force again.

Papal power abolished

2. An Act of Supremacy, declaring the Queen to be "supreme of all persons and causes ecclesiastical as well as civil".

Act of Supremacy (1559)

3. An Act of Uniformity, accepting (in the main) Edward VI's Second Prayer Book; and laying down that vestments of the clergy and ornaments of the churches were to be as established by Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. The "Articles of Religion" of Edward VI, reduced from 42 to 39, were re-enacted.

Act of Uniformity (1559)

The Prayer Book

It seems little on which to base a great Church settlement; not much that was remarkable, nothing that was exactly new. On the other hand it was conspicuously wise. The first Act was inevitable: England would never again accept the Papal power. But this blow once struck, everything was done to spare the wounded feelings of the Catholic party. The Act of Supremacy is far more cautious than Henry VIII's blunt declaration that he was "Head of the Church", and only office holders had to take the oath; the ordinary layman was left alone. The Prayer Book is the Prayer Book which we have to-day; and no word against Rome is in it. There was such a clause in Edward's Prayer Book, but

The "Middle Way"

Catholic
bishops
resigned
sees

Mild
penalties
on
Catholics

Elizabeth's advisers struck it out. Prayer is offered for the conversion of "Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics" — but not of Papists. The Communion service is so worded that those who believed in the Real Presence, and those who did not, could alike accept it. Alternative prayers for the sovereign, one more, the other less definitely Protestant, are provided. Men could do in many ways as seemed good to them and yet feel they were within the law. There was little severity threatened save to those who obstinately maintained the authority of the Pope; these were declared traitors. All except one of Mary's bishops and not a few of the clergy refused to take the oath of Supremacy, as was to be expected, and resigned their posts. Elizabeth was able to fill them with men of her own choice, and so had the heads of the Church thoroughly in sympathy with her. Even where Catholics refused to come to church and had the mass celebrated at home, the Government made no attempt to interfere save by imposing a shilling fine for not going to church. A man was permitted to compound for himself and his household at a rate of 20s. a month. The payment is not so trivial as it seems; to get the value of the money it must be multiplied by ten or so; and as the "Recusants" had also to pay their own priests, it was an expensive matter to be a Catholic. One after another of the county gentry, desiring to economize, found attendance at his parish church an easy way of doing it. One came in after another, and *time* above all things was on Elizabeth's side. She was able to give her system the chance to take root: under her a new generation grew up who had never seen England Roman Catholic and therefore accepted without question the Anglican Settlement. (*Note 48.*)

2. OUTLINES OF ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

So far we have been concerned with one aspect only of Elizabeth's reign — her settlement of the Church, ending

the English Reformation: unquestionably important, yet in no way striking, nor even appearing at the time to be definitely final. Meantime her wise tolerance in religion, and the general good sense of her arrangements, gave them a firm hold. By 1570 Pius V, despairing of gentler measures, declared her excommunicate, and henceforth sterner means than persuasion were to be tried. Outlines

Yet long before 1570 — indeed from the beginning of the reign — there was in sight another means whereby England might again become Catholic. In European politics at the time there was still a firm belief in the state maxim, *Cujus regio ejus religio*. Where the sovereign was Catholic it was assumed the land would be Catholic; and in the main the assumption was true. No definite example had yet been seen of a land breaking away successfully from its ruler's creed. All the changes of the Reformation in England seemed to confirm the belief. Henry VIII's, Edward VI's, Mary's, and now Elizabeth's religious opinions had veered from one extreme to another, and England had veered with each. All that seemed to be needed to regain England from the Reformation was a Catholic sovereign on the throne. Catholic wish for Catholic sovereign

Various roads would lead to this end.

1. The next heir, Mary Queen of Scots, was a Catholic. If she were to succeed, all would, in the opinion of the Catholic leaders, be well again: more especially if after the death of her French husband she were to marry some English Catholic.

2. The throne might be won for Philip of Spain, the late Queen of England's husband, either by force or by marriage with Elizabeth. Possibly Philip might himself marry her, if the Papal dispensation were granted; or she might marry someone of the Habsburg house. In either case a Spanish Catholic ascendancy would be re-established in England. Danger from Spain

The forces against Elizabeth were enormously strong.

The
Counter-
reforma-
tion

Spain and the Empire together then meant practically all Europe, except France and the Baltic states. Spain was reckoned to be extremely rich from her possessions in the New World, and her soldiers were at the time the best in Europe. Further, the abuses in the Papal court had been set right, the old grounds of complaint removed, and at the Council of Trent (1546-63) much had been done to win back the wavering allegiance of many who had leaned for the time to the Reformed doctrines. The Popes had once more become earnest and zealous, and the same spirit marked all the leaders of the Roman Church. The great Jesuit order had been formed to win back the heretics. Much had already been done by the powers of the Counter-Reformation in Germany, and their efforts were now concentrated on England. (*Note 49.*)

Import-
ance of
Elizabeth

Against this attack the key of England's entrenched position was the throne. So long as Elizabeth lived, all was safe for the time: if her heir was a Catholic, there was peril in the future; if she had a Protestant heir, all was secure. At first the danger menaced from a Scottish Queen supported by the forces of the Catholic allies. After that Queen's death the danger took a fresh shape; it was open war with the Counter-Reformation and its champion, Spain; and its forces seemed greater than England was likely to be able to resist.

Her use
of the
marriage
question

For the Catholic cause Elizabeth's timely death was, if not essential, at any rate much to be desired. To Protestant England her life was invaluable: her marriage to a Protestant most necessary, so that there might be a Protestant heir. Yet here comes one bewildering feature of the reign. Elizabeth would coquet, but she would not marry. And further, such proposals for marriage as seemed even moderately attractive to her, were not at all pleasing to the nation, for she repeatedly seemed to intend marriage with a French prince; and he would of course be a Catholic.

Here Elizabeth was wiser than the nation. She saw that

the best ally against Spain was France. France, though Catholic, was not of the Catholic Counter-Reformation party. She hated and feared Spain too much to join in that. She was Spain's great rival. Hence for Elizabeth to fish with the bait of a possible marriage was the best way to secure France: so long as Spain feared that she might make a French alliance, Spain would do nothing violent against her that might drive her into it. Once married, her value as a prospective catch would be gone. Thus by her coquetting with French princes, Elizabeth kept Spain quiet and France on her side; this friendliness with France lasted all through her reign and proved her great support in acute difficulties; and in the end, of course, the Protestant heir came from Scotland.

Eliza-
beth's
friendship
with
France

Elizabeth's reign, then, is one long struggle against the Counter-Reformation. It is convenient to treat it in four phases.

Struggle
against
counter-
Reforma-
tion

1. The Scottish phase (1558-68): this covers the first ten years of the reign, and ends with Mary Queen of Scots seeking shelter in England, thus putting herself in Elizabeth's power.

2. The period of Plots (1568-87): these all had the same object — to release Mary, to marry her to some Catholic, and to place her on the throne as Elizabeth's successor. As no successor would be required till Elizabeth was dead, most of the plots included Elizabeth's assassination. The plots ended with the execution of Mary (1587). This left nothing to plot about.

3. The Armada (1588): the forces of the Counter-Reformation tried at last open war, and failed.

4. The last days of Elizabeth (1589-1603): this saw the war with Spain carried to a successful issue, especially at sea: and with it may be grouped an account of the new maritime spirit, the exploits of the free-booters, and the early attempts at colonization — though some of these belong in date to an earlier period.

3. SCOTLAND AND ELIZABETH

The Scottish problem which Elizabeth had to face was very complicated. Mary Stuart was, in the first place, a claimant to the throne of England.¹ She was a Catholic and supported by the Catholic powers. She also stood for the ancient alliance between France and Scotland, which had always been a threat to England. Six months before Elizabeth's succession, Mary had been married to the Dauphin of France. She had assigned to her husband, in the event of her death without issue, the throne of Scotland and her claims on England. Now at length it appeared certain that Scotland and France, so long allied, would be definitely united.

On the other hand, little as Elizabeth liked the prospect of allying with subjects against their ruler — for, all her life, she stoutly supported the power of a sovereign — yet Mary's rebellious subjects were Elizabeth's best allies. The Protestants of Scotland were strongly opposed to the French alliance, and they were actively hostile to the French Regent. Mary Stuart herself was, of course, in France with her husband, and her mother, Mary of Guise, was keeping down with difficulty, the Reforming party headed by the "Lords of the Congregation", as Glencairn and the other Protestant nobles styled themselves. If Elizabeth was to secure Scotland she must support the Reformers; yet to do so was obnoxious, for two strong reasons. It would offend France, and she could not afford to quarrel with France as well as Spain; besides, she detested helping rebels, and it would be a dangerous precedent: it would be only too painfully easy for France to help rebels in England against her. And further, Knox, in the fullness of his zeal, had just issued

Mary Stuart's claim to the English throne

The Franco-Scottish alliance

Reformers opposition to Mary of Guise

Reformers led by Knox

¹ Mary was the sole heiress of Margaret Tudor, elder sister of Henry VIII. Failing Elizabeth, she was the heir to the English throne according to primogeniture. Henry's will had left the succession not to the heirs of his elder sister, but to those of his younger sister, Mary (namely, the Greys). This arrangement, however, was not popularly accepted, and Mary Stuart was considered the heir.

his famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. It was directed against the three Maries,¹ all Catholics, and all, to Knox's mind, abominable. That the fate of England and Scotland should hang at this critical time upon a succession of queens, all marriageable, and all therefore potentially dangerous, in so much that their marriages might entangle their realms in all kinds of calamities, has always been a fact dwelt on by historians as most singular; and it moved Knox — an outspoken man — to more than his usual plainness of language. It was peculiarly unlucky that the *Blast*, intended to wither the Catholic Mary Tudor, should deafen her Protestant sister on her accession. It gave Elizabeth great offence, and she refused to let Knox pass through England, and would have nothing to do with him.

No two years contain so many events as 1559 and 1560. Knox came back to Scotland, and put heart into the Reformers. "The voice of that one man is able in an hour to put more life into us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears," said one who knew him. His supreme quality was his fearlessness; the words spoken by Morton at his grave tell the naked truth: "Here lies one who never feared the face of man". Already the preachers and the Lords of the Congregation were at odds with the regent. A conference was invited at Perth, and both factions gathered; each suspected the other of treachery. On 11th May Knox preached a sermon against idolatry, and the mob suited the action to the words by attacking and destroying the monasteries and religious houses in the city. The spirit of destruction, which must be regretted, spread to St. Andrews, Stirling, Dundee, Edinburgh, and over the country. "Burn the nests," cried Knox, "and the rooks will fly." Soon the Lords of the Congregation were in arms, and masters of Edinburgh. Most of the nobility had joined them; the

The
sermon
at
Perth

Rebellion
against
the
Regent

¹ Mary Tudor, Mary Stuart, and Mary of Guise. Knox uses the word *Regiment* to mean Rule or Government.

Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was appointed for use in the churches, and the property of the plundered abbeys was to be "bestowed upon the faithful ministers". Needless to say, they did not get it; the great nobles intercepted most of it.

Faced with this rebellion, the regent looked for help to France. Here, too, momentous events had occurred; peace had been made between France and Spain at Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) — an ill omen for Elizabeth, whose interest lay in their mutual enmity — and then, in the tournament held to celebrate the treaty, Henry II met with a fatal accident, so that Francis, Mary's husband, now became King of France. In July a French expedition to Scotland was preparing, and the Reformers appealed to Elizabeth. She refused to help, though she secretly sent some money.¹ For the time she waited to see how it would fare between the Lords of the Congregation and the regent, backed by the French. The French held Leith, and the Reformers could not dislodge them. An assault was beaten off, and the French occupied Stirling. The cause of Reform was almost lost when Elizabeth at last acted. She sent a squadron of ships under Wynter to the Firth of Forth; so secretly had she acted that no one knew at first in whose cause they came; but the action was decisive; to blockade Leith meant that the French would receive no more reinforcements (December, 1559).

The credit of winning Elizabeth to this momentous step was due in the main to Maitland of Lethington. It was probably he who had persuaded the Reformers to drop the cry of "Religion" and unite on the more patriotic demand for the expulsion of the French and the regent. He went as envoy to confer with Elizabeth in November. Lethington was a statesman far in advance of his time. "The mark I always shoot at," he wrote, "is the union of England and Scotland in perpetual friendship." The first proof of his marksmanship was the sailing of Wynter's fleet. It was fol-

¹ Bothwell robbed the messenger who carried it.

Re-
formers
appeal to
Elizabeth

Elizabeth
helps the
Re-
formers

Treaty
against
the
Regent

lowed by a treaty between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation against Mary of Guise in February; an English army entered Scotland in April. Leith was besieged by English and Scots fighting side by side. In June the regent died. A month later the French surrendered, and were removed from Scotland; and the English departed too, leaving behind them, for the first time in the history of the two nations, gratitude instead of hatred. No advantage had been sought; not a word had been said of the old obnoxious claim of suzerainty. Elizabeth had played fair, when fairness was masterly, and had won. The Reformation in Scotland was safe (though this was not what she had played for), and she was safe too in having a Protestant Scotland over her borders. And here fortune came in to aid her. In December, 1560, Francis II died; and Mary Stuart was no longer wife of the King of France; she was but a childless widow, Queen of Scots.

Success
of English
and Re-
formers

Treaty of
Leith
(July,
1560)

Her kingdom, however, had been changed by momentous actions taken in that very year. In August, 1560, a Scottish Parliament sanctioned the establishment of the Reformed Church. Papal authority was abolished, the Protestant faith alone was recognized, the exercise of the mass and of Roman Catholic rites in general was forbidden under heavy penalties.

Re-
formed
Church
estab-
lished

In August, 1561, Mary came home to her realm — and to her ruin. “Was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven . . . that forewarning God gave unto us,” said Knox. It is hard to realize the pathetic tragedy of Mary’s return. She was only nineteen; she had hitherto lived a happy life in a highly-civilized country, first as a princess, then as Queen of France. Suddenly her husband had died, and she, childless, had to leave France and return to Scotland — a bewildering change. Scotland, in comfort, civilization, and manners, was far behind France. If one wants an example one has only to think of the Château of Amboise and the Towers of Holyroodhouse, the one light, graceful, looking out over smiling river and countryside, perhaps the

Return
of Mary
Stuart to
Scotland

Her
opponents

most charming "great house" in a land always supreme in great houses, the other low-lying and squat, dark and gloomy, with slits for windows carved in the great depths of walls which must always have suggested a dungeon rather than a palace. At her homecoming Mary received a warm and enthusiastic welcome from her subjects, rejoiced to have their Queen of the ancient royal house of Stuart back to reign over them. But cordial relations could not long endure between a sincerely Catholic Queen, who loved France first and Scotland only second, and a sternly Protestant people and nobility. Mary's first mass at Holyroodhouse was, though private, interrupted by brawlers clamouring at the door to put the priest to death. Knox, in his first interview with her, called her Church by a foul name. On her entering Edinburgh she was presented with a huge Bible — a fairly plain hint — and a number of children were set up to make a speech to her "concerning the putting away of the mass". In fact, every preacher of the Reformed doctrines in Scotland thought it his duty to check and exhort his Queen. The nobles were hardly better. Bothwell (probably) was plotting to murder her in her first year. Even Huntly, the chief of the Catholics, intrigued with the Hamiltons, and compelled the Queen to fight against him till his death after a skirmish with the royal troops. There were few who offered Mary faithful service.

Yet she was not powerless. She had her beauty and her astuteness. "If there be not in her a crafty wit," says Knox, "my judgment faileth me." Further, she was heir to the English throne, though Elizabeth would not recognize her title. Finally, she had another weapon: she could marry again.

Mary's
marriage

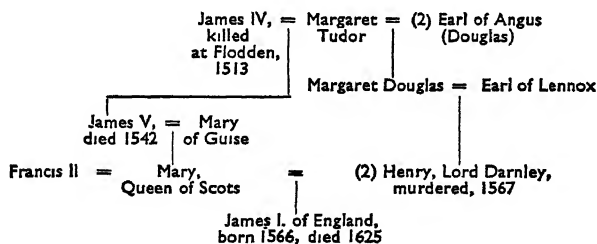
It was recognized that inevitably she would do so, and all the politicians in England, Scotland, and on the Continent occupied themselves with matchmaking. There were rumours of everything — she would marry the King of Denmark or of Sweden; a son of the Emperor; Don Carlos;

a French prince; even Philip II himself. Elizabeth pressed the choice of her own favourite noble, the Earl of Leicester. Mary pretended to consider this, but secretly made her own choice; and her choice fell on her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley.

Elizabeth's wishes

One thing was to be said for this match; it did not entangle Scotland with either France or Spain; perhaps it may have commended itself to Elizabeth in this way, for though she opposed it she did not try to prevent it, as she might have done. She let Darnley go from England to Scotland. Yet it had dangers too, for Darnley was of Tudor blood, and thus the marriage joined two Tudor lines of claim to the English throne. Both Mary and Darnley were grandchildren of Margaret Tudor (Henry VIII's sister), who had married James IV. Thus, "if anything should happen to Elizabeth" — which, being translated by plotters, signified "were she assassinated" — Mary and Darnley's joint claim to the throne would be almost irresistible; and this would mean a Catholic on the throne of England.

The Darnley marriage



Again, however, Elizabeth's troubles were smoothed out by the misfortunes of her rivals. Mary soon quarrelled with Darnley. He was vicious and empty-headed, and she got no help from him. She refused him the crown-matrimonial, and he was much offended by her refusal. So he allied himself with some of the Protestant nobles, who joined him in a plot. The murder of Mary's Italian secretary, Rizzio, Plots was to be the first item; how much further the plotters

were to go none knows; probably the seizing of Mary and the crown for Darnley lay at the back of it. Mary had only Bothwell and the new Earl of Huntly faithful to her; against her many: the Douglas brood, Ruthven and Morton; nobles full of hate for an Italian upstart; Lethington, now left in the cold and jealous; Lennox, angered that his son was slighted over the crown; and her despicable husband screwing his courage up with much liquor. The conspirators signed an agreement¹ to support Darnley; he was to secure them against the consequences "for whatsoever crime", and they were to have their religion established "conform to Christ's Book".

Murder of Rizzio at Holyrood-house (1566) On the evening of 12th March Darnley came into Mary's room at Holyroodhouse; behind, Ruthven, Morton, and other plotters; Rizzio clung pitifully to Mary's skirt. There was a scuffle in which the supper-table fell, and Rizzio was dragged out, and dispatched by many stabs; the body was thrown down the stairs, Darnley's dagger, which had been used by George Douglas, sticking in it.

No political murder is more stamped with horror, nothing is more amazing than the skill with which Mary got the better of the murderers. In two days she had won over Darnley, had spoken of amnesty, and had persuaded him to escape with her to Dunbar. Her friends joined her; Bothwell brought in men, and the murderers scattered to seek safety. Mary's son was born in June, and all the summer she was talking of reconciliation; but she had not forgotten. In October another agreement was signed by very much the same set of plotters, this time against Darnley, though nothing was specified. In January, 1567, he fell ill of small-pox at Glasgow. When he was recovering, Mary visited him and brought him back with her to the Kirk-o'-Field, an old monastic house then just outside Edinburgh.² Here she visited him, going there for the last time on 9th February;

Murder of Darnley at Kirk-o'-Field (1567)

¹ The plot was very widely known. Randolph, the English envoy, reported it to Cecil three days before the murder

² The site is now occupied by the University buildings.

while she was sitting with him upstairs, Bothwell and some helpers were carrying in gunpowder into the room beneath Darnley's. Bothwell then fetched the Queen, rode back with her to a masque at Holyroodhouse, and later rode down again to Kirk-o'-Field. About 2 on the morning of 10th February Kirk-o'-Field was blown into the air. The bodies of Darnley and his page were found in the garden with no marks of powder on them. They had been strangled.

Bothwell's guilt is certain. How much Mary knew of the plot has remained one of the puzzles of history. No one at the time doubted that she knew, and the whole train of events makes it hard to doubt now. But too many were in the plot to have it dragged into day. An inquiry was made and abandoned; Bothwell was "cleansed". Then came another thunderstroke. Late in April Mary was seized by Bothwell, no doubt with her consent, and carried off to Dunbar; Bothwell secured a hasty divorce from his wife; in a fortnight Mary and Bothwell re-entered Edinburgh together; on 15th May they were married. The marriage shocked the whole world. The Pope and Philip of Spain were aghast. In Edinburgh itself placards appeared which openly named Bothwell as Darnley's murderer.

Marriage
of Mary
and Bot
well

The next event was the gathering of the Lords of the North against Bothwell. The forces met at Carberry Hill, close to Pinkie; Bothwell's men deserted, and he escaped; but Mary was captured, brought into Edinburgh in her short red skirt, jeered at by the mob, and at last sent off to her prison on the island in Lochleven. Immediately after, a silver casket holding the famous "Casket Letters" was captured from a retainer of Bothwell's who had been sent to remove some of Bothwell's property from Edinburgh Castle. These letters were from Mary to Bothwell, written before the murder of Darnley. They were not only "love-letters" but gave details as to how Mary would induce her husband to come to Kirk-o'-Field, and left no doubt as to what might happen to him there. If genuine, they would

Rising
against
Mary

prove that Mary was privy to Darnley's murder and had consented to Bothwell's abduction of her. They were, therefore, the very piece of evidence which her enemies lacked to justify her imprisonment without involving their own guilt. It is certainly suspicious that they secured it so very promptly and there is much else to indicate that some parts of the letters were forged and tampered with.¹

When Mary was in prison Elizabeth began to bestir herself a little on her behalf. She wrote to forbid the Lords of Lochleven to do her any injury, and to suggest that the little Prince James, her son, should be sent to England. There was talk of putting Mary to trial for her life, but in the end it was arranged that she should abdicate in favour of her son and that her half-brother, Moray, should be regent. She entrusted to him her jewels; he sold some to Elizabeth.

Robbed of her jewels, her son, her throne, her liberty, Mary still had her beauty; she won over her gaoler, George Douglas; the keys of Lochleven Castle were stolen, and Mary rode off wildly to join her last friends, the Hamiltons. Moray gathered the Protestant Lords, and routed Mary at the Hamiltons at *Langside*. Her last hope in Scotland gone, Mary fled in haste to the Solway, and two days after the battle crossed into England.

Mary's
flight to
England
(1568)

Mary expected that either Elizabeth would help her, or that she would let her pass from England to seek aid in France or elsewhere. But Elizabeth could hardly let her go to France to bring in French help against her subjects. Nor could she easily force the Scots to accept her again as the sovereign, though she denied that the Scottish lords had any right to depose her.

A Commission was appointed, consisting of representatives of the Scottish lords, of the chief English Catholic nobility, and of English Protestant lords, to inquire into the whole case. Mary at first sent advocates to present her cause, but later withdrew and the Commission broke up.

Com-
mission
of inquiry

¹ See footnote on next page.

Mary remained in England. Elizabeth, after the admission by the Commission of the "Casket Letters" as evidence,¹ refused to receive her at Court. She was sent to Bolton in Yorkshire, where, though free to receive friends and even to make journeys to Buxton, she was under the control of a supervisor, and was really a prisoner. (*Note 50.*)

Mary retained in England

4. THE PERIOD OF PLOTS (1568-1587)

So passed away the immediate peril of a hostile queen in Scotland who was a Catholic, marriageable, exceedingly attractive, and heir to Elizabeth's throne. Mary was a prisoner, and the Reformation, established by the Scottish Parliament in 1560, was safe: that gateway of attack was blocked to France or Spain. This meant much in the way of security. But in the ten years from 1558 to 1568 other things had happened to help Elizabeth. Not only was she stronger, but her enemies had grown weaker. The wars of religion had burst out in France. At the head of the extreme Catholic party there was the house of Guise, and the Guises set up a claim to the throne. As a safeguard against the Guises the kings of France sought Elizabeth's friendship, and this friendship was maintained; it survived even the shock of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. One prop to the alliance Elizabeth furnished by her marriage policy; she "considered" a proposal to marry a French royal prince, first Anjou, and later, his younger brother Alençon. True, she was not in earnest; privately she alluded to her suggested bridegroom as her "Frog"; but an appearance of negotiation was kept up. So France, severed from Scotland, distracted by religious wars and by the ambitions of the Guises, who in their turn were backed by Spain, was perforce friendly to Elizabeth. (*Note 54.*)

Elizabeth's improved position

Proposed French marriage

One thread indeed runs through all Elizabeth's tangled

¹ The originals were lost. The Commissioners accepted them as evidence, but the truth as to their genuineness has never been decided

Elizabeth's policy as regards France foreign policy. She and France each needed support against Spain, and therefore both remained friendly, and each tried to secure a firm alliance, to serve their own ends. Thus, to look ahead a little, when later on, in 1584, Henry III, the last of the Valois, was assassinated, Elizabeth's policy became even more definite. She helped the Protestant heir, Henry of Navarre, with as much money as she could spare (£35,000), when he first claimed the throne, and in the war which followed between him and the Catholics of France, she sent him over £300,000. She and Henry were clearly allies, for both had Spain as their open enemy.

One other motive impelled her to cultivate French friendship. She wished to sever the traditional alliance between France and Scotland, and in this she succeeded. France gave Mary Stuart no support throughout her reign, but instead remained on good terms with Elizabeth.

Elizabeth and the Netherlands While France grew weak through the bitter wars of religion, Spain, too, was less strong, on account of a religious struggle. The Netherlands, her richest province, was largely Protestant and anti-Spanish. Besides religious strife, the provinces objected to Philip's financial policy, and in 1568 rebellion broke out against his rule. Throughout Elizabeth's reign the struggle went on, and clearly it was to Elizabeth's interest to help the Dutch. At first she dared not do so openly, for she was too weak to risk war with Spain. So she contented herself with sending money, as much as she could spare, though less than the Dutch wanted. Actually, in a period of ten years, she sent William the Silent half a million pounds, a large sum for those days. She helped indirectly too, when she detained the ships carrying the money to pay Alva's troops, and on a pretext kept it for herself. Finally, after the assassination of William the Silent, she sent an expedition (1585), which, however, failed to achieve anything under the incompetent leadership of Leicester. Indeed, the expedition was only memorable for the chivalry shown by Sir Philip Sidney at the battle of Zutphen (1585).

when the English were defeated by the Spaniards. But in all she did, Elizabeth was hampered by her wish not to come to open war if she could avoid it, and, in addition, she had to deal with treachery at home. (*Note 53.*)

These years saw a succession of plots aimed at Elizabeth and engineered from abroad, but using her own subjects against her. Plots in England

What was coming was foreshadowed at that inquiry held over Mary in 1569. Norfolk, Elizabeth's chief commissioner, was at first convinced of Mary's guilt. Then he changed his mind, and began to scheme to marry Mary. As he was the chief English Catholic, such a marriage would have pleased the Catholic party. It might even have produced a Catholic heir to the throne, for nothing was yet settled about the succession. But Elizabeth's ministers were vigilant, and well served by their spies. The plan was revealed; the inquiry was closed; and Mary was sent off, half-guest, half-prisoner, to Tutbury.

The next step was more formidable. Norfolk and his friends intrigued with the Duke of Alva, the Spanish commander in the Netherlands. They promised to head a rising and arrest Cecil, Elizabeth's chief minister; Alva was to furnish troops; Mary was to be released. Alva refused to send his men before the rebels showed themselves to be in earnest, and Elizabeth's ministers were again too quick and too well-informed. Orders were given to arrest the most dangerous plotters, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. How dangerous these two were their names bear witness. Percy and Neville were the two great fighting names in the north; and the north was still used to arms, and warlike. The earls called out their border forces, seized Durham, and had the mass sung in its cathedral; then hurried southward to capture Mary. But Mary was taken to Coventry, and the Queen's forces barred the earls' march in the West Riding. There was no fighting; the leaders escaped to Scotland; the rebels scattered; many were The Rising in the North (1569)

caught and hanged in the towns and villages of Durham and Yorkshire; there was need of a sharp lesson. So ended the Rising in the North. It is worth note that while the earls wished their cause to appear to be the Catholic cause, and made show that they were fighting for their faith, Elizabeth took pains to display them as merely rebels. As if expressly to destroy their claim to be the Catholic party in arms for the Catholic cause, she sent against them a Catholic as commander, the Earl of Sussex.

The
excom-
munica-
tion
Up till now, indeed, it was not clear that in the end Elizabeth might not return to the Church of Rome. The "English heresy", as it was regarded by the Catholic party, had lasted long, but they trusted that it would be overcome in time; it was hardly conceivable that Elizabeth would persist in a cause that seemed to sever her from all other European monarchs. Consequently the Papacy had been long-suffering, affording her leisure for repentance. Now, however, it seemed time to remind her that her attitude could no longer be tolerated, and in 1570 Pius V declared her excommunicate, and her subjects released from the duty of obeying her. This, it is true, need not mean a final breach — excommunication could be revoked — but it made it clear that Rome regarded her for the time as an enemy, and expected Catholics who were true to their faith to take part against her.

Hence came a fresh outburst of plots, both from at home and abroad.

A few fervent Catholics in England, and enthusiasts in Spain, France, and Italy, all began to see that to dethrone Elizabeth was their duty. First came the Ridolfi plot (1571). This Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, was in the confidence of the Pope, and employed as an agent between Norfolk, Mary Queen of Scots, and Philip of Spain. Alva was asked to send help from the Netherlands; he, however, answered, with caution, that he was doubtful of success unless Elizabeth should first die a natural death, "or any other death".

Eventually the plot leaked out through Burleigh's spies; Norfolk was arrested, and put to death.

A brief period of comparative calm followed. By the Treaty of Blois, France had agreed not to support Mary's cause in Scotland, and Elizabeth and the French Court managed to keep friends in spite of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (Aug., 1572). The rebels in the Netherlands proved stubborn and kept Spain occupied; and even when Don John had nearly subdued them, and was planning to invade England and marry Mary himself, Philip was so much alarmed at his half-brother's ambitious plans that he recalled him.

The next trouble came from the Jesuits. Since its foundation, in 1540, by Ignatius Loyola, this order had produced the leaders in the struggle to win back the peoples that had adopted the teaching of the Reformation. In 1568 a school

**The
Jesuits:
the
Catholic
Mission**

for English Jesuits was set up at Douai — moved ten years later to Rheims — on purpose to train a band of missionaries to reconvert England. Such persons came to England at the risk of their lives: one, Cuthbert Mayne, was executed in 1577. A fresh campaign began in 1580, with the arrival of Campion and Parsons. Nominally they did not meddle in questions of state, but their teaching had a marvellous influence in reviving Catholic hopes throughout England, and the Government caused Campion and several of his companions to be arrested, tried for treasonable plotting, and executed. There was little evidence against Campion who indeed died praying for "Elizabeth, your Queen and mine, to whom I wish a long quiet reign and all prosperity." His comrade, Parsons, who escaped, showed by his subsequent career that he certainly did meddle in questions of state. He sent two Jesuit companions into Scotland to stir up a rising in Mary's cause; he plotted with Mendoza, the Spanish envoy in London; he conspired with Philip and the Pope, and planned Elizabeth's murder. But the English assassin, who was to kill the Queen

**Campion
and
Parsons**

for a reward of 100,000 francs, was, as Parsons regretted, "a worthless fellow, who would do nothing". Parsons was also in the plot for a Spanish invasion, which was got up by Mendoza and a Cheshire gentleman named Francis Throckmorton. Again Burleigh and Walsingham were well-informed; Throckmorton was arrested (December, 1583) and executed, and Mendoza dismissed.

Throck-
morton's
plot
(1583)

Assas-
sination
of William
of Orange
(1584)

So far Elizabeth had seemed to bear a charmed life; the great bulk of her people were enthusiastically loyal; the plotters half-hearted and inefficient. But in 1584 came a thunderstroke of politics — so-called — to show that plots did not always miscarry. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the heart and centre of the rebellion in the Netherlands, was shot by an assassin in Spanish pay,¹ Balthasar Gérard. Just at the same time Anjou's death made it clear that the crown of France would go, after Henry III's death, to Henry of Navarre, who was a Protestant. The prospect of being ruled by a heretic was, to many French Catholics, unbearable; and forthwith civil war broke out in France. This was disastrous for Elizabeth. Not only would she get no help from France, if she needed it, against a Spanish invasion — now far more probable since William of Orange was gone, and the Spanish troops under Parma were triumphant in the Netherlands — but, what was worse, the Catholic party in France, alarmed at the prospect of a Huguenot on the throne, were inviting help from Spain. If, as seemed likely, France and Spain were to unite in a Catholic league, Elizabeth and the cause of England would be lost.

The
Associa-
tion

England made what reply she could. Twelve years before, Parliament had petitioned for Mary's attainder, but Elizabeth would not permit it. In the peril of 1584 an Association was formed, the members of which undertook to prosecute to the death anyone plotting the Queen's death,

¹ Parma had *promised* him pay. He was, however, penniless, a gift from William himself, in reward for a piece of news, provided the money to buy the pistols.

and also *any person in whose favour such an attempt was made*. Parliament followed this up with an Act which provided that if such a plot were formed with the "privity" of any person pretending a title to the throne, that person could be tried for treason by royal commission. This might not secure Elizabeth from the assassin, but, if she died, Mary would never succeed to the throne. Her life would be forfeit, in any case. Elizabeth followed this up by an alliance with James VI for mutual defence of their religion.

Alliance
with
James VI
of
Scotland

So affairs stood at the beginning of the year 1586. In May Walsingham intercepted a letter from Mary to Mendoza, in which she disinherited her son James and made over all her claims to Philip of Spain. This, however, was only the beginning. Another plot was brewing. Savage, an English officer serving with Parma, took an oath that he would murder Elizabeth. Mendoza, now ambassador in France, suggested that Cecil and Walsingham had better be killed also. The English agent for the plot was Antony Babington, a Catholic attached to Elizabeth's court, who found five other assassins to join Savage. Walsingham's chief spy, however, had wormed himself into the secret. The letters between Mary and the plotters were intercepted, deciphered, copied, and forwarded, and so the plot grew under Walsingham's fingers. The object was to be sure of Mary's "privity" to the scheme to murder; that once established, nothing could save her. At last, in July, she wrote: "*Affairs being thus prepared, then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen at work*". That was enough. Mary's papers were seized, and she was tried before commissioners at Fotheringay.

Babington's
plot
(1586)

Mary
implicated

Inevitably she was found guilty; Parliament petitioned for her immediate execution. Elizabeth hesitated; to put Mary to death was to change the whole face of politics, to embark on all kinds of new dangers. But Parliament and the Privy Council were determined on Mary's death, and the warrant for her execution was sent by the Privy Council to Fotheringay; and in February, 1587, Mary was beheaded.

Mary's
execution
(1587)

So ended the period of plots with the death of the unhappy woman in whose favour they were made. If Spain was to do anything now, it must be by invasion; the enemy who had fought behind the covert of secrecy and conspiracy must now come into the open.

5. THE ARMADA

Since the days of Henry VII a spirit of adventure had sent Englishmen, particularly from the western ports of Plymouth, Bideford, and Bristol, out into the great waters. To explore, to find gold, to trade, and, it may be added, to plunder, were the objects. *Chancellor* went to Archangel; *Willoughby* to the North-east Passage, and to his death, in 1554; *Frobisher* to Labrador; *Davis* to the North-west Arctic. Such northern adventures were all attempts to find an English route to the East; the existing roads round the Cape of Good Hope or the Horn were already seized on; they belonged to Portugal and to Spain. The North proved unkindly and inaccessible, however, and there were no inhabitants to buy the cloth which the Englishmen hoped to sell in cold latitudes. Hence the diversion to the warmer latitudes, in particular to the Spanish Main. Spain resented the coming of English ships, and all our trading there had a suspicion of contraband about it, and even a taste of piracy now and again. But the maxim ran, "No peace beyond the line",¹ and though there was often fighting in the Spanish Main, at home Spain, though sorely tried, had kept up a sort of peace with England. The provocation she swallowed was amazing. In a sense she began the violence in the treacherous attack on *Sir John Hawkins's* flotilla at San Juan in 1568; but Hawkins had no business there, and was meaning to force a sale of the slaves he was carrying. He lost four ships — one of them belonging to the Queen — and goods to the value of £100,000; and he and his com-

¹ The line drawn by Pope Alexander VI, 300 miles west of the Azores, to separate the colonial spheres of Portugal (east) and Spain (west).

panion, *Francis Drake*, barely escaping with their lives, *Drake* came back angry and revengeful. In 1572 came Drake's attack on Nombre de Dios, his capture of the mule-train loaded with silver, and his first vision of the Pacific. In 1577 he sailed with five ships, the chief being the *Golden Hind*, through the Strait of Magellan, fell on the unprotected Spanish towns on the Pacific coast, plundered them, and then crossed the ocean to Java, and so home round the world, bringing back treasure valued at £800,000. For this exploit the Queen knighted him on board the *Golden Hind* at Deptford; so substantial a contribution as £800,000 to what may be called the party funds deserved a knighthood. Even so, though Spain remonstrated angrily, no war followed. Each country laid an embargo on the other's vessels in 1585, and the Queen sent Drake off again to plunder the Spanish West Indies. Yet even now only two royal ships went; it was a sort of joint-stock piracy; the rest were merchantmen from London and the West and private venturers, some thirty in all. This flotilla pillaged the Spanish islands, sacked Santiago in the Cape Verde, Domingo, and Carthagena, plundering, burning, and holding to ransom, and returned unscathed. The profit was poor,¹ but the damage done enormous. (*Note 57.*)

This raid on the West Indies decided Philip at last. His generals in the Netherlands urged an invasion of England as easy; Spain could collect a huge fleet; and, finally, Mary's death, in 1587, made it clear that if the enterprise succeeded it was Philip in person who would profit by it. Mary, by her will, had "bequeathed" her domain and her claim to the English throne to Philip, who thus regarded himself as her heir. So the preparations, hitherto lukewarm, were pressed forward, and the Armada would have sailed in 1587, had not Drake's "singeing of the King of Spain's beard" — his attack on the shipping in Cadiz harbour — thrown everything back for a year. Thirty-seven ships and

Effect of
Mary's
death

Drake's
expedi-
tion to
Cadiz

¹ About £50,000.

quantities of stores were destroyed, and Drake, after threatening Lisbon, hovered off Cape St. Vincent for six weeks, snapping up Spanish coasters and preventing any movement of ships from the Mediterranean ports. This daring exploit increased the Spanish terror of the terrible "El Draque", but it also displays how excellent was his strategy. He petitioned to be allowed to repeat his attack in 1588, but Elizabeth refused, fearing that the Spanish fleet might elude him and find the Channel bare.

So the Armada, the great enterprise against the heretic, officially blessed by Pope and clergy, with its motto from the Psalms,¹ sailed out of Lisbon on 20th May, 1588: 130 ships, with 8000 seamen and 19,000 soldiers — a great fleet.

We must note that it was not intended as a "battle fleet", but was simply to act as transport for the army of invasion. It was to sail up Channel without seeking the English fleet, seize Margate, join Parma, who was to provide 30,000 picked Spanish troops from the Netherlands, and convey him over. The Armada made shocking weather to Corunna, taking nineteen days over it, and put in there to refit, stop leaks, and replace some of the rotting stores which the Spanish contractors had furnished. It did not leave Corunna till 12th July, and now, more or less favoured by weather, appeared off the Lizard on 19th July. The Channel fleet, under Lord Howard of Effingham, with Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Fenner, and Raymond, had just put back into Plymouth to get supplies, and was windbound there. The ships were warped out into the Sound and got to sea, but the Spanish fleet passed farther to the southward. Thus the Armada, in spite of all its tardiness, had got into the Channel, and the way was clear; there was no enemy in front except the tiny squadron under Seymour and Wynter, helping the Dutch to watch Parma in the narrow seas.

If the total of ships be counted, the English were more

¹ "Exsurge Deus et vindica causam tuam" (Ps. xxxv. 23).

than the Spanish; they numbered 197, but only 49 were over 200 tons. The total tonnage of the Spaniards was nearly double that of the English. The Spaniards had nearly double the number of men, but a large proportion were soldiers, not seamen. Yet it was not a fight which was to be settled by size or number. The Spaniards were overwhelming if they could bring their whole force to bear, but it remained to be decided whether they could do this.

The fact, realized now, but dimly seen then, is that the two "fleets" were radically different, the Spanish of the past, the English of the future. Fighting mainly in the smoother waters of the Mediterranean, the Spanish ship was a castle on the sea, directed by the sailors, or even at times rowed by galley slaves, but depending for fighting purposes on the fact that it carried a mass of well-drilled soldiers. A Spanish ship carried few guns for its size, and little powder for them. Manœuvring, seamanship, gunnery, were all subordinate matters; the one object was to come at once to close quarters, to board and fight it out with steel and arquebus. So the Spaniards had beaten the Turks in the great sea fight of Lepanto. A Spanish fleet was, briefly, an army at sea.¹ But the English seamen, bred in rougher weather, had developed a more seaworthy type of ship, lower, smaller, stiffer, and faster, offering a smaller target, carrying relatively far more guns, and trusting to do its execution at a distance. In the sixteenth century, guns could not be elevated nor depressed, and good shooting therefore depended on steering, and sailing qualities. Thus in a breeze the Spanish ships, badly steered and handled, heeling over before the wind, sent their weather broadsides flying skywards, while their lee guns fired into the sea. The English ships, however, on a more even keel, made sure work, often hulling the Spaniards' exposed sides below the water-line. Even the Spanish size and numbers

Compari-
son of the
two fleets

¹ The Duke of Medina-Sidonia was to hand over the conduct of the enterprise to the Duke of Parma (the general) as soon as he met him at Dunkirk.

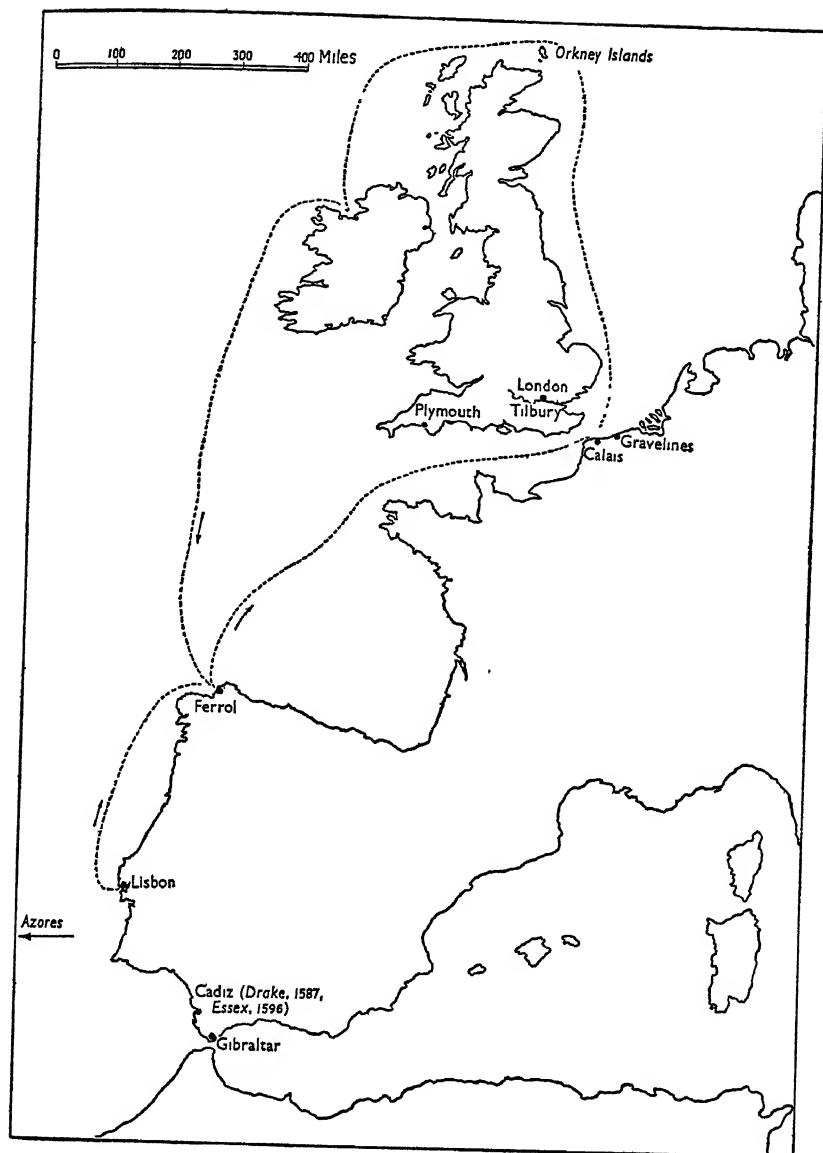
were less formidable than they appeared. Out of their 130 ships only fifty were efficient men-of-war; the rest, store-ships and transports that could not fight, unless by boarding. The total Spanish broadside was in weight only about two-thirds of the English. Their commander, Medina-Sidonia, was a landsman who had offered Philip a number of excellent reasons why he should not be put in command,¹ and was certainly incapable of handling a fleet. Finally, now that the English had got the weather-gage, and could follow the Armada up Channel, making a running fight of it, they could close or not as they wished; and every Spanish ship that was crippled was bound to lag behind and be taken.

These things, however, were to be made clear on the way up Channel; they were not yet seen. All that was known was that the Armada was in the Channel: beacon fires blazed; the militia was called out; 70,000 men gathered in London, and Elizabeth reviewed her men at Tilbury.

Elizabeth at Tilbury The English knew well enough that the object of the Armada was to land Parma's great army. For this invasion they prepared, and Elizabeth herself went to rally her troops. Her speech to them is memorable, for it sums up her character, and her hold on the loyalty of her people: "I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, being resolved in the midst and heat of battle to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my Kingdom and for my people my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a King, and I think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any prince should dare invade the borders of my realm."

Meanwhile, for a breathless week, England waited, and the Armada lumbered on its way up Channel, fighting on

¹ His last and least valid argument was that he was sick when he went to sea. But so was Nelson.



THE ROUTE OF THE ARMADA, 1588

Armada in the Channel the 21st, on the 23rd off St. Alban's Head, and on the 25th off St. Catherine's, losing some ships, yet by no means crippled. It anchored at Calais on the 27th, ready to embark Parma's men.

Here came the first great blow. Parma was not ready; the Dutch held him blockaded. He wrote to Medina-Sidonia bidding him clear the sea of the English and Dutch; that done, all would be well.

The fire-ships at Calais While Medina-Sidonia and his captains were considering this unsatisfactory reply, eight fire ships were sent drifting with the tide into Calais Roads. Panic seized the Spaniards, who cut their cables and sailed eastwards, scattering as they went. The next day (29th July), of the whole Spanish fleet which was nominally engaged, only fifteen, those round Medina-Sidonia, managed to come to close quarters; but they were shorter of powder even than the English: in the words of a Spaniard who took part in the battle, "they fighting with their great ordnance, and our men defending themselves with harquebus fire and musketry". Some were taken, some sunk, and some ran aground, a fate that would have befallen them all had the wind not shifted more to the southward. But by the evening the Armada — still to Drake's mind "wonderful and strong, yet we pluck their feathers little by little" — in reality a beaten fleet, was flying northward. Storms, the rocks of Scotland and Ireland, did the rest. Far out into the Atlantic¹ as the ships beat their way, yet their leeway brought them in again, and Mull, the Giant's Causeway, Donegal, and Achill all took toll of them. Twelve were embayed in Sligo Bay, and to those who got ashore the wild Irish of the west were as merciless as the sea. Fifty-three only got back to Spain. Philip gave the weather-worn survivors magnanimous consolation: "I sent you forth to fight with men, and not with the elements". Elizabeth, piously, was of the same mind, inscribing on her Armada medal, *Afflavit Deus*, "God blew

¹ 400 miles westward from the north of Scotland.

with His wind, and they were scattered ". Yet the fact is not so; the Armada had all in its favour till the panic at Calais; till, in short, it had failed. And how complete the failure was, is revealed by a few figures. In the first day's battle only two Englishmen were killed, and only sixty in the whole fighting. The Spaniards *lost more ships than we did men*. The Spanish fleet was hopelessly overmatched in the kind of warfare it encountered. It could never have beat its way down Channel against the English fleet; thus there only remained the way round by the north, and that was certain destruction.

So the great thundercloud that had gathered against England for close on forty years hung imminent for a week, broke, and passed away. (*Note 55.*)

6. ELIZABETH AND PARLIAMENT: SOCIAL MEASURES: ELIZABETH AND ESSEX

Nearly fifteen more years remained to the great queen after the Armada was beaten, and they were fifteen years of glory. Yet in a sense the reign ends in 1588. The climax was reached, the day won, the policy of the Queen and her ministers triumphant. For a while the war with Spain went on. In 1589 Drake led an expedition to Portugal, and in 1590 Sir Richard Grenville fought the amazing fight of "the one and the fifty-three", where, though the

The end
of the war

" Little *Revenge* herself went down by the island crags,
To be lost evermore in the main ",

the memory of her and her commander will abide so long as the Jack flies in the wind. Drake, and Hawkins with him, tried a last cruise to the West Indies in 1594, which failed, both commanders dying at sea. Two years later Howard, Raleigh, and Essex sacked Cadiz again, destroying the Spanish ships at their moorings. More fatal to Spain was the fact that every cargo from the Indies, every ship crossing the Atlantic, every reinforcement going to the Low Countries,

Second
attack on
Cadiz
(1596)

had to run the gauntlet of English free-booters; and little escaped them. So the wealth and power of Spain was drained away. Her silver from the New World robbed, her rich possessions in the Netherlands lost to her, her decline began, and became more and more marked. In France, too, Spanish policy failed; the Huguenot Henry of Navarre established himself on the throne with Elizabeth's aid, in defiance of the Guises and the Spanish party; and, once there, began the building up of that great French ascendancy which was to replace the Habsburg power that had dominated over Europe so long.

Elizabeth and Parliament entered upon a new phase. The country was safe, and now we have to note the first signs of coming change. Elizabeth was so popular, and her people felt such respect for her, that she was able to have things largely her own way. Yet Parliament did begin to oppose her, and over the very two matters which were to lead to such strife in the future under the Stuarts — religion and money.

The Puritans For already a large number of her subjects had adopted the new ideas which had made such headway abroad. The "Puritans", as they were called, wished to reform and alter the Church, making it more Protestant. Elizabeth would have none of this, she forbade Parliament to discuss the matter, and ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to deal with those of the clergy who showed Puritan leanings.

The "Mar-Prelate Tracts" In 1583, Whitgift had become Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a stern disciplinarian, and had the Queen's complete confidence.¹ The Press was muzzled, no manuscript being allowed to be set up in type without the licence of the Archbishop or the Bishop of London. In spite of this, however, the "Mar-Prelate Tracts", which were violent attacks on the bishops, were being secretly printed. The authors were never discovered, but some other libellers were caught and

¹ The Queen used to call him "her little black husband", and treated him as her confessor to whom she revealed "the very secrets of her soul".

were put to death. The Queen delegated to the Court of High Commission the punishment of ecclesiastical offences, and, armed with tremendous powers, it persecuted the more advanced exponents of the Puritan doctrines. The *Brownists* (so called because of their leader Robert Browne), who held opinions then considered very extreme and had seceded from the Church, were especially attacked, and a large number took refuge in Holland, whence many returned to make the famous voyage in *The Mayflower* to America in 1620.

Elizabeth also fell out with Parliament over money. She had granted "Monopolies", or the sole right to manufacture certain goods, to people who paid her for the privilege, and they made profits for themselves out of the sale of the goods. Parliament saw in this an "illegal" way for the Crown to raise money, and objected. Elizabeth was forced to give way and promise not to make such grants. (*Note 53.*)

Shortly after the Armada, many of Elizabeth's older ministers — those servants who had served her so well in her critical years — died: Leicester, Walsingham, Hatton, were all dead by 1591. Burleigh survived till 1598. Of the younger men, Robert Cecil inherited his father, Burleigh's caution; but Sir Walter Raleigh and Essex were of a wilder school.

In the first and last years of her life, too, two important pieces of work were accomplished dealing with the problem of unemployment.

First she tried, in the Statute of Apprentices, to keep people at work and ensure proper payment for those in work. The Justices in each district were to draw up rates of pay for every sort of employment — agricultural, industrial, and domestic service. These wages were to be based on local prices, and thus an effort was made to see that the workers received a wage on which they could live.

To Elizabeth too belongs the credit of attempting to deal with the problem of relief of the poor. Her Act made the

The Elizabethan
poor law
(1601)

State responsible for those who whether through age, or illness, or unemployment, were in distress. Each parish was made responsible for its poor. A rate was levied on each household, and the local J.P.s were responsible for its administration. The old were to be put in almshouses, children were to be apprenticed to a trade, those who were sick were to be cared for. Able-bodied persons were to be found work, and if they were unwilling to work were to be whipped. If no work was available, then they were to be supported from the poor-rate. (*Note 51.*)

These social reforms were accompanied by a great effort to improve the coinage. All debased coins were called in, and a fresh and better currency issued.

Trading
Com-
panies

Finally, in these closing years, Elizabeth granted charters to the great trading companies. She gave charters to the Muscovy Company, trading in Russia; to the East-land Company, trading in the Baltic; to the Levant Company, trading in the near East. In 1600 she granted the charter of the famous East India Company, which was the pioneer of "joint stock", that is to say, the members pooled their capital and divided profits. This marked a new era in commercial development, and to this company was later due the rise of our Indian Empire. (*Note 57.*)

Elizabeth
and
Essex

Essex, nephew of Elizabeth's old friend Leicester, was a young man who now became the most popular figure in England. Elizabeth was devoted to him and treated him almost like a favourite son. London adored him, because of his dash and splendour. He was, however, headstrong and rash. The Queen had sent him, with Howard of Effingham, to attack Cadiz. He quarrelled with Howard, and the expedition failed to destroy the Spanish fleet. Next Essex clamoured to be allowed to go to Ireland, where Tyrone was in revolt. Elizabeth gave way, partly to test him. Essex showed that he was not only incapable, but treacherous. Instead of fighting, he made a secret treaty with Tyrone, and then dashed back, contrary to orders, to

make his peace with the Queen. She banished him from Court, and, furious at his failures, Essex plotted against her. In 1601 he tried to raise a rebellion, collected a body of men, and attempted to seize the Queen. The Londoners would not join him, and the Queen's armed men easily dispersed his followers and captured Essex himself. He was tried for treason, found guilty, and beheaded.

His death marked the beginning of the end. Elizabeth never recovered from the shock. Gradually her strength failed, and, in 1603, she died. It was the end of a very great reign. Death of Elizabeth

So the great Queen died — a true Tudor, in that she understood her people, even better than her ministers did; singularly unscrupulous, yet magnificently successful; unlovable in character, yet romantically beloved; served throughout her reign with wonderful loyalty, yet as parsimonious in her reward of it as she was with her money; vain, untruthful, capricious, and sometimes mean; yet, with all her defects, undoubtedly great. Her policy, so hesitating in appearance, was wise in its very uncertainty. Fools, in difficulties, rush into hasty decisions. What England wanted was time. Time for the Established Church to grow firmer, time for the new alliance with Scotland to settle, time to breed the race of seamen who beat off the Armada; and that Elizabeth gave England. At the end came peace at home, a high reputation abroad, and — Elizabeth's greatest gift — a nation proud of itself and confident in its future.

7. ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

It is a commonplace to say that great as the reign was in political importance, it is equally glorious in the world of literature. What is called "the Elizabethan school of letters" is one of the most magnificent of English achievements. In every direction there was an outburst of life and beauty. *Shakespeare* stands apart and unrivalled, yet there are many The Elizabethan men of letters

Shake- other Elizabethan dramatists whose works shine out and are
 speare perhaps less familiar only because Shakespeare has absorbed
 so much attention. *Beaumont* and *Fletcher* in collaboration
 Other drama- wrote many dramas in beautiful verse, and in some, such as
 tists *Philaster*, dealt with plots very close to Shakespeare's tra-
 dition. *Ben Jonson* wrote not only plays which won him in-
 stant fame, but also some of the most beautiful songs in our
 language (such as "Drink to me only with thine eyes").
Webster in his *Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* brought
 some of the magnificence as well as the horror and cruelty of
 the Renaissance into English literature. *Christopher Marlowe*
 in *Doctor Faustus* produced one of the greatest of romantic
 dramas on that eternally interesting theme, and one con-
 taining wonderful poetry, and in his *Edward II* wrote a
 historical play which gives us some foretaste of what he
 might have achieved had not his life been thrown away in a
 tavern quarrel before he was thirty. Ford, Massinger, Kyd,
 Chapman — they go to make up the band whom Dryden
 called "the giant race".¹

Yet this wonderful band of dramatists only represents one
 Poets part of the Elizabethan achievement. *Edmund Spenser* in
 his *Faerie Queene* wrote one of the most poetic of romances,
 and one which poets have always loved and admired. *Francis*
Bacon's Essays still are unsurpassed in their depth of thought
 and terse vigour of expression. *John Donne* was the first,
 and he remains one of the greatest, of our "metaphysical"
 poets, besides joining the number of those who gave us one
 of the loveliest forms in our poetry, the lyric. For the
 Lyric writers lyric verse now seemed to flower as never before.
 Some of the dramatists, notably *Fletcher*, also wrote en-
 chanting beautiful lyrics. *Heywood*, *Thomas Campion*, *Sir*
Philip Sidney, *Peele*, *Lodge*, *Thomas Dekker*, *Thomas Nashe*
 — such a list in itself shows the riches of the age, and the
 verse those men wrote is to-day as lovely and as fresh in

¹ Some of the writers who rank as Elizabethan do so because they were born in that epoch, though their mature works actually appeared during the reign of James I. These include Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Jonson, and Donne.

its appeal as any verse in our language. Though their names may not in themselves mean much to us, their poems are familiar to us all, and we realize our debt to the Elizabethans when we recall that they wrote, amongst many others, such favourites as "There is a garden in her face, Where roses and white lilies blow", "Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?" "Pack, clouds, away! and welcome, day!", "Drop, drop, slow tears", "Shall I, wasting in despair, Die because a woman's fair?", "My true love hath my heart, and I have his".

Shakespeare must close, as he began, the tale of Elizabethan glories, for in his Sonnets, as in his plays, he touched the height of man's achievements.

The intense vitality of the Elizabethans, their imagination, their love of beauty and their love of nature, give a variety and a richness to their works which combine with an equally wonderful beauty of simplicity. This in part may explain why their work has always appealed to men in every generation, and why to-day their glory still shines so brightly. (Note 52.)

CHAPTER 33

IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS, 1485-1603

We turn now to survey the history of Ireland under the Tudors. When Henry VII ascended the English throne in 1485, Ireland was in a deplorably backward condition. The Renaissance and all the movements connected with it had left Ireland completely untouched. Learning had perished. Religion had no real hold upon the people. The country was covered with forests and bogs which made communication difficult, and roads were almost nonexistent; and it is reckoned that of the three-quarters of a million people inhabiting the land, at least two-thirds led a wild and uncivilized existence. "The Pale" — the district

Condition
of Ireland
(1485)

The Pale

where English jurisdiction was actually established — had been gradually reduced till it only included a stretch of country, some thirty miles wide, from Dundalk to Dublin; outside this area Irish customs and the Irish language prevailed, and each Irish chieftain was supreme in his own district. The descendants of the Anglo-Normans who had conquered the country in Henry II's day had become

Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores — more Irish than the Irish themselves. Of these the chief families were the *Butlers*, under the Earl of Ormonde in the south-east, and the *Fitz-Geralds* or *Geraldines*, under the headship of the Earl of Desmond in Munster, and under that of the Earl of Kildare in Leinster. Of the old Irish families perhaps the most important were the *O'Neills* and the *O'Donnells* in Ulster.

From the accession of Henry VII till the year 1534 there is little to record in Irish history. An Irish bishop, so runs the story, once told Henry VII that all Ireland could not rule the Earl of Kildare. "Then," said the King, "he must be the man to rule all Ireland." At all events, whether the story is true or false, Ireland was governed for the greater part of this period by two successive *Earls of Kildare*, though their rule was tempered by occasional intervals of imprisonment in the Tower of London.¹ It was during one of these periods when the Earl of Kildare was under suspicion of treason that *Sir Edward Poynings* was sent out to Ireland as "Lord Deputy". Poynings managed to get two laws passed in the Irish Parliament which made that Parliament completely dependent upon England; for no Parliament was in future to be summoned without the consent of the King and his Privy Council — the King in Council, as it was called — nor could it discuss any bills without the consent of the same authority (1494).

With the year 1534, Henry VIII began to take a more

¹ The first of these two earls, called "the Great Earl", ruled the country for nearly thirty years before his death in 1513. He was a person of remarkable gifts; moreover, he collected an excellent library of Latin, English, French, and Irish books, and his praises were sung by the great Italian poet of the day, Ariosto.

active part in the affairs of Ireland. The Earl of Kildare, of whose government complaints had been made, was summoned to England, and, his answers not being considered satisfactory, he was put, not for the first time, into the Tower. His son, called "Silken Thomas" from the silken fringe on his helmet, who had heard that his father had been executed and that his family were to be exterminated, rose in rebellion. But the great stronghold of the Geraldines in Leinster, the Castle of *Maynooth*, was taken by the new English lord deputy, and the army which Silken Thomas — now Earl of Kildare, as his father had died in the Tower — was bringing to its relief "melted away like a snowdrift" on the news of its capture. Finally Thomas surrendered himself to the King's mercy and was sent to England, and, some months later, he and his five uncles, three of whom had been treacherously seized at a dinner party to which they had been invited, suffered the penalties of treason at Tyburn. So fell the great house of Kildare.¹

Revolt of
Kildares

The remainder of Henry VIII's reign saw a steady development of the king's power; and for the future, English lord deputies were appointed. The Irish Parliament recognized Henry as King of Ireland. Religious changes similar to those in England were made: the Papacy was repudiated and Henry declared "Head of the Irish Church"; the monasteries were dissolved and some of the images in the churches destroyed. Towards the Irish chieftains Henry pursued a policy of "sober ways, politic shifts, and amiable persuasions lest by extreme demands they should revolt to their former beastliness". He made arrangements with many of them by which, in return for acknowledging his sovereignty in Church and State, and surrendering the land of the tribes to him, they received English titles and the gift of some monastic lands, besides the re-grant to them-

Changes
in Ireland
(1535-47)

¹ Of the male branch of the family only one child — the brother of "Silken Thomas" — survived, but he was taken by his aunt to a place of safety in the wilds of Ireland, and eventually escaped to France. After fighting on behalf of the Knights of Rhodes against the Moors, he returned to Ireland, and was given back the Kildare lands in Mary's reign.

selves and their heirs of the lands of their tribe. Henry's policy was successful during his lifetime, and it was said, just before his death, "that there lives not any in Ireland, even were he of the age of Nestor, who ever saw his country in a more peaceable state".

Moreover, in the reigns of Henry's successors there was little trouble. The advisers of Edward VI met with little opposition in making further changes in a Protestant direction, whilst the lord deputy had no difficulty in persuading the Irish Parliament to restore the authority of the Pope in Mary's reign and to repudiate it again on the accession of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth, however, was one long catalogue of rebellions. In the early years of her reign occurred the rising of *Shane O'Neill*. He claimed the headship of the O'Neill tribe and the earldom of Tyrone, bestowed on Shane's father by Henry VIII. There was a rival claimant whom the British Government at first supported, but eventually, after many changes, Elizabeth recognized Shane's rights.¹ But Shane had large ambitions. He wished to become supreme in Ulster; he had a large army at his disposal; and he intrigued with Mary Queen of Scots, and with Charles IX, the King of France. Finally, the English Government proclaimed him a traitor. Shane was defeated and then killed, and his head, "pickled in a pipkin", was sent to the English lord deputy (1567).

But meanwhile came a great religious revival in Ireland. Outside "the Pale" little or no attempt had been made to enforce Protestantism. It is true that during Elizabeth's reign a law was passed forbidding the exercise of any religious worship except the Anglican, but it was impossible to enforce such an act against a whole nation, and the Irish Roman Catholics practically possessed liberty of worship. The reign of Elizabeth was contemporaneous with the great

¹ Shane came over himself to England to Elizabeth's Court attended by bare-headed followers in saffron-coloured shirts and rough friezes, who made an immense sensation in London.

movement known as the Counter-Reformation, when the Roman Catholics recovered much ground that they had previously lost. Nowhere did the movement meet with more striking success than in Ireland. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, Jesuit priests came over and obtained enormous influence, and on Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 the Pope was regarded as the temporal ruler of Ireland. Moreover, there were expectations of assistance from Philip II of Spain.

The
Jesuit
mission

Hence, as a consequence, there were two rebellions headed by that branch of the FitzGerald's who lived in Munster. The first was unimportant, but the second, which broke out in 1579, led to a great and general rising under the *Earl of Desmond*. The rebels met with some success, and a Spanish and Italian force landed and occupied *Smerwick*.¹ But the foreigners very quickly surrendered and were all — to the number of six hundred — put to the sword as pirates because they could produce no mandate from Philip II. Finally, after a campaign of four years, Munster was quelled. The war had been one of the most appalling ferocity; no Irish soldier was promised quarter, it was said, unless he brought the head of another Irishman with him; Munster had been converted into a desert, and in the last six months of the war it was calculated that no less than thirty thousand people had died of starvation.² It was then determined to "plant" Munster with English colonists. Such an idea was not new — in Mary's reign arrangements had been made to "plant" part of the counties known up till 1921 as "King's County" and "Queen's County", arrangements carried out on Elizabeth's acces-

The
Desmond
Rebellion
(1579-83)

"Plantation" of
Munster

¹ A nuncio from the Pope, Dr. Nicholas Sandars, also arrived with them, and showed great activity in directing the rebellion. He baffled all attempts at capture, but finally died of exposure and cold, his body being found in a wood "with his Breviary and his Bible under his arm".

² The poet Spenser's description of the condition of the people after the rebellion is well known: "Out of every corner of woods and glens they came creeping forth, for their legs would not bear them, they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast."

sion. But now it was to be done on a gigantic scale; nearly half a million acres were distributed to "undertakers" who undertook to introduce English settlers — an agreement which in many cases, however, was not carried out.³

The last and most formidable rebellion of all had its centre in the north of Ireland. Its leaders were *Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone*, and *Hugh Roe*, the head of the *O'Donnells*. Tyrone won a victory at the "Yellow Ford" on the Blackwater in 1598. Had he shown more enterprise he might have succeeded in taking Dublin. As it was, his victory led to a fresh rising in Munster. Moreover, the Spaniards made an alliance with him and sent him arms and money; and the Pope presented him with a "peacock's feather" and promised indulgence to all who would rise in defence of the Church. The situation looked serious — never before had there been a rebellion which had united so many tribes in Ireland, or which partook more of a national rising. *Essex*, Elizabeth's favourite, was sent over in 1599, but he made a truce with Tyrone instead of fighting him and then went home (see p. 370). His successor, Lord *Mountjoy*, found, on his arrival in 1600, the rebels in control of all Ireland up to the walls of Dublin. But he was a man of great capacity. He compelled a Spanish force which had landed at Kinsale to surrender. Then, turning against Tyrone, he carried on a war rather, it has been said, "with the spade than the sword". He built forts at all the chief passes to stop communications, and by systematically ravaging each district starved it out. His methods were successful; and in 1603, just before the news of Elizabeth's death reached Ireland, Tyrone submitted on promise that his title and his lands should be restored to him.

At Elizabeth's death the conquest of Ireland was for the first time complete. Yet it had been carried out with ex-

³ Amongst the "undertakers" were Sir Walter Raleigh and the poet Spenser. It was in Ireland that Spenser wrote a great part of the *Faerie Queene*. When Raleigh was his guest, Spenser showed him the first three books. Raleigh was delighted with them, and they came over to London together in 1589 to see about their publication.

Tyrone's
Rebellion
(1595-
1603)

Failure of
of Essex
in Ireland
(1599)

End of
revolt

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD FIVE
(1485-1603)

1. Describe the chief ways in which Henry VII strengthened the monarchy (LGS 1935)
2. What dangers threatened Henry VII from abroad and how did he seek to defend himself? (NUJB 1936)
3. Describe the relations between England and Scotland from 1485 to 1558. (NUJB 1937)
4. Describe the domestic policy of Henry VII. (NUJB 1938)
5. What were the chief economic problems in England in the sixteenth century and what measures were taken to deal with them? (LGS 1935)
6. What motives had Henry VIII for his break with Rome? (QC 1938)
7. Explain why the reign of Henry VII is regarded as marking a new epoch in the history of England (UW 1932)
8. Examine the effects in intellectual life in England of: (a) the invention of printing; (b) the work of the "Oxford Reformers". (OL 1932)
9. Show the attitude of each of the following towards the Protestant Reformation: (a) Sir Thomas More; (b) Desiderius Erasmus; (c) Martin Luther; (d) Henry VIII. (CWB 1931)
10. How far had the Reformation proceeded in England by the death of Henry VIII? (LGS 1937)
11. Show. (a) why and (b) how, Henry VIII defied the Papacy. (NUJB 1937)
12. State the part played in the Reformation by: (a) Cranmer, and (b) Somerset. (NUJB 1938)
13. State the main facts concerning Henry VIII's relations with. (a) France, (b) Spain, and (c) Ireland. (NUJB 1938)
14. Criticize the foreign policy of Wolsey. (OC 1938)
15. Give an account of the progress of the Reformation in England from the end of the Reformation Parliament in 1536 to the death of Edward VI in 1553. (LGS 1936)
16. What did the Reformation movement in England owe to: (a) Archbishop Cranmer, and (b) The Protector Somerset? (CL 1932)

17 What effect did the conversion of arable land into pasture have upon the social and economic life of England during this period?

(NUJB 1931)

18. What were the main causes of economic distress in Tudor England? To what extent was it relieved?

(OC 1938)

19 State the main facts concerning. (a) social distress in England in the reign of Edward VI, (b) the policy of Somerset and Northumberland with regard to this problem

(NUJB 1937)

20. Trace the course of exploration during the Tudor period.

(LGS 1936)

21. State the main facts concerning the growth of English naval and maritime power under the Tudors

(NUJB 1938)

22. What importance in English history do you attribute *either* to the reign of Edward VI *or* to that of Mary?

(OC 1939)

23. "The accession of Mary Tudor was very popular, but her death was equally welcomed" Discuss this statement

(OC 1935)

24 Describe (a) Elizabeth's difficulties during the first ten years of her reign; and (b) How she dealt with them.

(NUJB 1937)

25 For what reasons was Mary Queen of Scots beheaded, and what were the political results of her execution?

(OC 1938)

26. Why was Queen Elizabeth so reluctant to go to war with Spain, and why did she eventually do so?

(OC 1939)

27. Describe Elizabeth's foreign policy down to 1588. Do you consider that it was successful?

(LGS 1936)

28. What were the causes of Elizabeth's war with Spain?

(NUJB 1936)

29 "Elizabeth seldom made a decision; she left things to settle themselves." Discuss these statements.

(OC 1931)

30. Show how the foreign policy of Elizabeth differed from that of her father and grandfather.

(LM 1919)

31. Discuss Elizabeth as a typical monarch of her time. How far was she personally responsible for the fortunes of England in her day?

(LM 1920)

32. Describe the relations which existed between England and Scotland from 1559 to the end of the year 1568. What was the Scottish question especially important during these years?

(OC 1931)

33. Outline the relations of England and France during the reign of Elizabeth.

(LM 1922)

34. Explain the term "Counter-Reformation" and show how England was affected by it during the reign of Elizabeth.

(LM 1921)

BOOK TWO

FROM THE UNION OF THE CROWNS
TO THE PRESENT DAY

1603-1939

PERIOD SIX

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

1603-1688

CHAPTER 34

JAMES I (1603-1625) AND HIS FOREIGN POLICY

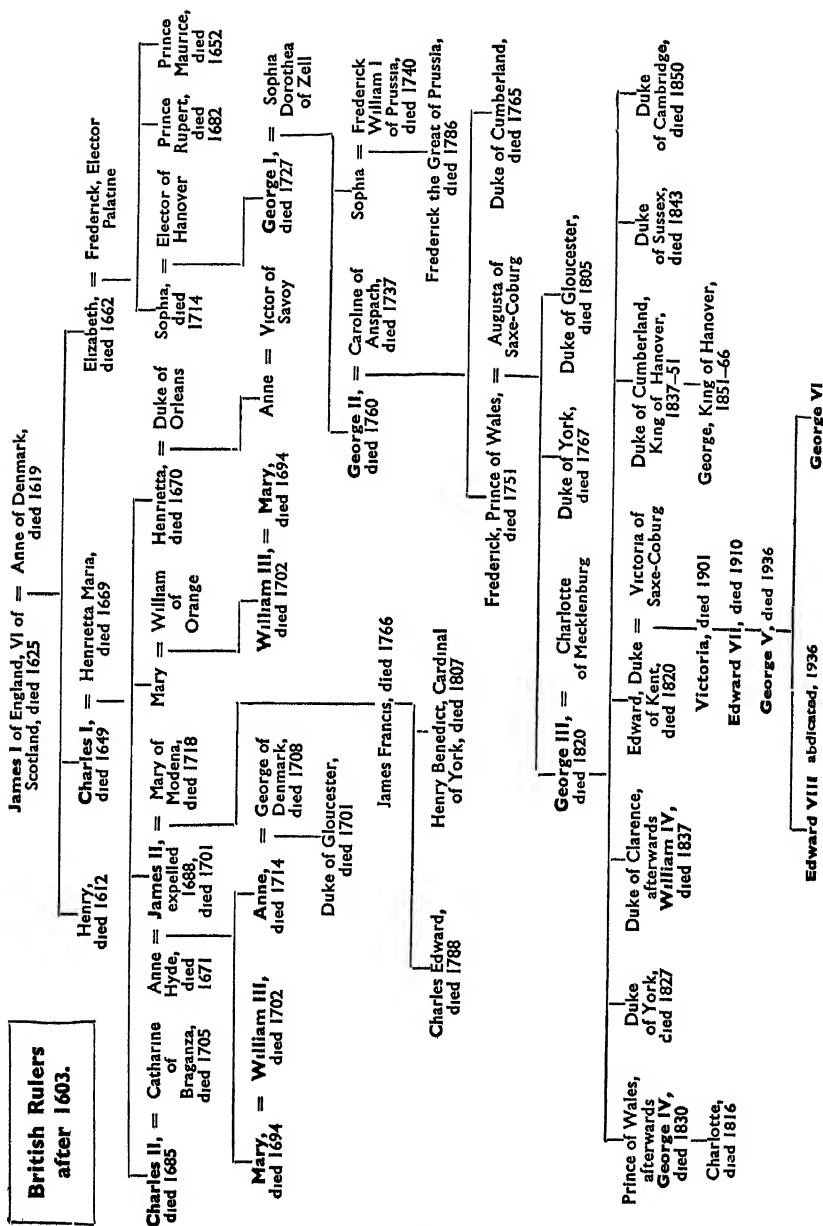
The development of England at every stage has been
ely influenced by the character of its monarchs. But it
be doubted whether at any other period more depended
n the character of the sovereign than during the first
of the Seventeenth Century, when, as we shall see,
t difficult questions arose both at home and abroad. It
be as well, therefore, to say something at once about
first two kings of the house of Stuart who sat upon
English throne — about James I, who succeeded
en Elizabeth in 1603, and reigned till 1625, and his son,
les I, who reigned from 1625 till 1649.

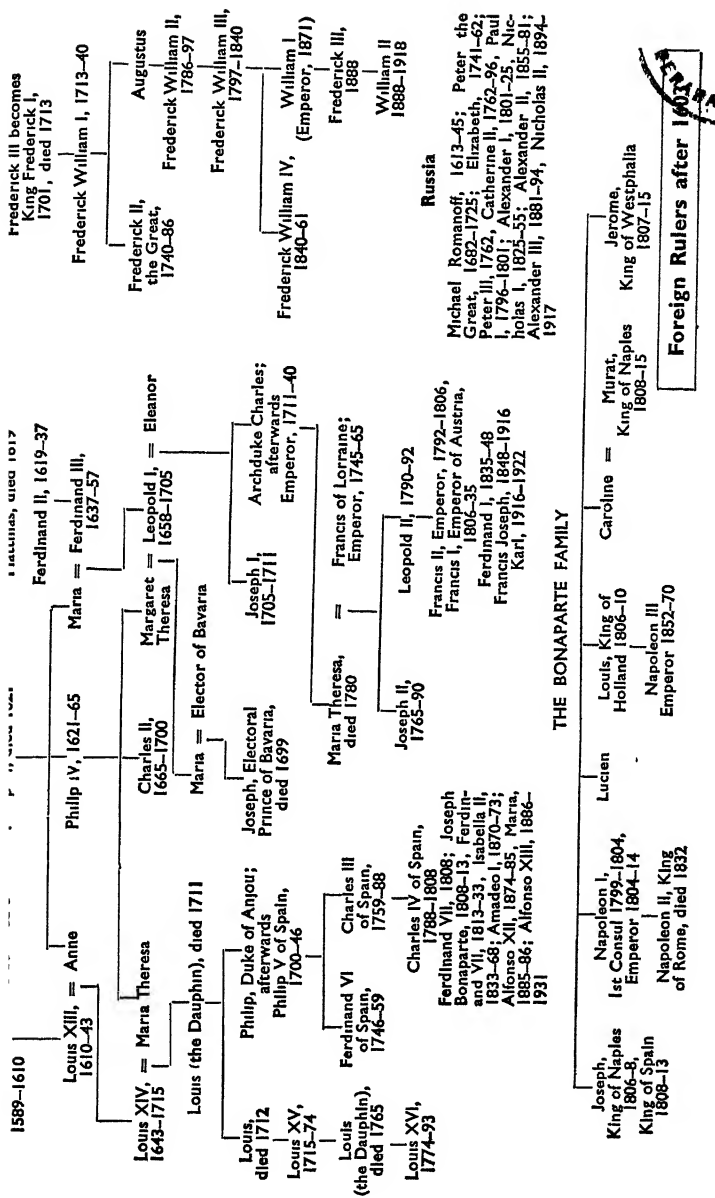
James I has been described as the most learned man who
occupied a British throne. He was highly educated. In Character
of
James I youth he was something of a prodigy,¹ and in later life
wrote tolerable verses, whilst his speeches and prose
ings were vigorous and clever.² He was exceptionally
informed, especially in theology, and well versed in

at the age of ten "he was able, *extempore*," wrote a contemporary, "to read
ster out of the Bible out of Latin into French, and out of French after into
h."

His writings include *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, a violent attack upon the
ce of smoking.

British Rulers after 1603.





foreign politics. Moreover, not only was he a great reader, but a great rider as well; he was fond of all forms of exercise, and was a mighty hunter. He was humorous, and not without shrewdness. "Bring stools for the ambassadors," was his remark when a deputation came from the House of Commons in 1621, James recognizing that it was becoming, in some sense, a rival power to himself. "You will live to have your bellyful of impeachments," was his prophetic reply when his son Charles pressed him to sanction the impeachment of one of his ministers. He was a thoroughly well-meaning man, with every intention of doing his duty. "He felt himself," as it has been humorously put, "as an enormous brood fowl set over his new kingdom, and would so fain gather it all under his wings." He was a man also of large ideas. In an age of war his motto was *Beati pacifici* (Blessed are the peacemakers). In an age of persecution he was in favour of toleration, and desired an understanding with the Pope and a cessation of religious controversy. Almost alone he saw the great value of the political union between England and Scotland, a union which was not, however, to be achieved till 1707.

Perhaps it is not quite true and even if true it was not his fault that James, in Macaulay's words, had an "awkward figure, a rickety walk, and a slobbering mouth"; but his personal appearance, if it was neither ludicrous nor displeasing, was at all events not prepossessing, and his personal habits were not all of them nice. Unfortunately, however, apart from that, the defects of James more than counterbalanced his virtues. He was indolent, averse to taking trouble, and he refused to think out details. He was timid and lacking in decision, as he showed in his foreign policy. He might have large ideas, but they were vague and formless. He was prodigiously conceited, and no flattery of this "Solomon of England", as he was called by his courtiers, was too fulsome for him; and, finally, he was pedantic and loquacious to a degree which would have provoked any

ish House of Commons at any period. James was, in , unsympathetic and tactless, and, as was natural in ot brought up in Scotland, entirely ignorant of the ary opinions of the ordinary Englishman. The French once called James "the wisest fool in Christendom" rhaps that is the best description of him.

s son and successor was very different. The portraits andyck and the fate of the "martyred" King have ined to prejudice most people in favour of Charles I.

indeed, he was not without many attractive char- istics. He was gentle in character, devoted to his wife Character
of
Charles I children, artistic (before the Civil War he had acquired est picture gallery in Europe ¹), and fond of good litera- and more especially of Shakespeare. Moreover, he was a worker at the business of his kingdom. But as a ruler owed his weak side. He was a silent, obstinate, self- bed, unimaginative man, who never knew what anyone was thinking about. He was untrustworthy — he would promises, but with all sorts of mental and private reser- is, and consequently he often failed to keep them. No who has not followed his intrigues in detail, either at or with foreign powers, can understand how difficult s to deal with. He would pursue at the same time three r contradictory plans, and it is not surprising, therefore, is policy should have been futile. It might be said of as was said of another ruler, "that his head was as full emes as a warren was full of rabbits, and, like rabbits, hemes went to ground to avoid notice or antagonism".² h was the character of the two Kings. We must now

ortunately the Commonwealth sold most of the pictures after the King's n, and they are now to be found in various foreign collections, and espec- 'ans, Madrid, and Leningrad.

the summing up of his character by one of his advisers Edward Hyde, 'arendon, deserves to be remembered "To conclude, he was the t gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the her, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he lived had pro- and if he was not the best King, if he was without some parts and quali- ch have made some kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever r, who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much any kind of vice."

Position of England in 1603 see in what manner James I dealt with the problems which faced him. We may take, first, those that arose in foreign affairs, since the desire to get money to take part in foreign politics profoundly affected the relations between the Stuart kings and their parliaments (*Note 59*). In some respects England's position in 1603 was far more secure than it had been before. When James VI of Scotland became James I of England these two countries, after hundreds of years of rivalry, were at last united under one king. Hitherto, for England's Continental foes, Scotland had been the most convenient of allies; when English energies were absorbed in foreign wars Scotland always had the opportunity of making an invasion, an opportunity of which she not infrequently took advantage. But henceforth, Scotland is, generally speaking, the ally and not the foe of England in her foreign undertakings. Moreover, there were no rivals to the throne whom foreign powers could support, and the succession seemed secure. Again, there was no danger to be apprehended from Spain. Englishmen during the first half of the seventeenth century, and even later, continued to hate the Spaniards, but they no longer had reason to fear them. Consequently England was not vitally concerned in affairs on the Continent, as she had been under Elizabeth through fear of Spain's ambitions, and as she was to be later owing to the ambitions of France.

James's policy of peace We need not concern ourselves with James I's policy in the years previous to 1618. Until his death, in 1612, Lord Salisbury, James I's minister, had the controlling influence, and a cautious policy of peace was pursued. After Lord Salisbury's death, James designed marriages for two of his children. One, Elizabeth, later known from her great beauty as the "Queen of Hearts", married, in 1613, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the grandson of William of Orange and the leader of the Calvinistic party in Germany. On the other hand, for his son Charles, James designed a marriage with the daughter of the King of Spain, the great champion

Papacy. With this object he opened negotiations in which, though they ended in failure, were regarded with great suspicion and disfavour by James's subjects.

1618 there broke out in Germany the war known as 'thirty Years' War'. The war developed into a gigantic struggle, which gradually drew in all the chief Condition of Germany in 1618 in Europe, and it was destined to have vast consequences. To understand the war, and the part Great Britain in it, something must first be said as to the condition many at this period. Germany, in the seventeenth century, consisted of some three hundred states bound together in a confederation called the Holy Roman Empire, the head being an Elected Emperor who held office for life, there was a good deal of friction between the rulers of the various states as to the constitution of Germany, wanting to tighten the bonds of the Confederation and to exalt the powers of the emperor, and others holding different opinions. But, of course, the great line of division many at that time was between the Protestants and Catholics, the former being on the whole pre- dominant in the north and the latter in the south of Ger-

1619 an event occurred which brought on a crisis. The most important person in Germany was the head of

the House of Habsburg, and he was always elected Emperor.¹ Why did he govern large Austrian dominions, but he governed Hungary as well. In addition to this, he was King of Bohemia. But the crown of Bohemia was, like that of Hun- gary, elective, and the House of Habsburg was always Catholic, whilst the nobles in Bohemia were Protestant. Consequently the nobles of Bohemia demanded, in 1619, of the death of the Emperor to change of dynasty, and offered the crown to a Pro- testant, Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was, as stated

¹ The Bohemian election (1619)
burg was always elected emperor from 1438 until the close of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, except for a brief period in the eighteenth century, when the dominions were ruled by a monarch.

above. James's son-in-law. Frederick asked James's advice as to whether he should accept it, but James was slow in making up his mind,¹ and Frederick accepted the throne before James had come to any decision.

Beginning of Thirty Years' War (1619-22) "That prince," said the Pope, referring to Frederick, "has cast himself into a fine labyrinth." The Pope was right. The Catholic powers in Germany at once combined to support the claims to Bohemia of Ferdinand, the new Emperor and head of the Austrian dominions. Frederick, on the other hand, was not cordially supported by the Protestant princes in Germany. His forces were consequently defeated, in little more than an hour, at the battle of the White Hill, just outside Prague; and he was expelled from Bohemia (1620). But that was not all. The Duke of Bavaria invaded and occupied that part of Frederick's dominions known as the Upper Palatinate, which bordered his own territory (1621). The King of Spain, both as an ardent Catholic and a cousin of Ferdinand's, also intervened, and proceeded to send an army from the Netherlands to occupy the Lower Palatinate, which lay on the Rhine (1622). The result of the opening stage of the war was, therefore, that the Elector Palatine lost not only his new kingdom, but his hereditary possessions as well.

England's policy We must now see what part Great Britain played in these proceedings. Public opinion in England had been enthusiastic in support of Frederick, the Protestant husband of an English princess.² It wanted to force a Protestant policy upon the Government, and clamoured for an immediate war with Spain. In this public opinion was right. The Spanish King would probably not have occupied the Palatinate at all if he had felt convinced that it would have led

¹ The matter, of course, was urgent, but all the answer Frederick's agent could extract from James was, "I will consider of it".

² The enthusiasm even extended to the lawyers, and thirty gentlemen of the Middle Temple swore on their drawn swords, after the fatal battle outside Prague, to live or die in the service of Queen Elizabeth, and Charles, who was devoted to his sister, was so much upset by the news of this battle, that for two days he shut himself up in his room and would speak to no one.

to hostilities with England. But he was well served by Gondomar, his ambassador in London, who was much more aware of James's timidity and indecision than James was himself, and knew exactly how, by a mixture of firmness and flattery, to manage him. And therefore, though English volunteers went out to fight on the Continent, and the House of Commons enthusiastically passed motions in Frederick's favour,¹ nothing else happened. James, indeed, wished to be the peacemaker of Europe, and sent numberless embassies to the Continent; but he never realized that diplomacy, unbacked by armed force, was useless, and that the differences between Protestants and Catholics in Germany were, at that time, too deep to be settled merely by a little judicious management.

Having failed to prevent the Spanish occupation of the Palatinate, James thought he could get the Spaniards to surrender it if he arranged a marriage between Charles and the Spanish Infanta, and he accordingly reopened the negotiations which he had begun in 1617. Finally Charles — fancying himself in love with the Infanta, whom, by the way, he had never seen — and Buckingham, James's favourite, persuaded James to let them go to Madrid and woo the Infanta (1623). Travelling under false names as "Tom and John Smith", they crossed the Continent, and arrived at Madrid at eight o'clock one night. But the Spanish statesmen in return for the marriage, instead of being prepared to give up the Palatinate, tried to extract from Charles concessions for the Roman Catholics in England.² Charles made all sorts of promises — which no one knew better than himself that he could not have kept; and finally came back in disgust, to be received with acclamations and bonfires,³

The Spanish marriage and the journey to Madrid (1623)

¹ The members waved their hats "as high as they could hold them" when one motion was put to the vote.

² Charles was allowed only one interview of a purely formal nature with the Infanta, he tried to effect another of a more informal character by leaping into a garden where she was walking, but the Infanta, who did not care for Charles, rushed away shrieking.

³ There were a hundred and eight alone between St. Paul's and London Bridge.

not so much because he had returned as because he had returned without the Infanta. Buckingham and Charles were now all for war to recover the Palatinate. James yielded and Parliament voted the money, and an army was collected (1624). But the army was, to quote a contemporary, "a rabble of raw and poor rascals", and never reached its destination, being diverted to another siege in 1625. In the same year James died, with the Palatinate still unrecovered.

The
expedition
to the
Palatinate
(1624)

CHAPTER 35

JAMES I AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. PLOTS AGAINST THE KING

We must turn now to the internal history of England under the first Stuart king. Despite the fact that before Elizabeth's death there were other possible successors, James was fortunate in that his accession to the throne met with almost universal approval. There were, however, three unsuccessful plots against him. The first was rather an absurd plot, known as the *Bye Plot*, the object of which was to kidnap the King at Greenwich and to capture the Tower of London; it was designed by one Roman Catholic and betrayed to the Government by another. The evidence given by one of the conspirators led the Government to suspect the existence of the second plot, known as the *Main Plot*, the alleged object of which was to put, with Spanish aid, the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne.¹ The details are, however, obscure and uncertain, and it is very doubtful whether there was ever such a plot at all (1603).

James I;
the Bye
and Main
Plots
(1603)

The chief interest of the Main Plot lies in the fact that

¹ The Lady Arabella was, like James, descended from Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII; but, unlike James, she had been born in England, a fact which, in the eyes of some lawyers, gave her a better title to the throne.

Sir Walter Raleigh,¹ the soldier and seaman, the prose writer and poet, the explorer and courtier of Elizabeth's day, was accused of being implicated in it. Raleigh, after a most unfair trial, was condemned to death for treason. But he was reprieved, and imprisoned in the Tower. He employed his time in writing a *History of the World* and in making chemical experiments.² Thirteen years later, in 1616, he obtained his freedom in order to find a gold mine on the Orinoco River, of which he had heard on one of his journeys. But his expedition was disastrous. He had a bad crew, he lost his best officers by disease, and he was unable, owing to sickness, to go up the river himself. Worst luck of all, since his last journey a Spanish town on the river had been moved from a position above the mine to one below it. Consequently, Raleigh's men had to pass the town on their way to the mine. The Spaniards attacked them, or they attacked the Spaniards — one or other was inevitable — and Spanish blood was shed. On Raleigh's return the Spanish ambassador clamoured for his punishment. James I was at that time engaged in the marriage negotiations of Charles and the Infanta. He yielded, therefore, and executed Raleigh on the old charge of treason, and in so doing was guilty of an act for which posterity has never forgiven him (1618).³

The third plot was the famous Gunpowder Plot. The Roman Catholics had hoped much from a son of Mary Queen of Scots; and James, on his accession, was inclined to be tolerant, and excused the Roman Catholics from the fines which they paid for not going to their parish churches,⁴

¹ Raleigh's name has been spelt in seventy different ways. He himself signed his name variously in the course of his life, but he never signed it in the way it is often spelt now, i.e. Raleigh.

² Amongst other things he compounded drugs, and his "great cordial or elixir" had a wonderful reputation.

³ Raleigh was warned, it is only fair to James to say, that any hostilities against the Spaniards would cost him his life, and in his over-eagerness to get free from the Tower, Raleigh asserted that the mine was neither in nor near the King of Spain's territories, a statement which he must have known to be untrue.

⁴ They were extremely heavy — £20 a month, or else the confiscation of two-thirds of their property.

The immediate result of this concession was an invasion of Roman Catholic priests from abroad — no less than a hundred and forty in six months — and such signs of activity that James felt obliged to reimpose the fines and to banish the priests. It was this which prompted the Gunpowder Plot (1605). Its leader, Robert Catesby, was something of a hero — of great strength and fascinating manners, and a real leader of men, with magnetic influence over others — but very wrongheaded, and driven to desperation, almost to madness, by the persecution which the Roman Catholics had endured. Amongst the other conspirators was Guy Fawkes, who came of an old Yorkshire family, and had seen much warfare in the Netherlands. The plan of the plot was to blow up the House of Lords when the King and the members of both Houses of Parliament were assembled in it at the opening of the session; to capture James's son, Charles, and proclaim him king; and then to inform other Roman Catholics of the success of the plot at a hunting match which was to be arranged in the Midlands, and with their aid to organize a Roman Catholic Government.

The plotters first tried to dig a mine from an adjacent house through the foundations of the House of Lords; then they hired a cellar, or rather a room on the ground floor, underneath the House of Lords, and put in it two tons of gunpowder in barrels. Finally, however, one of the conspirators, appalled at the enormity of the crime, sent a letter of warning to a cousin of his who was a member of the House of Lords (Lord Monteagle), and who gave the letter to the Government. Consequently, the night before Parliament met, the barrels were discovered, and Guy Fawkes with them; and subsequently he and the other conspirators were either killed in fighting or executed. (The result of the plot was that laws of extreme severity were passed against the Roman Catholics — laws, for instance, which excluded them from all professions, which forbade them to appear at Court or within ten miles of London unless employed in

business there, and which made the fines against them even more severe. Parliament was always clamouring for these laws to be put into execution, though James occasionally, and Charles very often, failed to enforce them.¹

2. THE KING'S MINISTERS

We must now say a word as to James's advisers during his reign. The King, on his accession, retained in office, as chief minister, Robert Cecil, the son of Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burleigh, and created him *Earl of Salisbury*.² "He was fit to prevent things going worse, not fit to make them better," was the judgment upon him of Bacon, his cousin. The remark was uncousinly and somewhat unjust. A man of vast industry and sound sense, a capable financier, a clever manager of the King's business in Parliament, Salisbury, up till his death in 1612, did good work at home and had a large share in directing England's foreign policy.

Lord Salisbury's
ministry
(1603-12)

After 1612 James employed favourites to carry on his Government. This was not only because he enjoyed the society of a lively companion during his leisure, but because he desired to have a person who was wholly dependent upon himself, and who could be imbued with his ideas and could then carry them out; in fact, he thought that, through favourites, he might be an absolute ruler with little trouble to himself. His first choice was singularly unfortunate — a Scotsman named Carr, whom he created Lord Rochester, and afterwards Earl of Somerset. Lady Essex divorced her first husband in order to marry Carr, and she and her new husband were subsequently found responsible for the murder of a distinguished man, who happened to be her

James and his
favourites
— Carr
and
Buckingham
(1612-25)

¹ An attempt has been made to show that there was really no Gunpowder Plot, and that the whole affair was contrived by Lord Salisbury, James I's minister, in order to discredit the Roman Catholics; but this is very unlikely.

² James used to call him familiarly his "pigmy", or his "little beagle", owing to his shortness of stature.

personal enemy.¹ James consequently dismissed Carr from all his offices (1616), and kept him a prisoner in the Tower for the next six years.

The King's next choice was better. *George Villiers*, who eventually became *Duke of Buckingham*, had an attractive personality, with agreeable manners and a merry laugh.² He was the friend of some good people, such as Abbot and Laud, both Archbishops of Canterbury; of Bacon, who hoped through Villiers to carry out his political ideals; and even of the man who was eventually to impeach him, Sir John Eliot. Moreover, he proved himself a very fair soldier and an energetic Lord High Admiral. But his character was spoilt by his rapid rise. He was too impulsive and volatile to be a statesman; and "if it is only just", as has been said, "to class him among ministers rather than among favourites, he must rank amongst the most incapable ministers of this or any other century". At first, however, Villiers was only concerned with matters of patronage; not till towards the end of James's reign did he have much influence upon the King's policy.

Of all the people living at that time, *Francis Bacon*, the historian, essayist, and philosopher, possessed the greatest ability and the widest views. He was a strong supporter of the monarchy; but he loved it, it was said, because he expected great things from it. He saw the necessity for harmony between King and Parliament; the function of the Parliament was to keep the King informed of the wishes of his people, and of the King, through Parliament, to keep the nation informed of his policy. In the early part of James I's reign, Bacon's cousin, Lord Salisbury, prevented him having much influence, perhaps from personal jealousy or dislike. But, after Salisbury's death, Bacon became in

¹ His name was Overbury. He was something of a poet, and a great friend of Carr's. He had tried to prevent Carr marrying Lady Essex, and Lady Essex, in revenge, contrived to season with white arsenic the confectionery Overbury ate.

² James used to call him "Steenie", from a fancied resemblance to a picture of St. Stephen.

1613 Attorney-General, and from 1618-21 was Lord Chancellor. In those capacities he exercised much influence in the legal side of the struggle by upholding the theory that the Judges should support the King: "they shall be lions," he said, "but yet lions under the throne."

3. THE KING AND PROTESTANT PARTIES

We turn from the King's ministers to trace the King's policy. It was on questions of religion that people in those days felt most acutely, and these were amongst the first to occupy James's attention on his accession (*Note 60*). We have already noticed the upshot of his attempt to tolerate the Roman Catholics, and we must now see how he dealt with the Protestants. It may be convenient at this stage to say something of Protestant parties in seventeenth-century England. *Firstly*, there was the Anglican, or, as it came to be called at the time, the Arminian¹ party, the strong party in the Church of England, of which Archbishop Laud was later to be the leader. In politics the members of this party were believers in the "divine right" of kings. In matters of Church government they were strong upholders of the power of the bishops; and they believed that the bishops, by succession from the Apostles, and the priests, through ordination by the bishops, had been given special powers. With them the Communion service was in a special sense a means of grace. Laud, by his extreme intolerance brought, in later years, much odium upon the Anglican party; and its members, partly because of their liking for vestments and a rather elaborate ritual, and partly because of the doctrines held by some of the more extreme amongst them, were suspected by their enemies of being in sympathy, if not in alliance, with the Church of Rome. But the Anglican party included among its members in the seventeenth century some singularly attractive characters, such as George

Religio
The
Anglica
party

¹ After the name of Dr. Arminius, a Dutch divine, who died in 1609.

Herbert, the poet, and Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Winchester, and one of those chiefly responsible for the Authorized Version of the Bible; it had interests in the historic side of the English Church and in preserving its continuity from the Early Church; and it did much to improve the order and beauty of the church services throughout England.

And then, *secondly*, there were the various bodies of people we may group together under the name of *Puritans* (Note 63).¹ In dealing with the Puritans three things must be borne in mind. In the first place, many of the popular views held with regard to the Puritans are erroneous, being due to the caricatures drawn of them after the Restoration of 1660. The Puritans, for instance, were not all drawn from the inferior social class; on the contrary, many of the best type of English gentlemen of that day held Puritan opinions. They were not averse to all pleasure and amusement. They did not wear their hair short, and did not speak through their noses. Secondly, we must remember that the great majority of Puritans still belonged to the Church of England; the great and final division between Churchman and Nonconformist did not come till the reign of Charles II. Thirdly, the term includes a large variety of opinions — just after the Civil War it was estimated that there were a hundred and seventy different sects, nearly all belonging to what we now call the Puritan party. Some Puritans were disposed to acquiesce, for instance, in the rule of bishops, if moderately exercised, whilst others detested and made the most violent attacks upon them. Then, especially during and after the Civil War, the *Presbyterians* (see p. 443) became a great force, and wished to impose their system of church government and their doctrines on everyone else. The *Independents*, however, believed in the right of every man to think for himself, and in what they called "liberty"

Presbyterians
and Independents

¹ These people would, however, have repudiated the name in the earlier part of the seventeenth century; indeed it was regarded as a nickname and term of reproach.

for tender consciences", so long as those consciences were not those of Roman Catholics. And, finally, there were — as there are in every movement — various groups of extremists, who, we shall find, were a dangerous element at the time of the Commonwealth.

All classes of Puritans, however, were united on certain matters. They were all agreed, for instance, in their detestation of Roman Catholicism. It is difficult for us now to realize the intensity of the feeling of large numbers of Englishmen against the Roman Catholics, or to justify the severity of the laws against them. But we must remember that the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign were still fresh in men's minds,¹ that the Roman Catholics had been concerned in various plots against Elizabeth, and that the Armada was looked upon as a Popish Armada. Moreover, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 was regarded — quite wrongly — as a plot in which the Pope and the English Roman Catholics as a body were implicated. Then, again, the Roman Catholics were not aiming merely at toleration for themselves; they were a large and increasing body, and they wanted England to become a Roman Catholic country. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the Puritans looked upon the Pope as Antichrist, upon the ceremonies of the church which he ruled as idolatrous, upon the doctrines — to quote the House of Commons — of Popery as "devilish", and upon its priests as "the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty". They would, indeed, have regarded a return to Roman Catholicism as a moral and religious catastrophe for the nation.

Attitude
towards
Roman
Catholicism

Apart from their hatred of the Papacy, the various sections among the Puritans had other views in common. They all opposed the claims of bishops and priests to special powers, and they disliked ornaments and vestments and an elaborate

¹ Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (first published in 1563) was regarded as a sort of second Bible at this time, and was chained to the desk in a great many Parish churches, its vivid accounts helped to keep alive the memory of the Marian persecutions.

ritual in church. They were all more or less followers of Calvin; that is to say, they believed in predestination, the doctrine that some are foreordained to salvation and others are not; and they looked upon the Communion as a commemorative feast in memory of our Lord's death, and not as a special means of grace. Above all, they made the Bible their rule of faith and of conduct; they had an intense feeling of responsibility towards God for all that they did, and all the power which came from the conviction that He was on their side in their struggle against what they thought was wrong.

Dislike of toleration There is, perhaps, one more point to bear in mind in dealing with religious parties in England, and for that matter in Scotland as well. No religious party, whether Roman Catholic, or Arminian, or Presbyterian, desired merely toleration for itself; they all, except perhaps the Independents, desired to persecute those who disagreed with them. Toleration, "that hellish toleration", as a Scottish divine once called it, would satisfy few; each party wanted every other religious party exactly to conform to its own views and practices, or else to be suppressed.

Elizabeth and the Puritans It was inevitable that some of the religious opinions held by the Puritans should clash with those held by the Monarchy. Even in Elizabeth's day there was, at times, no little friction. In the early years of her reign had occurred what is known as the *Vestiarian Controversy* — clergymen with Puritan leanings objecting to wearing the surplice and to certain of the ceremonies enjoined in the Prayer Book. Then, later on, the more advanced Puritans, chiefly at Oxford and Cambridge, had advocated a Presbyterian form of government and had attacked the bishops, with the result that a dozen of them had been sent to jail. Others, again, had organized meetings, called *Prophesyings*, at which various religious subjects were discussed, and clergymen learnt how to preach sermons. But Elizabeth thought that theological discussion would provoke too much independence of

thought; and she much preferred a clergyman to read to his congregation an extract from "the Book of Homilies" (which had been issued at the same time as the Prayer Book) rather than to preach to his congregation a sermon of his own composition — indeed, she thought one or two preachers quite a sufficient allowance for each county. She, therefore, disliked these clerical gatherings and sternly repressed them. And when the House of Commons, in which there was a strong Puritan element, ventured to discuss problems of ecclesiastical government or doctrine, the Queen mercilessly snubbed them.

The Puritans, however, on James's accession were inclined to be well-disposed to him, for they expected much from him. James had been brought up in Presbyterian Scotland, and the Puritans believed that his attitude towards them would be sympathetic. They consequently lost no time in presenting him with a *Millenary Petition* — so called because it was supposed to be signed by a thousand ministers¹ — asking for certain reforms. A conference, which included the two archbishops and six bishops on the one side and four Puritans on the other, was held at *Hampton Court* to consider the situation (1604).

The
Hampton
Court
Conference
(1604)

The King himself presided and behaved at first with admirable impartiality. Then, at the end of the second day, a Puritan mentioned the word "Presbytery". Now James, though the Puritans did not know it, hated the Presbyterian form of religion, with its outspokenness and its democratic government, as he had experienced it in Scotland. "A Scottish Presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council."² The Conference soon broke up, and its only

¹ As a matter of fact it was not signed at all, though it had received the support of eight hundred ministers.

² "Stay, I pray you," James went on, "for one seven years, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken unto you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath."

result — though it was a very important result — was the preparation of the *Authorized Version of the Bible* (which appeared in 1611); the Puritans otherwise went away disappointed and empty-handed. James himself became a strong supporter of the extreme Anglican position, and a strong believer in the maxim “No bishop, no king”; if once the authority of the bishops was overthrown (*Note 61*), that of the Monarchy itself, he felt, would be threatened.

4. THE KING AND PARLIAMENT

Puritanism and Parliament The Puritans, if they found no favour with the Monarchy, found plenty of support in the House of Commons. In every Parliament of James I and Charles I, and to an increasing extent as the years went on, there was a strong Puritan element in the Lower House, and eventually that element became supreme. It is this fact that largely accounts for the differences between the first two Stuart kings and their Parliaments. The Lower House was fanatically anti-Catholic; the two kings were inclined to be tolerant to the Catholics, James because he was naturally of a tolerant disposition and Charles because he had married a Roman Catholic wife. The Crown supported the Anglican or Arminian position in the English Church; the majority in the House of Commons was strongly opposed to the Arminian doctrines and regarded with considerable suspicion all the King's High Church appointments.

Causes of struggle between King and Parliament There were, however, many other causes besides religious differences for the struggle round which centres the chief interest of the seventeenth century, the struggle between King and Parliament (*Note 62*). Of these we must say something before tracing the history of the struggle in detail. One cause of the struggle undoubtedly was the absence of external danger, already referred to in the last chapter (p. 408). It is often said that an Englishman can think of only one thing at a time. For a great part of Elizabeth's reign

his mind was taken up with dangers from abroad. When Elizabeth's life alone stood between her subjects and anarchy or a foreign domination, it was no time to discuss rights and privileges. But by 1603 these dangers were over. The defeat of the Armada in 1588 meant the destruction not only of Philip's ambitions, but also of the Tudor dictatorship — for it was no longer required. Englishmen might, therefore, safely devote themselves to criticizing and reforming their own government.

Another cause of the struggle was the development, during the sixteenth century, of the national character. That century, it has been said, saw the birth of the modern Englishman. He had realized his possibilities in enterprise, in seamanship, in literature; the Reformation and the Renaissance had taught him to think and to reason for himself; he had become more self-reliant, more self-confident, perhaps more self-willed. He was, in a word, ready for a greater share in the government of his country. And more especially had come the development of the middle classes. The battle of English liberty in the seventeenth century was fought, not so much by the nobles or by the people, as by the squire, the merchant, and the lawyer; these were the classes which had developed in Tudor times, and it was from these classes that the members of the House of Commons were drawn. Very often they were ignorant, especially about foreign affairs; sometimes they did not realize the difficulties of the Government and brought absurd charges against the ministers. But they were men, for the most part, uncorrupted and incorruptible; independent and yet moderate; patient though very persistent. In the earlier stages of the struggle the lawyers chiefly fought the war of words in the House of Commons; they were, as Bacon said, the "vowels" of the House, the remaining members merely the "consonants". But when it came to the war of swords, it was the country gentlemen who made the best use of them.

Character
of the
House of
Commons

Questions
at issue:

England, then, was not distracted by foreign dangers; and she had developed a class of citizens who could think and act for themselves. Even during Elizabeth's reign the relations between the Queen and her Parliaments were not always perfectly harmonious. It is true that only eleven Parliaments were called, and that hardly any outlived a single session of some six weeks' duration; and that Elizabeth, as she frankly stated on one occasion, called them "not to make new laws¹ or lose good hours in idle speeches", but to provide supplies for the expenses of her government. Nevertheless, on occasions the House of Commons had exhibited an independent and almost pugnacious temper, which indicated that the nation would not continue to look on quietly while the Crown and its ministers governed, and that it was time for a reconsideration of their respective rights and duties. With James I that reconsideration came, and it was significant that at the opening of his first Parliament there was a record attendance. The time had come, as the House of Commons declared in the very first year of James's reign, to "redress, restore, and rectify" those actions which in the reign of Elizabeth they had "passed over". Questions of government, plain and broad questions, pressed for an answer.

- There were questions of theory which went to the foundation of all authority. By what title did the King hold his throne? By hereditary divine right, as the King and the bishops and many others believed, or by virtue of an Act of Parliament? If the King ruled by divine right, criticism either of his words or of his actions was obviously wrong; a subject must yield passive obedience to a divinely appointed ruler. Or again, what was meant by the King's Prerogative? The King's party held that it was a sort of reserve power residing in the King to do ultimately what he liked; to override, if he thought reasons of State demanded it, all the

¹ The Queen was no believer in new laws, and in one year she vetoed no less than forty-eight out of the ninety-one bills which had been passed by both Houses of Parliament.

ordinary laws of the land. The Parliament party held, on the other hand, that law was the ground of all authority, and that the King possessed his powers by law, and must at all times be regulated by law. Where, again, did sovereignty reside? Did it rest with the King alone, or with the King and Parliament combined?

It is obvious that all the practical questions that arose, such as those concerning the power of the King to raise money without the consent of Parliament, and to imprison people without trial, or the power of the Parliament to call ministers to account for their actions, depended upon an answer to these questions. Nor were the answers at all clear. 'The powers of the monarchy were ill-defined, and the English Constitution was neither then nor at any other time of a rigid type. The King's party had just as decided opinions as the Parliamentary party; and both could bring strong arguments in support of their respective views. And as time went on, the differences between these views became irreconcilable; till at last the sword — and the sword alone — could settle them.

(c) Practical Questions

"I found Parliaments when I came here," said James once, "so I had to put up with them." One can sympathize with the King, for it is obvious that the Stuarts succeeded to an exceedingly difficult situation in regard to their Parliaments. But James, instead of relieving the situation, merely aggravated it. A wise man once said that the rights of kings and peoples never agree so well together as in silence. James, however, was both loquacious and pedantic. He was always wanting to define matters of government which had much better be left undefined, and to theorize concerning powers which he might have exercised, in practice, without notice, but which, uncompromisingly enunciated, were bound to provoke opposition.

We have no space to enter into the details of James's relations with his Parliaments, but we may take, as an example of his tactlessness, an incident which occurred at

James and Godwin's case (1604) the opening of his *first Parliament* (1604). The King's court had disallowed the election to the House of Commons of a man called *Godwin*, on the ground that he was an outlaw, and that James in a proclamation had said that no outlaws were to be elected. The House of Commons declared that it was their privilege to settle disputed elections. James answered that their privileges were his grant and ought not to be quoted against him, and a controversy at once ensued as to the origin of parliamentary privileges and the king's power to abrogate them. In the end James allowed the House of Commons to settle the matter of the election; but it was not an auspicious beginning.¹

Bate's case (1606) In the first Parliament of James I, also, an extremely important question of taxation was brought up. The ordinary revenue of the king was derived partly from independent sources, such as crown lands and feudal dues, bringing in about £250,000 a year; and partly from a duty on all imports called *tunnage* and *poundage*,² a duty which was granted to the king on his accession for the term of his life, and which brought in about £150,000 a year. Two or three years after his accession, James began to impose on certain articles, extra duties over and above what he was allowed to impose by *tunnage* and *poundage*. A merchant called *Bate* refused to pay the extra duty on currants, which was one of these articles. But the judges decided that he must pay not only because the ports — the gateways to the kingdom — belonged to the king, but also because it was the king's right and duty to regulate trade in what ways he thought desirable for the good of the State (1606). The result of this decision was that the Government imposed

¹ "The state of monarchy", James said to his Parliament in 1611, "is the supreme thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called Gods, as to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." This is another example of the King's loquacious tactlessness.

² So called because a certain sum was paid on every tun of wine and pound of merchandise imported.

extra duties upon a whole mass of other articles as well, and the King's revenue was increased. These extra duties, known as *Impositions*, were, of course, a constant source of contention, and were strenuously opposed by this and other Parliaments.

The King dissolved his first Parliament in 1611, and for the next ten years there was no Parliament except in 1614, when one sat for two months; it is known in history as the "*Addled Parliament*" because no laws resulted from it. But in 1621 the loss of the Palatinate by Frederick, and the possibility that England might be engaged in a war for its recovery, led James to call his *third Parliament*. This Parliament was very important. In the first place the House of Commons revived its right of impeachment, its right to prosecute the king's ministers or office holders before the House of Lords. This was a weapon of tremendous power which had not been used since 1459; and it was a weapon which later on was to be used with great frequency. The House of Commons began by impeaching some holders of monopolies. It went on to accuse the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, of receiving bribes. Suitors in those days often used to give presents to judges. But there is no doubt also that Bacon had in some cases, probably through carelessness, received presents before he had given his decision, and that these presents were given with a corrupt intention; there is no proof, however, that Bacon received them as bribes or that they in any way influenced his decision.¹ We may agree with Bacon's own judgment: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years. But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these two hundred years." Bacon was

The Parliament of 1621; revival of impeachment

¹ In one case, a lady, who had a series of suits being heard before Bacon, drove down to York House, Bacon's residence, with £100 in her purse. "What is that," said Bacon on her entrance, "that you have in your hand?" "A purse of my own making," was the lady's reply, "which I hope your lordship will accept." "What Lord," replied Bacon, "could refuse a purse of so fair a lady's working?" But, as a matter of fact, though Bacon took the purse and the £100, his final decision was not at all in favour of this lady litigant.

deprived of his chancellorship and died shortly afterwards.

Liberty of speech In the second place, this House of Commons upheld its liberty of speech. The House of Commons was strongly, almost fanatically, anti-Catholic and anti-Spaniard, and it met at the time that James was proposing a marriage between Charles and a Spanish princess with a view to the restoration of the Palatinate. It accordingly drew up a petition to be presented to the King, in which it begged that Charles might marry one of "our own religion", and expressed with some bluntness its opinion of the Pope and his "dearest son" the King of Spain. Such a petition coming in the crisis of his negotiations with Spain was, from the King's point of view, exceedingly embarrassing; and James wrote an angry letter against the "fiery and popular spirits" in the House of Commons who had dared "to argue or debate publicly matters far above their reach and capacity", and forbade the House "henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our Government or deep matters of State". Fortunately for English liberty, the House of Commons maintained its courage; and in the candle-light on a dark December day, it drew up a Protestation declaring its freedom of speech. The King thereupon dissolved the Parliament, imprisoned some of its members, and sending for the journal book of the House of Commons tore the Protestation out of it with his own hands (1622). But, nevertheless, the House of Commons had shown there was one place in the kingdom where an Englishman might say what he liked.

In the *fourth Parliament* (1624) we pass into smooth waters, for Parliament had got the war with Spain which it desired. Moreover, Buckingham and Prince Charles supported the House of Commons in their impeachment of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. Shortly afterwards James died (1625).

This brief summary will have shown that the rift had begun between the Crown and Parliament in the reign of

King James. The House of Commons had made a decided advance; it had revived impeachment, upheld its privileges, and protested against impositions. James's character, it must be admitted, had been peculiarly fitted to open dangerous questions; in the reign of his successor they would have to be answered.

CHAPTER 36

CHARLES I (1625-1649)

1. CHARLES I'S FOREIGN POLICY (1625-1649)

When Charles I came to the throne, the Protestants were fighting for their existence in Germany, but a new champion had arisen on behalf of the Protestant cause in the person of the *King of Denmark*. Charles agreed to pay him £360,000 a year for the conduct of a war in Germany. He paid one instalment of £46,000 — and that was all. For one thing, Charles had obtained, largely through his own fault, insufficient supplies of money from Parliament. For another, soon after Charles made the engagement to the Danish king, he and Buckingham, who largely controlled the King's policy, came to the conclusion that the Protestantism of Germany might best be succoured and the Palatinate recovered by an attack upon the Spanish ports. It was, doubtless, a roundabout plan to attack the King of Spain in order to put pressure on the Emperor to restore Frederick, but a naval war with Spain was sure to be popular, and it was easier than campaigning in Germany. Accordingly an expedition was organized to *Cadiz*, which was to repeat Drake's exploit, sack the town, and capture the treasure fleet coming from America. But the expedition came to hopeless grief and took neither Cadiz nor the treasure fleet

Charles I
and the
war
(1625-6)

(1625).¹ The next year the King of Denmark, with soldiers clamouring for pay in consequence of the failure of the English subsidies, was obliged to take the offensive, was decisively defeated, and accordingly returned to his own country (1626). Charles's initial interference in the Thirty Years' War had, therefore, been disastrous.

Meantime Charles had got into difficulties with France. At the end of his father's reign he was engaged to marry a French princess, Henrietta Maria, and on his accession he married her. By the terms of the marriage treaty concessions were promised to the Roman Catholics in England, and James, also, just before his death, had undertaken to lend ships to the French King. The French King and his famous minister, Richelieu, wanted to use the ships to aid them in a war against the Protestants in France, the Huguenots as they are called. Charles, after futile endeavours and discreditable subterfuges to evade his father's promises,² was obliged to lend them — to the great wrath of his subjects in England.

Later on, the King of France demanded that the promised concessions to the Catholics in England should be granted, and in 1627 the two countries gradually drifted into war. Buckingham was himself sent with an expedition to capture a fort in the Isle of Rhé, in order to assist La Rochelle, the Huguenot stronghold on the west coast of France which the French King was still besieging. At that time there was no standing army, and a force largely composed of the riff-raff of the country was not likely to be successful.³

¹ The expedition had started in the stormy month of October, with pressed crews and soldiers, with ships whose hulls were rotten and whose sails — at all events in the case of one ship — dated from the Armada; and the food was exceedingly bad, "such as no dog in Paris garden would eat", said a contemporary. On reaching Cadiz, the men got drunk, and the ships finally returned home with scarcely enough men to work them.

² Amongst other things, a mutiny was arranged so that the ships might not be given up.

³ When an army had to be raised, each county had to contribute a certain number of men. The lord-lieutenants, as in this case, took advantage of the occasion to get rid of those who, it was desirable, "should leave their county for their county's good". Buckingham's troops were ignorant alike of marksmanship and discipline, and after being drilled for a fortnight at the seaside, were dispatched on the expedition.

Buckingham, however, did well, and inspired his men with courage, if not with enthusiasm; and, but for the fact that, through no fault of his own, the French managed to revictual the fort, and that, through contrary winds, reinforcements failed to leave England, he might have succeeded. As it was, Buckingham came back discredited in the eyes of the country. Before he could fit out another expedition, the tenpenny knife of a disappointed officer called Felton, who thought, as many others thought, that the assassination of Buckingham was a meritorious act, closed his career (1628).

With Buckingham's death, "there was an abrupt transition", it has been said, "from a policy of adventurous activity to one of utter inaction". Charles would make proposals, at one and the same time, to France for an alliance against Spain, and to Spain for an alliance against France. He would offer to help *Gustavus Adolphus*, the King of Sweden, the new champion of Protestantism in Germany, and not the King of Denmark, and then to help the King of Denmark and not Gustavus. One ambassador said to Charles, "The truth is you pull down with one hand as fast as you build up with the other"; and the criticism was a just one. Moreover, circumstances were against the prosecution of an active policy. At first, Charles had no money to back his schemes; and later he had his hands full with his quarrel with his own subjects. As a result, the influence of Great Britain in foreign affairs became a negligible quantity for the remainder of Charles's reign.

Charles's
inaction
(1629-49)

The Thirty Years' War, therefore, ceased to be influenced by or to influence Great Britain; and we can only briefly allude to its later developments. *Gustavus Adolphus* had a brief spell of brilliant success and was then killed at the famous battle of *Lützen*¹ (1632). The Protestant cause appeared hopeless. But Richelieu, though he suppressed Protestants in France, was willing to support them in

Later
stages
of the
Thirty
Years'
War

¹ At the crisis of the battle, a thick November mist obscured the sun, and Gustavus, losing his way, was killed by the enemy.

Germany by force of arms so as to weaken the house of Habsburg. During the later stages of the war, the French armies exerted a decisive influence and were brilliantly successful. The war came finally to an end in 1648, France and Sweden acquiring large parts of what had been German territory, whilst the German states were left more disunited and independent than before the war broke out. Upon Germany and the German nation the effects of the war, material and moral, were appalling — indeed, in the opinion of Bismarck, the great Prussian statesman, Germany was still suffering from these effects in 1880.

It must be confessed that England's foreign policy during the first half of the seventeenth century was both inglorious and ineffective. Many explanations may be offered. There was no standing army, and consequently no force behind English diplomacy; and if England went to war, her hastily trained levies had little chance against more experienced soldiers. Parliament again, though keen for war, did not, as a matter of fact, provide either James or Charles with sufficient money to wage it effectively — though in the case of Charles it was, as we shall see, largely his own fault for not explaining what he intended to do. Moreover, ill fortune attended the English efforts. But the chief cause of the futility of English policy lay in the characters of James and Charles; the indecisive and timid policy of the one and the tortuous and contradictory policy of the other could only result in failure. Nor must we forget that England's failure enabled France, by becoming the ally of the German Protestants, to establish a predominance which was before the end of the century to threaten the independence of nearly every other country in Europe.

Failure of
English
policy —
its causes

2. CHARLES I AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (1625-1642)

Turning now to domestic affairs it will be apparent from what has been already said that Charles succeeded to no

easy inheritance. He had been left an incompetent and impetuous minister in Buckingham, and unfortunately that minister had more influence in Charles's reign than he had enjoyed even in the later years of King James. At home there was an empty treasury and a Parliament which was beginning to feel its power; and abroad, things were going badly for the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, Charles's wife was to be of no assistance to him. *Henrietta Maria* was a vivacious and attractive person, but, unfortunately, as time went on, she interfered more and more in affairs of State, and had more and more influence over her husband. The Queen was quite ignorant of English customs and the English character. She was a Roman Catholic in a strongly Protestant country, and was always striving to obtain concessions for those of her own religion. She actively intrigued, in times of difficulty at home, for assistance from abroad; and she held the most extreme political opinions with regard to the King's authority and the wickedness of those who opposed it.¹

Charles I
and
Henrietta
Maria

Charles called three Parliaments during the first four years of his reign, and quarrelled with each one of them. Then for eleven years he governed without a Parliament. Finally, a war with Scotland and the consequent need of money forced him in 1640 to call two Parliaments, the second of which reduced his powers, and eventually civil war broke out in 1642. Such is briefly the history of Charles's relations with his Parliaments. The subjects of dispute were many. There was, as in James's reign, the religious difficulty, Charles was an Anglican High Churchman, and because of his wife was inclined to tolerate the Roman Catholics; Parliament was Puritan and anti-Catholic. Parliament distrusted the King's ministers, Buckingham in the first four years, and Strafford and Laud in 1640; the King, on

Causes of
dispute
between
Charles
and his
Parlia-
ments

¹ "Of the many women, good and bad," it has been said, "who have tried to take part in affairs of State, from Cleopatra, or the Queen of Sheba downward, nobody by character or training was ever worse fitted than the wife of Charles I for such a case as that in which she found herself."

the contrary, thought these ministers able and efficient, and any parliamentary criticisms of them factious and impertinent. Parliament, in the early years of Charles's reign, was angry at the failure of the English foreign policy; and in later years, because of the Court intrigues with foreign powers.

But underlying all these disputes lay the questions indicated in the last chapter: Where did sovereignty reside? Who had the responsibility for the government of the country? The Parliament wanted, rightly or wrongly, a greater control of the government; Charles, rightly or wrongly, was unwilling to concede it — there lay the whole difficulty. We regard it now as an easy task to bring the powers of Crown and Parliament into harmony. But this dual control was not easy to arrange, and perhaps was impossible to obtain without friction. As a matter of fact, a Civil War occurred in 1642 and a Revolution in 1688 before an arrangement could be made — and even then it proved not to be permanent (*Note 64*).

Charles's *first Parliament* met in 1625,¹ just after the King had arranged to pay very large subsidies to the King of Denmark and to send a fleet to attack Spain. Obviously large sums would be required. But Charles's reticence and want of frankness proved a fatal impediment. There were no Blue Books or White Books and no daily newspapers in those days, and it was difficult for members of Parliament to know what was going on. Though members knew, of course, that a great religious war was in progress in Germany, and were anxious that England should help the Protestants, they were yet unfamiliar with recent developments. But Charles would neither explain his policy, nor depute anyone else to do so. Consequently, as one member said, "They knew not their enemy", and the statement was literally true. Nor did Charles explain his needs; he made a definite

¹ Even an outbreak of the plague in London did not prevent an attendance at the opening of Charles's first Parliament which beat the record established when James I came to the throne.

demand for the navy, but only hinted at the largeness of the sums he really required. Consequently Charles only got one-seventh of the amount of money which he needed.

At the same time Parliament granted tunnage and poundage to the King only for one year, though for the last two centuries it had been granted the king for life. Here Parliament was wrong. The Monarchy could not get on without the money. It had to meet the ordinary expenses of government; moreover, the Court spent more money than in Elizabeth's day whilst the great rise in prices, owing to the influx of silver from the New World had made the king's revenue worth less than before. The decision, however, in Bate's case (p. 426) made it legal for Charles to go on levying the customs without Parliamentary sanction, and he accordingly did so. In this, as in the succeeding Parliaments, the Puritan majority had apprehensions about religion, for the King favoured Anglican High Churchmen such as Laud,¹ and also allowed the administration of the laws against the Roman Catholics to become somewhat lax.

Tunnage
and
Poundage
granted
for one
year

Charles's second Parliament met in 1626, after the loan of ships to the French King and the disaster to the Cadiz fleet had occurred (p. 429). The House of Commons first demanded that an inquiry into the Cadiz disaster should precede any grant of supply, and wanted especially to investigate Buckingham's conduct. Charles held that he and not Parliament must be the judge of the capacity of his ministers: "I would not have the House to question my servants," he said, "much less one who is so near me." The House of Commons then went a step further, and under Eliot's leadership impeached Buckingham. Sir John Eliot was a Cornishman, a man of lofty nature, and a great orator, but apt — as those possessing the qualities of an orator often are — to exaggerate, and take either a better or a worse view of a man than he deserved. In 1625 he had expressed

The
second
Parlia-
ment
(1626);
Bucking-
ham's
impeach-
ment

¹ Laud supplied the King with a list of clergy marked either O for Orthodox or P for Puritan, so that only those might receive promotion whom Laud considered Orthodox.

a hope to Buckingham that he might be "wholly devoted to the contemplation of his excellencies". But in the next year, when he saw, as he said, "our honour ruined, our ships sunk, our men perished, not by the sword, not by the enemy, not by chance, but by those we trust", his indignation knew no bounds. In a speech of wonderful power he applied to Buckingham the words in which Tacitus characterized Sejanus¹: *Sui obtegens, in alios criminator; juxta adulatio et superbia*. "If he is Sejanus, I must be Tiberius," was Charles's comment on this comparison, and he never forgave Eliot as a consequence. Buckingham's impeachment led Charles to dissolve the second Parliament.

The third Parliament met two years later, in 1628. Charles was needlessly rude in his first speech. If the Parliament did not supply his wants, he must, he said, use all means which God had put into his hands. "Take not this as a threat," he added, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals." This was an unpromising beginning; but Parliament had more important causes of dissatisfaction than the King's speech. The Rhé expedition had failed (p. 430). Parliament was still nervous about religion. Moreover, the King had recently levied a forced loan. But this was not all. Five knights had refused to pay the forced loan, and had been imprisoned. When brought up in a court of law, the justification for their imprisonment had been given as "the special command of the King". The Crown lawyers argued before the judges that the King must have, for the safety of the State, the power to commit people to, and to keep them in, prison without trial. That is true enough; but the danger was, as it has been well said, that the King was making the medicine of the constitution its daily food. Moreover, the knights' lawyers held that such a power as the King claimed was plainly contrary to an Englishman's liberty and to Magna Carta. The judges before whom the

¹ Sejanus was governor of the praetorian troops, and for many years controlled the policy of the Emperor Tiberius.

case was tried had given no definite ruling in such a difficult matter, though they had refused to release the knights from prison.

The third Parliament lost no time in trying to check what was held to be an abuse of the King's power, and drew up the *Petition of Right*. The first article declared that loans and taxes without consent of Parliament were illegal, and the second that all arbitrary imprisonment without cause shown was illegal. The third article of this petition forbade the billeting of soldiers in private houses;¹ and the fourth, the exercise, in time of peace, of martial law, which too often had meant no law at all. The King, after trying every means of evasion, finally gave his consent to this petition; and, though he violated every one of its articles, the *Petition* stands as a great landmark in the struggle.

The
*Petition
of Right*
(1628)

It was after the *Petition* was passed that Wentworth, who had been one of the chief leaders of the House of Commons, joined the King. The second session of the third Parliament met in 1629. Parliament maintained that the King had not kept his promises with regard to the *Petition of Right*, and dissensions between King and Parliament grew more bitter. Charles determined to dissolve Parliament, but before he could do so occurred the celebrated scene when, with the Speaker held down in the chair and the doors locked, three resolutions were passed, proposed by Eliot and hence often called *Eliot's Three Resolutions*. They declared that whoever proposed innovations in religion, and whoever either proposed or paid taxes without the consent of Parliament, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. These three resolutions — combining the grievances which the House of Commons felt in religion and in politics — were the last that the third Parliament (1629) was to pass, for it was at once dissolved;

The
dissolution
of Parlia-
ment
(1629)

Eliot's
Three
Resolu-
tions.

¹ Soldiers, raised for an expedition abroad, were sometimes billeted in private houses, and were not infrequently an intolerable nuisance. Some people in Essex complained, for instance, that the Irish quartered there broke the furniture, and threw the meat into the fire if it did not win their approval.

and Eliot, the most noble-minded of all in that struggle, was put into the Tower and died there.¹

We have now come to the end of the first period of the conflict. On the whole, though Parliament was sometimes unduly suspicious, sometimes rather niggardly in its supplies, and always intolerant in matters of religion, it had shown itself more patient, more practical, more clear-headed than either the kings or their advisers, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was in the right. But this must not blind us to the fact that Parliament was seeking to establish a control over the king and his advisers which had not been exercised in Tudor times, and it was not unnatural that the Crown should resist such attempts.

3. ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT, 1629-1640, AND GROWING DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The next eleven years saw no Parliament — the longest interval England has known in her history since Parliament began (*Note 65*). They are usually called *The Eleven Years' Tyranny*. We must, however, beware of regarding a year without a Parliament as anything exceptional; in Elizabeth's reign, for instance, Parliament on the average met only every third year. Nor must we regard Charles as a wicked despot, destroying the rights, the goods, and the lives of his people. The period, on the contrary, was one of prosperity for the nation at large; with the exception of Eliot, no political martyr lost his life; and the King, on the whole, kept within the letter of the law as it was interpreted for him by judges, who might, however, with reason be deemed somewhat accommodating.² Yet none the less they were

Arbitrary
govern-
ment
(1629-40)

¹ Eliot's son petitioned that the body might be buried at Port Eliot, the Cornish home of the family. But Charles was implacable. "Let Sir John Eliot," wrote the King on the petition, "be buried in the church of that parish where he died"; and accordingly he was buried in the Tower.

² The judges also would be likely to be on the side of the Crown, for lawyers go by the latest precedent, and would maintain that the Stuarts might well do as the Tudors had done.

dangerous and critical years for England; and when they were over, the people of England showed that they were determined that a repetition of such absolute rule should not occur.

We must say something about the advisers of Charles during this period. No one succeeded to Buckingham's commanding position in Charles's councils. Yet amongst the King's advisers two figures stand out pre-eminent — *Thomas Wentworth* (Note 66), eventually created *Earl of Strafford*, and *William Laud* (Note 66). Wentworth, a member of an old family with large estates in Yorkshire, had supported the Crown when he first entered the House of Commons; but in the early Parliaments of Charles I he was one of the leading critics of the King's policy, and the Petition of Right in particular was largely due to his initiative. Then between the two sessions of the third Parliament he joined the King's side, and was made a peer (1628). For this change Wentworth has been unsparingly attacked, called a political apostate, the First of the Rats, and compared to Lucifer.¹ And, indeed, it is impossible to deny that Wentworth was inconsistent, that he did things when in authority which he would have been the first to condemn when in opposition, or that self-interest was probably one of the motives which influenced him.

Thomas
Went-
worth,
Earl of
Strafford

Wentworth, however, was one of those strong, masterful, able people who have an unlimited confidence in their own capacity, and very little in that of anyone else. He had been with the Opposition because he distrusted Buckingham and specially disliked his foreign enterprises, and because of the arbitrary acts which the Government had committed. But he was never really of the Opposition; he had no sympathy with the Puritan leanings of the majority, and felt contempt for many of his fellow-members. Moreover, he was no believer in Parliamentary government — govern-

¹ See Lord Macaulay's *Essay on Hallam's History*.

ment, in his view, was to be for the people, but not by them. To him princes were, to use his own expression, the "indulgent nursing-fathers to their people", and the authority of a king "the keystone which closeth up the arch of order and government". And only by allying himself with the King could he show, it must be remembered, his capacity for administration. Wentworth therefore joined the King, and was made President of the North in 1628, which gave him the control of the northern counties. In 1632 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland, and it was in Ireland that he was to exhibit the strength and weakness of his statesmanship (see p. 506). Then in the summer of 1639 he became Charles I's principal adviser, and quickly made himself the most hated man in England.

Wentworth's great friend was *Laud*. He and Laud were *Laud* alike in that energy and whole-hearted devotion to the King's service, and in that determination to get things done which was expressed in their letters to one another by their watchword "Thorough". *Laud* was the son of a clothier at Reading. He had been educated at Reading school and St. John's College, Oxford. He became President of St. John's, and was noted for his opposition to the Puritans. He was next made Bishop of St. David's; in 1628 he became Bishop of London, and five years later Archbishop of Canterbury. It was *Laud* who directed the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. In that policy there is much that can be praised. Large sums of money were spent in the erection and restoration of churches. Order and decency were enforced in the Church services. *Laud* made, through deputies, a visitation of all the dioceses in his archbishopric, and found much to amend: the chapter of a cathedral neglecting to preach and often absent; the aisle of one church being used by the bailiff of a local lord to melt the lead which had been stripped from the roof; the aisle of another being used for cock-fighting, the vicar himself

being present.¹ Moreover, Laud was no respecter of persons, and attacked wrongdoing in however high quarters it might be discovered.

But, with all his energy and goodness, Laud was unsympathetic and narrow-minded, a man who thought that everyone must believe in the High Church doctrines which he believed in, whether he be English, Irish, Scot, or even French or Spaniard. Through his control of the Press he tried to stop the publication of all views antagonistic to his own. But it was especially in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission that Laud made his evil reputation.² Laud, with his sharp tongue and irritable temper, always voted for the biggest punishment upon theological offenders, and it was chiefly due to him that such barbarous punishments were inflicted as flogging and branding and the cutting off of ears. If Laud saved the Church of England, as in Mr. Gladstone's judgment he did, from being bound in the fetters of an iron system of compulsory and Calvinistic belief, he was also responsible for driving the moderate Protestants into the arms of the Puritans.

The difficulties of Charles were mainly financial, for his income from Crown lands and feudal dues, from tunnage Finance and poundage and Impositions was insufficient. He had therefore to find other sources. Thus he caused all those who held lands by feudal tenure or of a certain value — over £40 a year — to become knights and to pay fees for the honour, or else to be fined for refusing it. He fined nobles and others whose ancestors had encroached — perhaps hundreds of years before — on the limits of the Crown forests. Various companies, on paying certain annual payments, were granted monopolies of the commonest articles of use, Knight-hood

¹ Laud also stopped St. Paul's Cathedral being used as a club for gossip by the men of fashion, or as a playground by those of more tender years, and he insisted that men should not come into church with their hats on.

² These courts had been established, the one in the reign of Henry VII and the other in that of Elizabeth; they tried a man in secret, without a jury, and made prisoners give evidence against themselves.

such as bricks, salt, and soap.¹ Then the Navy was very weak; Barbary corsairs had actually landed and wintered in Dorset in the winter of 1624-25. So, in 1634, Charles levied a tax called ship-money from the maritime towns and counties, the proceeds of which were to be used for providing new ships for the Navy and repairing those already in existence. For this tax there were many precedents in time of war, but now Charles imposed it in time of peace. A year later, he issued a "second writ of ship-money", as it was called, and levied it from the whole country — a very unpopular move.

Ship-money
(1634)

Up till 1637, though there had been great dissatisfaction, there was little resistance to the King. With that year, however, the struggle began — it has been well called the first year of the Revolutionary Epoch. Popular feeling had the opportunity of showing itself in June. Prynne, a lawyer, Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a doctor, were sentenced for attacks on the bishops,² to lose their ears, to be fined £5000, and to be imprisoned for life. They suffered the first part of this sentence in Palace Yard. Prynne³ had already lost part of his ears for an attack upon the stage four years previously, but his case had then aroused little interest. Now, however, all London came to show its sympathy. His path and that of his fellow sufferers was strewn with flowers, many people wept, and there was an angry yell when Prynne's ears — or what remained of them — were sawn off. Then in November, 1637, came the famous trial of John Hampden. The King had issued a third writ of ship-money, and it looked as if he was going,

The
beginning
of the
Crisis
(1637)

John
Hampden

¹ In Tudor times it was the business of the State to regulate trade; and Charles I in much that he did merely carried out the Tudor system. Thus the Star Chamber was used to proceed against Corn Engrossers, and real attempts were made to find sensible work for the unemployed. So also the monopoly system was part of the scheme of Paternal economic government. The real difficulties were, first, that Charles from want of money abused the system; and, second, that the English people were becoming more and more Individualistic in outlook.

² The bishops, Bastwick had written, were the enemies of God and the King, and the Church which they governed was as full of ceremonies as a dog is full of fleas.

³ During the course of his life he wrote two hundred books and pamphlets. He wrote all day, his servant bringing him every three hours a roll and a pot of ale "to refocillate his wasted spirits".

without Parliamentary sanction (this was the root of the trouble), to make it a permanent tax. Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire of importance, refused to pay. The case was heard, and the judges decided by seven to five that ship-money was legal. The case aroused intense interest, and the arguments of Hampden's lawyers were circulated over the entire kingdom. In the same year the opinions of the greatest literary figure of the period on Laud's rule were shown in the writing by Milton of *Lycidas*.

In Scotland, however, even more than in England, the year 1637 is one of importance.

During the lifetime of John Knox (died 1572) it seemed as if the Scottish Church might ultimately accept a modified form of Episcopacy, but under Andrew Melville, who succeeded John Knox in the leadership of the Scottish Church, the view prevailed that all ministers were of equal status, and Presbyteries were erected to perform the administrative duties formerly associated with bishops. The Scottish Church thus became definitely Presbyterian in its government. Under this system there are four Church Courts. Each congregation has its Kirk Session consisting of the minister and elders, both elected by the congregation. The congregations are grouped into sixty Presbyteries, each congregation being represented on the Presbyterial court by its minister and one elder. Three or more Presbyteries compose a Provincial Synod, twelve in number, meeting twice a year. The supreme court of the Church, the General Assembly, meets once a year. Its members are ministers and elders elected by the Presbyteries.

The Church of Scotland

The Presbyterian Courts

On to this Presbyterian system James the Sixth of Scotland (First of England) sought to graft bishops.¹ He, and,

¹ Bishops were popular neither in Scotland nor in England. Thus one English writer calls the bishops "not the pillars but the caterpillars of the Church"; another in a parody of the *Litany* says. "From plague, pestilence, and famine, from bishops, priests, and deacons, good Lord, deliver us." The Scots are not behindhand — one calls the bishops "beastie bellie-gods" regardless of the fact that some bishops, at all events, lived ascetic lives and were decidedly spare of frame; and another characterizes them as "bunchy knobs of papist flesh".

Policy of James VI after him, Charles I, believed in the Divine Right of Kings, while the people of Scotland believed no less ardently in the Divine Right of the General Assembly, and denied the right of the civil authority to interfere in any way in the affairs of the Church. The General Assembly had influence that extended beyond ecclesiastical affairs, and was, in fact, a representative body which was the centre of opposition to royal despotism. On the other hand the Scottish Parliament, or Council of Estates, was a feudal assembly whose business was controlled by the "*Lords of the Articles*", in the nomination of whom the king had a large say. Therefore conflict between Crown and Church was almost inevitable. King James showed much tenacity of purpose, and by 1612 he had fully established Episcopacy in Scotland, without, however, abolishing the Presbyterian Courts. He then sought to modify the forms of worship, and by diplomacy and intimidation the General Assembly was induced to pass, in 1618, what were called, from the place of meeting, the *Five Articles of Perth*. Of these Articles, perhaps the most unpopular was the enforcement of kneeling at Communion, which savoured to the Scottish mind of idolatry.

Charles came to the throne in 1625, and in twelve years had united the whole Scottish nation against him. To begin with, his marriage with a Roman Catholic met with much unfavourable comment. Then he frightened the nobles by an attempt to recover some of the lands which they had obtained from the Church at the Reformation. Finally he aroused the anger of the whole people by his determination to establish complete uniformity with the Church of England by doing away with the Presbyterian Courts and by imposing a new Prayer Book similar to the English Prayer Book. The particulars in which it differed from the English Prayer Book were universally held to be due to the influence of Archbishop Laud, and to be in a Popish direction. "It was," said a contemporary, "a Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service-Book."

Laud's Liturgy was used for the first time in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on Sunday, 23rd July, 1637, and provoked a riot — traditionally stated to have been started by a woman called Jenny Geddes — which was really the beginning of a revolution. Charles might have retrieved the situation by withdrawing the Service Book, but this he refused to do. Then opposition to the Prayer Book grew into a demand for the abolition of Episcopacy, and a zealous Presbyterian organization known as "The Tables" was practically ruling Scotland in defiance of King and Council. Still Charles persisted, and in 1638 opposition to him culminated in the *National Covenant*. The National Covenant was first signed in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, on 1st March, 1638, and copies were sent all over Scotland. Everywhere it was signed with the utmost enthusiasm, the signatories pledging themselves "to adhere to and defend the true religion", by which they meant Protestantism in general, and the Presbyterian Church in particular.

Riot in
St. Giles'
(1637)

The
National
Covenant
(1638)

This at last awakened Charles to the seriousness of the situation. He offered to withdraw the Service Book and to permit a free General Assembly and a free Parliament to meet. But it was too late. When the General Assembly met in Glasgow in November, only Covenanters were admitted to membership, and Hamilton, the Royal Commissioner, seeing that the Assembly would demand his assent to Acts abolishing Episcopacy, dissolved it in the name of the King. But the Assembly continued to sit, though an unconstitutional body, and with great gusto annulled the Five Articles of Perth, cancelled the Service Book, deposed the bishops, abolished Episcopacy, and reintroduced strict Presbyterianism.

The
Glasgow
Assembly
(1638)

Naturally the King refused to sanction the Acts of this Assembly, and it was clear that war was inevitable. It broke out in 1639 and was known as the *First Bishops' War*. The Covenanters under Alexander Leslie, "that old, little, crooked soldier", a veteran of many Continental campaigns, took

First
Bishops'
War
(1639)

Second
Bishops'
War
(1640)

Charles in
Scotland
(1641)

up position on Duns Law, near Berwick. The King came north with a force, miserable in numbers and equipment, and could do nothing but agree, by the *Pacification of Berwick*, to the Scottish demands, the chief of which was that another General Assembly should meet. This did meet in August, and all the measures of the Glasgow Assembly were again passed. In addition, the Assembly passed a new Act making the signing of the Covenant compulsory on the whole nation. All these Acts of Assembly received the royal assent, but Charles, who was as determined as ever to have his own way, refused to sanction the parliamentary measures necessary to make them legally enforceable. The situation was, therefore, unchanged, and in 1640 the *Second Bishops' War* broke out. The meeting of the Short Parliament in England showed the Scots that they had no reason to fear that the English nation would support Charles, and they accordingly invaded England and marched to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Charles met Scottish representatives at Ripon, and had no alternative but to agree to the continued occupation of Newcastle till a settlement could be reached. In August, 1641, he granted all the Scottish demands, and paid the expenses of the army at Newcastle, which amounted to £850 a day, and the Scots went home. In September, Charles visited Edinburgh in the hope of obtaining Scottish help against the rapidly growing opposition of the English Parliament. He was most gracious, yielding to all Scottish demands, and lavishing honours and other signs of favour on the leading Covenanters, but he failed in his main purpose. His actions at this time, however, had this effect, that, when the Civil War did break out, Scotland had no quarrel with him, and had no call to support either side. Nevertheless, by this time the Covenanters were dreaming a new dream. They dreamed of uniformity of Church government in England and Scotland, not on the Episcopal model as Charles had hoped, but on the Presbyterian model; and they now worked to make the dream a reality.

4. THE SHORT AND THE LONG PARLIAMENTS (1640-1642)

We must now trace the influence of Scottish affairs upon English politics. The Scottish rebellion, it has been said, gave back to England her Parliamentary system. For eleven years Charles had done without Parliament. But the money he had was only just enough for current expenses; any extra strain would break down Charles's system and make a Parliament inevitable. After the First Bishops' War was over, Strafford arrived in England, and, by his advice, in order to obtain funds to renew the war with Scotland, a Parliament was summoned. That Parliament — called the *Short Parliament* — met in April, 1640, and it lasted but three weeks. The King tried to bargain for subsidies in return for giving up ship-money, but he failed; and Parliament, when it proceeded to petition for a peaceful settlement with Scotland, was dissolved. This Parliament brought to the front a Somersetshire squire named *Pym*, who was to show himself a great Parliamentarian. He was a clear and cogent speaker, a clever tactician, and the possessor of unbounded energy. In a speech of two hours — an exceptionally long speech for that period — he attacked the misgovernment of the King, and summed up his political creed by declaring that "the powers of Parliament are to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul to a man". And he quickly achieved for himself a position which led his enemies to call him, in the next Parliament, "King Pym".

English
affairs;
The
Short
Parliament
(1640)

The Second Bishops' War followed the dissolution of the Short Parliament. In the peace which ended it Charles, as we have seen, promised to pay £850 a day to the Scottish Army. But with this large sum of money required, he was compelled to summon another Parliament and, what is more, to listen to its demands.¹ The House of Commons

¹ As it was, Charles had to seize £130,000 of bullion from the Mint, and merchants could not meet the Bills of Exchange. This caused immense dislocation, and was one of the things which turned the merchant class against Charles.

was, at that time, an aristocratic and not what we should now consider a democratic assembly; and the Parliament which met in *November, 1640* — to be known in history as the *Long Parliament* — was composed, it has been said, of the very flower of the English gentry and educated laity.

The work of this Parliament for the first nine months of its existence was the abolition of the arbitrary power of the Crown (*Note 67*). Now at last, after nearly forty years, some of the questions at issue between King and Parliament were to be definitely settled. The House of Commons during these nine months worked with practical unanimity — a fact which shows how universal the dissatisfaction with the King's government had been. Under Pym's leadership laws were passed declaring that this particular Parliament was not to be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent, and that, in future, Parliaments must be summoned every three years (the *Triennial Act*). Arbitrary courts — such as the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission — were abolished; and taxes, such as ship-money, were declared illegal, and tunnage and poundage also without consent of Parliament. Only on a Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy — the Root and Branch Bill — was there great divergence of opinion.

Along with these laws came the punishment of the King's former advisers. Some, however, had fled overseas, but others were imprisoned and impeached,¹ and amongst these were the two greatest, Laud and Strafford. Laud was not beheaded till 1645, but to the popular imagination "Black Tom Tyrant", as Strafford was called, was the embodiment of the arbitrary power of the King. In the words of a contemporary, "the whole kingdom was his accuser", and when he was impeached for treason it was felt that his trial would decide the question whether government was to be in future by the King's prerogative alone or by King and

¹ In the whole course of English history there have been only seventy impeachments, and of this number a quarter took place between 1640 and 1642.

Parliament combined. But it was impossible to prove that Strafford had been guilty of treason: he might have been guilty of acts against the nation, but not of acts against the King. Of his government in Ireland, which was one point of attack, he made a very able defence. It was universally believed — possibly rightly — that Strafford had advised the King to utilize the Irish army to overawe English resistance. But the only evidence of this was found in a copy of the notes taken at a Privy Council meeting by one of its members, in which Strafford was reported to have said: "You have an army here you may employ to reduce this kingdom", and from the context it was impossible to judge whether "this kingdom" referred to England or Scotland.

Eventually the House of Commons gave up the impeachment and passed instead a Bill of Attainder, condemning him as guilty of treason.¹ The bill was sent up to the House of Lords, which, after some hesitation, passed it. The only hope of life left to Strafford lay in the King. After two days of agonizing doubt Charles, with his palace surrounded by an angry crowd, afraid that if he held out his beloved Queen herself would be impeached,² and advised to surrender by his Council, by the judges, and by some of the bishops, and even by Strafford himself, eventually gave his consent to the bill. Strafford, brave and noble to the end, was executed on Tower Hill (May, 1641).³ To the 200,000 who were present, as well as to the great majority of Englishmen, his execution was necessary for the safety of the nation.

Execution
of
Strafford
(May,
1641)

At the end of the summer of 1641 Englishmen had come to the parting of the ways, and the work of the Long Parlia-

¹ Consequently they had not got to prove his guilt; they merely asserted that he was guilty and ought to be executed, and voted upon the measure.

² The House of Commons intended to impeach the Queen for her intrigues with foreign powers if the King had refused to pass the bill.

³ "I thank God," he said, when he took off his doublet at the scaffold, "I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from my fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed."

Split in
Parlia-
ment ment was to be no longer unanimous. The final split between the two parties came in the debates on the *Grand Remonstrance* (November). Previously to this Charles had made a journey to Scotland (September) with the hope, no doubt, of organizing a party favourable to his cause — a hope in which he was disappointed. It was whilst he was playing a game of golf in that country in October that he heard news of the Irish Catholic rebellion¹ (p. 508). That rebellion had important results in England. Even its horrors were exaggerated in the accounts received in England. Consequently Protestant feeling was inflamed and affected the King, because he was suspected of some complicity with the rebels. Moreover, to suppress the rebellion an army would be necessary. This aroused a fresh question of the very greatest consequence — Who was to control the army, the King or the Parliament? Upon the answer hung the liberties of England.

The
Grand
Remons-
trance It was now that Pym brought forward the document known as the *Grand Remonstrance*. This was, partly, a recapitulation of all the evil deeds of which Pym and the Puritan party held Charles to be guilty. But it also contained a scheme of reform for the future which was much too advanced for many at that period. It proposed, for instance, that only ministers should be appointed of whom the House of Commons should approve, and that a Synod of Divines should be summoned to make religious changes. Such proposals would, in the opinion of many, have shattered the power of king and bishop alike. The debates upon them were keen and protracted. Churchman was ranged against Puritan, and constitutional Royalists like Falkland and Hyde, who still wished the King to direct the Government, against those like Pym, who were grasping at sovereignty, and wished Parliament to exercise direct control over the ministers. The *Remonstrance* was finally carried, long after midnight, in the early morning of 23rd November, but

¹ According to tradition, Charles finished his game.

only by eleven votes. In the excitement members clutched their swords. "I thought," said one, "we had all sat in the Valley of the Shadow of Death." The Civil War was not far off.

To attempt a *coup d'état* and to fail is fatal. Yet this was the fortune of Charles. On *4th January, 1642*, hearing that the House of Commons intended to impeach the Queen, he decided to forestall such an action by accusing the five leading members of the House of high treason for intrigues with the Scots. Included in this number were Pym and Hampden. Charles determined to arrest the five members himself, and went down to the House of Commons accompanied by a guard of some 400 men.¹ But, through an indiscreet friend of the Queen's, the five members had learnt the King's intention, and when Charles entered the House he found, to use his own words, that "the birds had flown". For the King to enter the House of Commons in this fashion was, of course, a scandalous breach of its privileges, and when he left it there were loud and angry cries of "Privilege! Privilege!" There is no need to detail the history of the next seven months. Both sides tried to obtain control of the militia, and Parliament passed a bill with this object, which Charles vetoed. Both sides made preparations for war. In April Hotham, the Governor of Hull, went so far as to refuse the King admittance to that town. And on *22nd August*, at Nottingham, the King's standard was set up.² The great Civil War had begun.

The attempt on the five members (Jan., 1642)

Civil War (Aug., 1642)

¹ It is said that Charles hesitated on the morning of the 4th to carry out his design, but the Queen urged him on. "Go, you coward," she cried, "and pull out these rogues by the ears, or never see my face more!"

² According to Clarendon, it was blown down the same night by a very strong and unruly wind — an inauspicious beginning.

CHAPTER 37

THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1645)

Sup-
porters
of two
parties

In the great Civil War the bulk of the nobility and the gentry and their tenants were on the side of the King, whilst the majority of the townsmen and yeomen fought for Parliament (*Note 68*). Yet it would be a mistake to regard the war as one of class against class. Eighty peers fought for the King, thirty fought against him, and 175 members of the House of Commons belonged to the Royalist party. Geographically, a line drawn from the Humber to Southampton roughly divides the two parties: east of that line is, on the whole, Parliamentary; west of that line, with the important exceptions of Bristol, Gloucester, and Plymouth, is on the whole, Royalist. The real line of division is, however, political — as to whether King or Parliament shall be supreme — and perhaps, above all, religious, the Anglican against the Puritan.

Resources
of both
parties

Summing up the advantages possessed by either side, it should be noted that the Parliamentary party had possession of the city of London, and that its cause was probably supported by two-thirds of the population and three-quarters of the wealth of the country. Fewer troops also were employed by Parliament in the garrisoning of small detached forts and fortified country houses. Moreover, the navy was on the side of Parliament, and could be employed not only to ward off foreign aid, but also to carry troops and protect the coast towns. The Parliamentary forces undoubtedly contained the better infantry, but at that time the bayonet had not been invented. Consequently half the infantry were pikemen, and useless beyond the reach of their fifteen-foot pike, and half were musketeers, and therefore useless for hand-to-hand fighting. Moreover,

the musketeer's task in those days was a harassing and laborious one, and he took a long time to fire his musket.¹ Therefore the infantry were greatly handicapped, and we find in the Civil War that the battles were won by the cavalry.

But it was in the cavalry in the opening stages of the war that the Royalists had such a great advantage, for they possessed better riders and better horses (*Note 69*). Moreover, the Royalists had the King and the unity of aim and command which his presence should have given; they had at first more experienced and better leaders; and during the first two years of the war strategical ability was confined to the King's party. Above all, in *Prince Rupert*,² not yet twenty-three, the nephew of Charles, the Royalists had not only a born cavalry leader — brave, inspiring, energetic — but a general capable of planning a decisive campaign. *Prince Rupert* also was a leader who had profited by the new Swedish tactics to make his men charge hard and reserve their pistol fire till the charge had gone home.³ Rupert and the other Royalist leaders should have proved more than a match for a general with so little initiative as the Parliament's first commander, Lord Essex, possessed, or for "sweet meeke" Lord Manchester, as he was called, both of whom, moreover, were "half-measures" men, "not wanting to beat the King too much". Rupert, however, was to exhibit a certain sharpness of temper in counsel which made him a difficult man to work with, and, above all, an impetuosity in battle which was to ruin the King's cause.

¹ A musketeer had to extract powder from a flask and pour it into the muzzle of his musket, to put a bullet which he had previously deposited in his mouth into the muzzle, to ram the bullet home, to fit the musket into a rest (it was too heavy and too long to be without one), and finally to ignite the powder with a match (a twisted strand of tow), which had probably in the preceding operations been scorching the back of his hands.

² His mother was the Princess Elizabeth, who married the Elector Palatine. She had the reputation of being a very devoted mother; but according to one of her daughters, she much preferred the society of dogs and monkeys to that of her own children when they were young.

³ The old tactics for cavalry were to advance slowly, to "caracole", as the expression went, up to the infantry, to discharge pistols, and then to retire.

The aim of the King in the *first* year of the war (1642) was to *march upon London with one army*. Starting from Shrewsbury, he outmarched Essex, who was also coming from the Midlands, but then turned to meet him at *Edgehill* (October).¹ Both wings of the Royalist cavalry were successful, but *Rupert pursued too far*, and in the excitement the reserve cavalry of Charles — called the “show-troop”, for it consisted largely of well-dressed landed proprietors — joined the pursuit. Consequently the Royalist infantry was hard pressed, and Rupert after a lengthy absence only returned in time to make the battle a drawn one. The King was, however, able to continue his march, but when he got as close to London as *Turnham Green*, he found his progress barred by 24,000 Londoners, and accordingly retired to Oxford. Military critics disagree as to whether Charles should have tried to force his way to London; but his army was never to get so near the capital again.

In the *second* year of the war (1643) the King designed a *triple advance upon London*. Lord Newcastle,² after subduing the north, was to march south; Hopton, after subduing the south-west, was to advance east; Charles was to keep Essex employed, and advance upon London when the others were ready. In the spring and summer the outlook was black for Parliament. Newcastle won *Adwalton Moor* (1st June), and in consequence secured a large part of Yorkshire. In the west Bristol was taken by Rupert, and Hopton utterly defeated Waller, the rising general on the side of Parliament, at *Roundaway Down* in July. It was this battle which led Pym to begin serious negotiations with the Scots for the

The campaign of 1643; the triple advance upon London

¹ It was usual, in the Civil War, for the armies to wear “field signs” to distinguish them. Thus, at Edgehill, the Parliamentarians had orange scarves, at Newbury they wore green boughs, and at Marston Moor, white handkerchiefs or white pieces of paper in their hats. Later, in the New Model Army, the uniform was red — hence red became the colour of the British army.

² Newcastle once spent £20,000 in entertaining James I at Welbeck, Ben Jonson writing the masques on that occasion. Subsequently he became tutor to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II).

loan of an army, and which caused the few members of the House of Lords left in London to propose to the House of Commons that most abject terms of peace should be made with the King — terms only rejected in the House of Commons by seven votes. In the centre, meanwhile, the King had lost Reading, but the Parliamentarians had been beaten in a skirmish at *Chalgrove*, near Oxford, a skirmish in which Hampden was killed.

In *September, 1643*, however, the tide turned. "*Hull and Plymouth*", it has been said, "saved the Parliamentary cause." Newcastle's Northerners with Hull untaken refused to advance south, as they feared to leave their homes and property at the mercy of their foes in that town. Hopton, though he continued to advance east, found his army dwindling away because his Westerners had similar fears with regard to Plymouth. Meanwhile Charles, unable to advance on London unsupported, had advanced to besiege Gloucester early in August, and in September Essex successfully relieved it. Charles, however, intercepted the army of Essex on its return journey at *Newbury*, but he failed, after an indecisive battle, to prevent the return of Essex to London. In the battle Lord Falkland, one of the noblest figures in the war, was killed. In October, Hull, which Newcastle had besieged, was relieved as the result of a battle at *Winceby*, in which Cromwell, the future leader of the Puritans, was conspicuous. Only in the south did Hopton continue his victorious advance.

Importance of London

Battle of Newbury (1643)

In the last month of the year the Parliament suffered a great loss in the death of Pym. Before his death, however, he had succeeded in negotiating an alliance with the Scots. Both sides had appealed to the Scots, but the Presbyterians, feeling that if the King triumphed over Parliament he would inevitably try to subdue them, determined to throw in their lot with Parliament. The Scottish terms were uncompromising — Presbyterianism must be the future religion of England. Parliament, in the *Solemn League and Covenant*,

Parliament and the Scottish alliance

The Solemn League

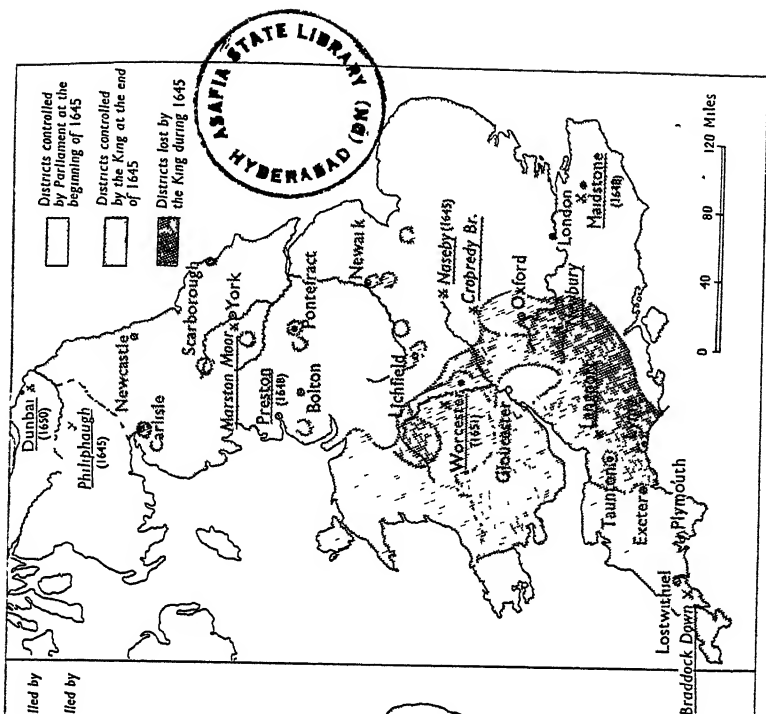
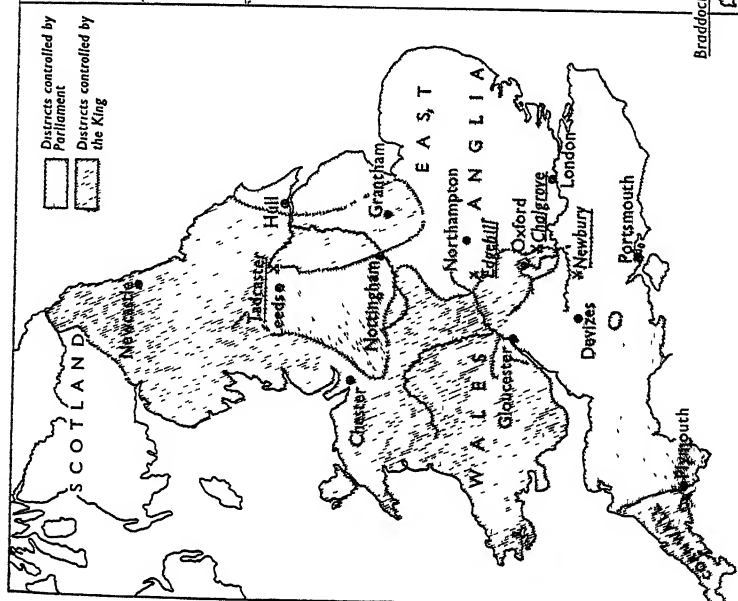
and accepted the condition with qualifications,¹ and in return
 Covenant (1643) obtained from Scotland an army of 20,000 men — a force
 which enabled it to win the war.

With 1644 the war took a somewhat different shape. Each
 The side had secured an ally; the Scots had joined Parliament,
 campaign of 1644 and to balance them Charles brought a force over from
 Ireland. But the tide ran strongly for Parliament. The
 Scottish army was of immense assistance, whilst the Irish
 soldiers, who were worthless troops and hated as Catholics,
 merely alienated a large number of the King's supporters.²
 Moreover, the army of the Eastern Association — an asso-
 ciation of Eastern Counties formed originally for defensive
 purposes only — left its own district, and under Lord
 Manchester prepared to take an active part in the war;
 and in March the defeat of Hopton meant the loss of all
 hope of a successful invasion of Sussex and Kent by the
 Royalists.

In July, 1644, came the great Royalist defeat at *Marston*
 Moor. Newcastle, who had been besieged in York by the
 Scots and by Fairfax and Manchester, was relieved by
 Rupert, and shortly afterwards a great battle was fought
 between the combined Royalists and the Parliamentary forces.
 The battle of Marston Moor was notable because of the
 large number of the men employed: the Royalists were
 seventeen thousand, and the supporters of Parliament were
 twenty-six thousand in number. But, above all, the battle
 was important in that Prince Rupert was to find his match.
 Oliver Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire, had trained
 for the Eastern Association a body of cavalry composed, as
 he said, of "men of religion", who could stand up to the
 "men of honour" serving in the Royalist cavalry. More-

¹ The Church of England was to be reformed "according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches". The second half of the sentence refers to the Scottish Church in particular, but the first half might be and was variously interpreted by Scots and English.

² The Irish rebels were regarded with horror by the English, and the use of them by Charles had the same effect in England then, it has been well pointed out, as the employment of Sepoys would have had if a similar crisis had arisen in England just after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.



over, Cromwell was a leader who could make his cavalry charge as hard as Prince Rupert, but who, unlike Rupert, could keep his men in hand for a further movement. At seven o'clock in the evening Cromwell charged.¹ He defeated, with the aid of the Scottish horse, Rupert's cavalry, then wheeled round and dispersed the Royalist cavalry who had been successful on the other wing. Meantime, the Scottish infantry in the centre were hard pressed. Cromwell, however, quite untiring, came to their assistance and then helped to annihilate the "Whitecoats", as Newcastle's own infantry regiments were called. It was Cromwell who won the battle — indeed, the three chief generals on his side were at one period fugitives from the field — and the result of the battle was not only that Newcastle retired abroad, but that the six northern counties were lost to the King.²

Yet, in spite of this victory, Parliament did not make progress. At the end of August Charles managed to surround Essex's army at *Lostwithiel*, in Cornwall, and though Essex himself escaped by sea, and his horse broke through the Royalist lines, his infantry had to capitulate. Charles, however, on his return in October, found his way barred at *Newbury* by another army under Manchester and Essex. The battle which followed, like the first battle fought there, was indecisive, though, but for Manchester's want of enterprise, Charles would not have got through, as he succeeded in doing, to Oxford.

Failures of
Parliamentarians

Second
Battle of
Newbury
(1644)

The second battle of *Newbury* brought to a head the dissatisfaction which Cromwell and others felt with the "half-measures" men and their lack of energy. This dissatisfaction led to the *Self-denying Ordinance* being carried in Parliament, under which members of Parliament resigned

¹ The Royalist leaders thought there would be no fight that day. Newcastle had gone to his great coach, called for a pipe of tobacco, and settled down for the evening.

² Here is Cromwell's own description of the battle: "We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own force, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse, and God made them unable to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot and routed all we charged."

The Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model Army their commissions in the army. Accordingly Manchester and Essex retired, though Cromwell, who resigned because he was a member of the House of Commons, was reappointed to a command. Parliament also resolved to reorganize the army. As a consequence, the Parliament obtained just what it wanted. The *New Model* army, as it was called, was a force well-officered,¹ with regular pay, and especially strong in its cavalry and artillery. It was not bound by local ties, and it could "go anywhere and do anything". Above all, Fairfax² was made the commander and was given absolute control, without interference by Parliamentary commissions, whilst Cromwell was put in charge of the cavalry.

The Battle of Naseby (June, 1645) The result of the New Model was seen in 1645 at the battle of *Naseby* (June). Rupert beat the wing opposed to him, it is true, but pursued too far. Cromwell was successful on the other flank, then re-formed his cavalry, and, as at Marston Moor, charged the Royalist infantry who were pressing the Parliamentarians. Cromwell made one more charge at Rupert's returning cavalry, and the day was won. The battle was decisive. It cost Charles half his cavalry, all his infantry and artillery, and most of his best officers. Moreover, it revealed to the nation his intrigues with foreign powers, for the cabinet containing much of his correspondence was captured. "The King and the kingdom", says Clarendon, the Royalist historian, "were lost at Naseby"; and after Naseby the war soon ended. To the south-west Fairfax was successful at *Langport*, and in September Bristol was retaken by Fairfax.

But, meantime, in Scotland a brilliant attempt had been made to retrieve the King's fortunes. Some two months after the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, a Scottish nobleman, the Marquis of *Montrose*, the "Great Marquis".

¹ It is a mistake to suppose that the officers were not gentlemen — thirty out of thirty-seven colonels were of gentle birth.

² Fairfax was a very brave man, a vigorous commander, and an excellent disciplinarian, besides being conspicuous for generosity to his opponents. He was also a lover of learning, and when he captured Oxford in 1646 his first care was to send a strong guard to preserve the famous Bodleian Library.

opened a campaign on behalf of Charles. He had signed the National Covenant in 1638, and had fought for the Covenanters, but he had always affirmed his devoted loyalty to the Crown. The alliance of the Covenanters with the English Parliament was to his mind an act of disloyalty to the Sovereign, and he took the only course open to him as a royalist and a man of honour — he offered his sword to the King. With forces which never exceeded four thousand foot and two hundred horse he won, within the space of twelve months, no less than six battles. His only permanent force was a contingent from Ireland of some sixteen hundred, consisting mainly of Scotsmen who had served in the Irish war; but he also got various clans to assist him.

Montrose's successes in Scotland (Sept. 1644-1645)

The first victory was won on 1st September, 1644, at *Tippermuir*, near *Perth* — won by a rush upon a newly levied army.¹ Then after a victory at *Aberdeen* — marred by the excesses of his troops in the town after the battle — Montrose turned upon Argyll. Joined by the Macdonalds, the mortal foes of the Campbells, he penetrated into the Campbell country and won a decisive battle at *Inverlochy*² over double his numbers. Finally, after two other successes, he won the battle of *Kilsyth*, near *Glasgow* (15th August, 1645), though here, it has been said, the mistakes of his enemy were so enormous that it would have been difficult not to beat him.

After the battle of *Kilsyth*, *Glasgow* submitted, and it seemed as if all Scotland might be recovered for the King; Montrose even hoped to cross the border with twenty thousand men. But his victories were at an end. The Macdonalds deserted him to go and renew their fighting with the Campbells. The Gordons went away for some reasons of personal pique. In the Lowlands, where Montrose now

Failure of Montrose (Sept., 1645)

¹ In their flight after the battle ten of the good citizens of Perth, it is said, "burst with running".

² Argyll himself was on a barge in the loch during the fight, perhaps because he had dislocated his shoulder three weeks previously; but his enemies had another explanation of his conduct.

was, he obtained no support; the General Assembly had excommunicated him, and his Irish soldiers were regarded as "instruments of Satan". Moreover, two months before the last victory at Kilsyth, had come the fatal day at Naseby. Part of the Scottish forces in England were, therefore, free to operate against Montrose, and marched north. Consequently Montrose's forces were overwhelmed at *Philiphaugh* (near Selkirk, September, 1645), and, after the battle, he himself, at the King's command, went to the Continent. The Civil War both in England and Scotland was now practically over, and was finally completed when Charles in May, 1646,¹ surrendered himself to the Scottish army, and when the city of Oxford capitulated in the following June.

CHAPTER 38

THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-1653) AND THE PROTECTORATE (1653-1659)

1. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The great Civil War was over, but the termination of the war still left great questions undecided. How was England in future to be governed? What form of Christian religion was to be the State religion, and how far was toleration to be extended to those who could not agree with it? These questions, difficult enough in themselves, were complicated by the number of parties who wished to share in their settlement. There was, first of all, *Charles I*; the King had been vanquished, but no one at first wished to abolish the monarchy. He played the part that might have been expected of him. Too high-minded and too high-spirited to give up either the Church of England and her bishops, or

Parties
after the
war: the
King

¹ He left Oxford with his long locks cut and his beard altered, he journeyed to Harrow, surveyed London from that spot, and then by a circuitous route reached the Scottish army in Nottinghamshire.

the control of the ministers and the army, he was not high-minded enough to avoid pretending that he would do so. Designing, as he said himself, to "set his opponents by the ears", he intrigued not only with each party in turn or even simultaneously, but also with the Catholics in Ireland and the great minister, Mazarin, in France.

There was, *secondly*, the *Scottish army*, determined, as a matter of conscience, to see that Presbyterianism was permanently established in England as the Parliament had promised in the "Solemn League and Covenant". Then there was, *thirdly*, the *Long Parliament* — shorn, of course, of the hundred and seventy-five Royalists who had joined the King in the Civil War. The majority in this Parliament wished Charles to reign indeed, but not in any real sense to govern; on the other hand, it was afraid of the New Model Army. In matters of religion it was anxious to impose Presbyterianism upon the whole people of England, and had already — with the aid of Scottish Commissioners and a body of people called the Westminster Assembly of Divines — taken steps to make it the established religion in England.

Fourthly, there gradually emerge — as in all big movements — various groups of *Extremists*: Democrats, who wanted annual parliaments and universal suffrage; Levellers, who wanted all men to be equal; and idealists, who thought the *Fifth Monarchy*¹ was about to be achieved under their own beneficent rule. *Lastly*, and above all, there was the *New Model Army*. In this army the Independents predominated; they were indifferent as to what form of established religion was set up, but were determined to secure toleration for "tender consciences", and to be free from the absolute control either of Anglican bishops or of Presbyterians. An army of forty to fifty thousand men, well trained, well officered, and well disciplined, was bound to be irre-

¹ The last of the great monarchies referred to in the prophecy of Daniel (*Daniel* ii. 44).

sistible in politics if it chose to interfere.¹ Moreover, in Oliver Cromwell it possessed unquestionably the greatest man of this epoch.

Born at Huntingdon in 1599, of a good family, Cromwell became a member of Parliament at the age of twenty-nine. In 1642, at the age of forty-three, his military career began, and it was not to close till he was fifty-two. He had made his reputation in the cavalry during the Civil War, and to him was due the chief credit for organizing and training horsemen that could rival Prince Rupert's. In his cavalry tactics he, like Rupert, did not make the mistake of firing before charging, but, unlike Rupert, he did not rely, it has been said, so much upon the pace as upon the weight and solidarity of his charge.² In his campaigns, both during the Civil War and later, he showed that, though not perhaps a great strategist, he possessed real genius in seeing the critical points of a battle, and untiring energy in following up a victory.

In politics, so far, he had not made much mark. As a member of the Long Parliament, however, he had shown himself greatly interested in religious questions, and a keen partisan; "if the Grand Remonstrance had not passed," he said, "I would have sold all I had the next morning, and never seen England more." In the years after the Civil War was over, his most striking characteristic, especially in his negotiations with King or Parliament, is the long hesitation and indecision he shows in making up his mind; and then, when a decision has at last been arrived at, the "swift, daring hammer-stroke", as it has been called, that follows.

The time has long gone by when Cromwell was regarded as a hypocrite, half knave, half fanatic. A man of intense religious feeling, who looked upon all he did as due to

¹ Enemies as well as friends bear witness to its discipline. Punishments, when inflicted, were apt to be severe, for blasphemy or cursing, soldiers were sometimes bored through the tongue with a red-hot iron.

² His cavalry did not gallop, but charged in close order, to use Cromwell's own words, at "a pretty round trot".

God's providence, he possessed at the same time strong practical common sense. "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry" is said to have been the advice he gave to his soldiers — and the saying illustrates this double aspect of his character. His speeches are somewhat intricate and sometimes unintelligible, but they reveal a man of masterful energy who never lost sight of his ideals. Though a hater of the Roman Catholic religion and not very lenient to supporters of the Anglican bishops, he was large-hearted; and his ideas of toleration, inadequate as they seem to us to-day, were far more liberal than those generally prevalent during his own lifetime. If, when he came to supreme power, he showed himself anxious to put down undesirable amusements and to make life in England more serious, it must not be supposed that he was averse to all pleasure. On the contrary, he was fond of music and of writing verses; he loved good horses, and was a bold jumper and a skilful driver.¹

Though Parliament ordered the sale of the King's collection of pictures, in order to fill up some of the deficit left by war, Cromwell intervened to save what he could. It is owing to his personal action that the famous Mantegnas at Hampton Court were kept for the nation.

The history of the fourteen years that follow the Civil War can be briefly put. The New Model Army began to interfere in politics, and finally became supreme, with Cromwell as its leader. It then tried to base its authority upon the consent of the English people as expressed in Parliament — and in this it failed, and England was in reality governed by a military dictator. But we must follow the stages in a little more detail.

The
years
1646-60

¹ A team of six horses did run away with him, however, in Hyde Park, while he was Protector, to the great joy of his enemies, who wrote numberless lampoons on the subject.

2. THE EXECUTION OF THE KING (1646-1649)

In these fourteen years we may take, as a *First Period*, the two and a half years that elapse from the fall of the city of Oxford until the execution of the King (June, 1646-Jan., 1649. (a) Charles and the Scots). They are years of negotiations and intrigue, of which the merest outline must suffice. First of all the King was with the Scottish army, which retired to Newcastle. He refused to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, as the Scots pressed him to do, and he refused to accept the terms which Parliament proposed — terms, indeed, that would have taken all power away from him. As he refused their terms, the Scottish army could not take him back to their own country; and they finally — having been promised by Parliament £400,000 for their expenses — handed the King over to Parliament, and then recrossed the Tweed¹ (February, 1647).

(b) Parliament and the army The next step was that Parliament proceeded to quarrel with the army. The differences were partly religious. Parliament was a supporter of Presbyterianism. The army consisted largely of Independents, who objected just as much to the rule of the presbyter as to the rule of the priest, and who wanted liberty for "tender consciences". The Parliament — reasonably enough, now that the war was over — wished to reduce the army by one-third, and proposed to transfer the bulk of what was left to Ireland, to finish the war in that country. But it revealed its jealousy of the army by proposing to break up its old organization. Moreover, it was foolish enough to think that the army would be satisfied with six weeks' pay, when in the case of the infantry eighteen weeks' and in the case of the cavalry forty-three weeks' pay was owing. The army naturally objected, and elected men called "agitators" (i.e. agents)

¹ "The Scotch army", it was said, "sold their king as Judas sold his Master", and accepted the money as "blood money", to "their own eternal infamy", but it is difficult to see what other policy they could have pursued.

to make known their grievances. Finally Cornet Joyce and a body of soldiers seized the King at Holmby House,¹ in Northamptonshire, where he was residing, and carried him off to the army headquarters at Newmarket (June, 1647);² whilst the army itself approached London, and insisted upon the retirement from the House of Commons of the eleven members most hostile to it. This was the first — but by no means the last — direct interference of the army with the Parliament. Cromwell had tried to mediate between them, but finally joined the army.

The army
seizes the
King

Like a later monarch, Louis XVI of France, Charles now had the chance offered him of keeping his throne by accepting a settlement. He first was approached by the army, which asked him to negotiate with them. Drawn up by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, the Heads of the Proposals, as the army terms were called, recognized Episcopacy as the State religion, but allowed toleration for others. They set up a Council of State to manage foreign affairs and the army, and left for ten years the appointment of ministers with Parliament.³ The King was perhaps unwise to refuse these terms.

Charles
and nego-
tiations
for a
Settlement

(c) The
army and
the King

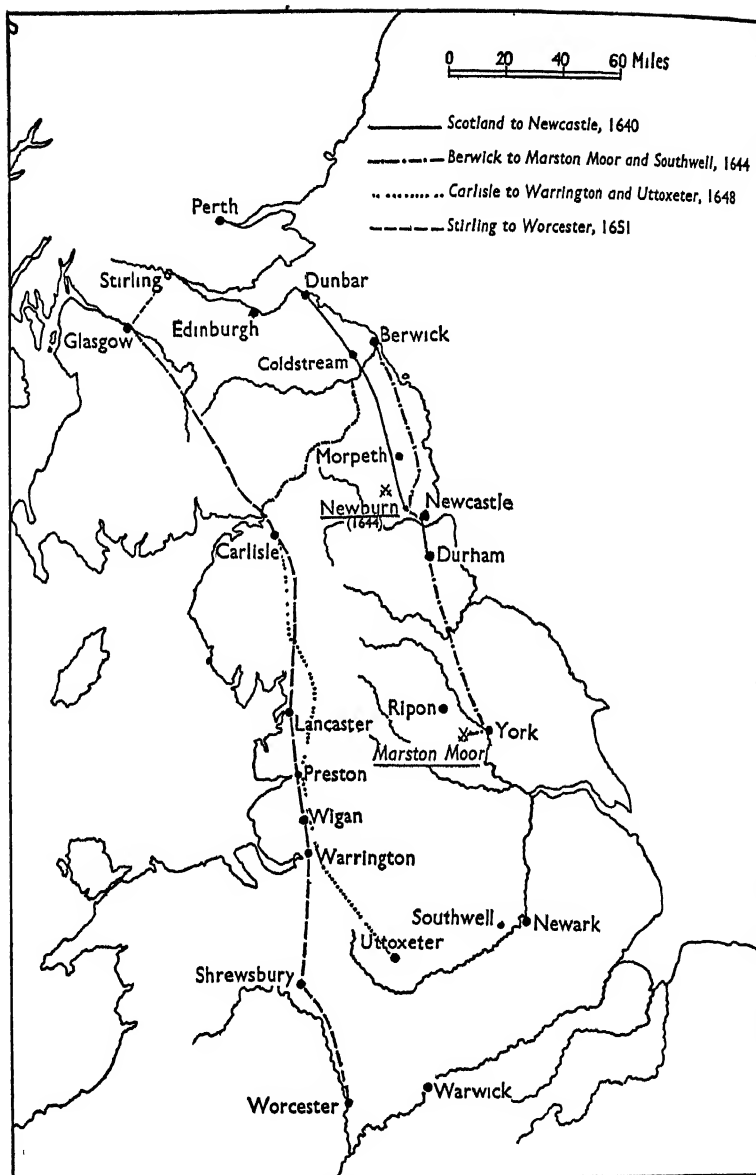
But Charles preferred to turn to the Scots, and this opens another stage in the tangled history of these negotiations. There had been in Scotland, especially amongst the nobles, a reaction in favour of the King, and the Scots were angry at the success of the Independents, and still hoped that Presbyterianism might be enforced upon England. At the suggestion of the Scottish Commissioners, the King, in November, 1647, effected his escape, and fled to Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, the governor of which

(d) The
King and
the Scots
again

¹ At Holmby Charles was allowed to ride about the country with an escort, and to play bowls in the gardens of the neighbouring country houses.

² "Where is your commission?" said Charles to Joyce on his arrival. "Here," answered Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. "It is as fair a commission," was Charles's answer, "and as well-written a commission as any I have seen written in my life."

³ They also arranged for a redistribution of seats and a revised system of election closely resembling that finally adopted in the Reform Bill of 1832.



THE SCOTTISH INVASIONS OF ENGLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

place, however, remained, contrary to the King's expectation, faithful to the army. Consequently he was kept a prisoner, but he managed, nevertheless, to complete his negotiations with the Scots. Two days after Christmas Day, 1647, Charles signed a treaty called *The Engagement*,¹ by which, in return for his restoration to the throne of England, Charles promised to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years, and to suppress other sects.

As a result of "the Engagement" the Duke of Hamilton and a Scottish army invaded England in 1648; the Royalist risings also took place in Wales and in the south-east of England. But the Second Civil War, as it is called, was a half-hearted affair. Scotland was divided, the majority of the Presbyterian ministers, so potent in influence, being against the expedition to England. The Scottish army lacked enthusiasm, and was moreover ill equipped — only one man in five knew how to handle musket or pike, and there was not a single piece of artillery. Consequently, whilst Fairfax subdued the south-east and took Colchester, Cromwell, in a campaign of great energy, interposed his army between Hamilton and Scotland. He destroyed at Preston an English Royalist force attached to the Scottish army, and, in a relentless pursuit of thirty miles, caused the Scottish army to capitulate, ten thousand prisoners falling into his hands (*August, 1648*). Finally, Cromwell entered Scotland, and restored the influence of Argyll, the head of the Presbyterian party.

The
Second
Civil War
(1648)

Scots
invade
England

Meantime, during the war, the King was again negotiating with Parliament, and was making concessions which he had no intention of keeping. But the end was near. Cromwell and his army had gone to the war with the intention of bringing that "man of blood", as they called the King, to account on their return. When they did return, to find Parliament carrying on negotiations with the King, they

¹ The treaty was signed, wrapped in lead, and buried in the castle garden until it could be safely taken away.

resorted to force. On *6th December, 1648*, Colonel *Pride* and a body of red-coated musketeers, standing at the door of the House of Commons, excluded a hundred and forty-three of its members from entering. "Pride's Purge" completed, the remaining members — now only about ninety in number — decided to set up a tribunal to try the King.¹

The result of the trial was a foregone conclusion; and at four minutes past two in the afternoon of *30th January, 1649*, on a scaffold erected outside the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall, the King was beheaded.² Never had Charles shown himself to possess such nobility and kingliness of character as in his last days. There is a story that Cromwell, in the middle of the following night, visited the King's body, looked at it mournfully, and murmured the words, "Cruel necessity!"³ The cruelty of the execution no one will deny; its necessity has been matter of controversy from that day to this. The deed, at all events, shocked public opinion at the time.⁴

3. ENGLAND AS A REPUBLIC

So began the Commonwealth (*Note 70*). We may take as *Period II* a *Second Period* the four years between *January, 1649, and April, 1653*. The Government during these years was in the hands of the House of Commons which had been returned to the Long Parliament in 1640; but by successive purgings

¹ The trial took place in Westminster Hall, and the place where Charles stood is marked by a brass tablet. As the galleries were crowded with spectators, including ladies, the President of the Court took the precaution to wear a shot-proof hat, which can still be seen at Oxford.

² The King, it is said, wore two shirts in consequence of the cold, so that he might not shiver and appear to be afraid, and he walked so fast from St James's to the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, outside which he was executed, that his guards could scarcely keep up with him.

³ The story is told by Lord Southampton, who had leave to watch by the body that night. The figure of the visitor was muffled, but from his voice and gut Lord Southampton took him to be Cromwell.

⁴ When the executioner showed the King's head to the thousands gathered at Whitehall, "such a groan arose", writes an eyewitness, "as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again".

it had been, out of an original total of four hundred and ninety members, "winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful"¹ of some ninety members. This *Rump* Parliament, as it was called, governed England with an authority which no assembly in England, before or since, has possessed.² It was government by a "single-chamber", the most extreme form of Republicanism. With no monarchy and no House of Lords to control it — they were both abolished after the King's execution — it could pass what laws it pleased, pursue whatever policy suited it, and it could not be legally dissolved except of its own free will. It entrusted the administration of the country to a *Council of State* of forty-one, the great majority of which were members of the "Rump", and to various committees, on each of which sat persons with special knowledge of the particular branch of administration committed to it.

The authority of the "Rump" Parliament really rested, of course, on the authority of Fairfax, Cromwell, and the New Model Army; and it was chiefly for that reason that it suppressed its enemies with such success. The Extremists first of all seemed formidable after the King's execution. But Cromwell was no Leveller or Fifth-Monarchy man, and he saw the danger of such opinions. "We must break them," he said, "or they will break us," and he suppressed with great energy a mutiny in the New Model Army. Ireland was the next scene of Cromwell's activity. Nearly all parties in that country had combined, after the execution of Charles I, to support his son; how Cromwell conquered Ireland, however, is described elsewhere (p. 509) (*Note 74*).

As to the position of Charles I's family, they were now exiles in France, where Henrietta Maria had been sent, with her four children, by her husband when his position grew

¹ The words are Cromwell's.

² Of course the "Rump" had no claim whatsoever to be considered representative of the nation. Neither the towns nor country districts of four counties, of which Lancashire was one, had any representative at all; Wales had only three, and London one.

The
"Rump"
Parliament

Cromwell
the
Levellers,
and
Ireland

desperate. The elder son was now recognized by all Royalists as Charles II, but clearly in England his supporters were in a hopeless minority. His chief hopes lay in Scotland, and here, therefore, the first efforts to place him on the throne began. There were two parties in Scotland. On the one hand Scotland and Charles II Montrose wanted a rising of pure Royalists to be organized in the Highlands. On the other hand, Argyll wanted Charles II to adopt the Covenant, and to impose Presbyterianism upon all his three kingdoms. Montrose, publicly disowned but secretly encouraged by Charles, did attempt to raise the Highlands. But he was defeated, captured, and hanged Execution of Montrose (1650) in his "red scarlet coat" in the Grassmarket at Edinburgh (May, 1650).¹ Meantime, in the same month that Montrose was executed, Charles agreed to the terms of Argyll; Presbyterianism was to be imposed in the King's dominions, and in all Scottish affairs Charles was to refer to the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament. Shortly afterwards Charles landed in Scotland.

There ensued a war between England and Scotland (Note 74). Cromwell, on his return from Ireland, invaded Scotland,² but he was outmanœuvred by Leslie, the Scottish commander, and was cornered in the peninsula of Dunbar, with Battle of Dunbar (3rd Sept., 1650) no base but his ships. With his army, in his own words, "poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged", and with Leslie secure on the hills and ready to attack if he tried to escape, the outlook for Cromwell was black. But then Leslie, instead of waiting, "shogged"³ his right wing still farther to the right on to the low ground, so that he might hold the road by which Cromwell could escape. In so doing, Leslie's left wing became isolated, whilst his centre, being still up in the hills, was unable to manœuvre easily. Cromwell saw this, and next morning attacked and rolled up the right

¹ "The leader of warlike men," it has been said, "swift and secret in his onslaught, the poet, the cavalier, the soul of air and fire, the foremost to head a forlorn hope, at last the forsaken victim of a forsaken cause, Montrose is for ever dear to the imagination."

² Fairfax refused to command an army against the Scots.

³ i.e. moved on; the word is Cromwell's.

wing, whilst the rest of the Scottish army, entangled between a hill and a ravine, was helpless. Cromwell lost only twenty men, but the Scots lost three thousand in the battle besides ten thousand prisoners¹ (3rd September, 1650).

Cromwell then marched on to Edinburgh, and in 1651 took Perth. His departure, however, towards the north of Scotland, had left the way open to England, and Charles, with a Scottish army, entered England by Carlisle and reached Worcester. Here, however, Cromwell, who had returned south, caught him up, and blocked his way to London. On the anniversary of Dunbar, Cromwell attacked Charles from both sides of the river, and after "as stiff a contest", in Cromwell's words, "for four or five hours, as ever I have seen," absolutely defeated him (3rd September, 1651). Though Charles himself escaped and got eventually to the Continent,² yet not one troop of his cavalry or one company of his infantry succeeded in following his example. Worcester decided the Royalist cause up till the Restoration of 1660; though there were numberless Royalist plots, they were never really serious. The battle also destroyed the independence of Scotland. An English army invaded that country, took its strong places, and Monck, who was a general in the army, governed it for the rest of the Commonwealth.³ Commissioners were sent who obtained the consent of the Scots to union with England, and though the bulk of the nation was hostile, they had perforce to agree.

Battle of
Worcester
(3rd Sept.,
1651)

Cromwell and his victorious army were now free to take part in politics. The "Rump" Parliament made reforms too slowly to please them, and they wished it to dissolve,

Cromwell
and the
"Rump"
Parliament

¹ When the Scots were defeated "the Lord General", said one of Cromwell's captains, "made a halt and sang the hundred and seventeenth Psalm" till his horse could gather for the chase — another instance of his practical piety.

² Charles had six weeks' wandering in England, full of adventures, before he finally got across the Channel from Brighton. He had to hide in an oak at one place, and in a "priest's hole", up a chimney, in another. He witnessed in a village the rejoicings at the news which had been received of his own death. In another village the blacksmith said he had not heard that "that rogue Charles Stuart, had been taken". "If that rogue were taken," answered Charles, "he deserves to be hanged more than the rest for bringing in the Scots."

³ For the later history of Scotland, see p. 511.

though for some months they allowed it to continue. But when Cromwell found that its members were arranging for a new Parliament, to which they should not only all belong, but also from which they should have the power of excluding other members, his patience was exhausted. He came down to the House, "clad in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings", and lectured its members. Then, with the aid of his soldiers, he fetched the Speaker down from the chair, took away "the bauble", as he called the mace, evicted the members, and locked the doors. According to Cromwell, "there was not so much as the barking of a dog" at this forcible ejection; indeed, all were tired of the "Rump's" rule.

4. CROMWELL'S SUPREMACY

We now come to our *Third Period*, the five and a half years that elapse between the dissolution of the "Rump", Period III
(April,
1653-
Sept.,
1658) in *April, 1653*, and the death of Cromwell, in *September, 1658*. The monarchy, the Extremists, the Irish, the Scottish army, and the remnants of the Long Parliament had been in turn suppressed. Cromwell and the army were at last supreme. The problem before Cromwell was, however, a difficult one — so difficult indeed that he never solved it (*Note 70*). On the one hand, he desired a State based on free elections with an efficient system of Law, not indeed democratic in the modern sense, but managed by the Middle Class. On the other hand, he desired a Godly State, which was to force men to be moral — in his sense of the word. How was he to combine those desires, if the English people did not agree with his ideas of what a Godly State should be? He and his army wished, as it has been humorously put, to fix a legal wig upon the point of the soldier's sword. Unfortunately for them, however, their rule was not based upon great popular support. Consequently the wig fell off, and the naked sword only was visible. Parliaments were

frequently called, but they were bound, unless nominated by the army leaders or purged of hostile elements, to be unmanageable.

At first it was impossible to allow ordinary elections to Parliament, so the army, through the Council of Army Officers, selected an assembly of persons of whom they approved. This included representatives of Scotland and of Ireland. Scotland had been promised a share in legislative power, in return for accepting union with England, and she now sent thirty members to the British Parliament which was thus the first United Parliament. Sometimes it is called "Barebone's Parliament" after one of its members.¹ The Speaker was the Provost of Eton and many notable men sat in it. Unfortunately, it was too visionary and unpractical. It wished to reduce the law into the "bigness of a pocket book", and therefore angered the lawyers; it proposed to find money for the army in a way which the army thought made the chances of being paid exceedingly remote. Finally, its projects with regard to the religious system raised such a hornet's nest that Cromwell was only too thankful when the moderate element in the Assembly, by getting up early one morning, before their opponents were ready, carried a motion that the Assembly should surrender its power to Cromwell, and dissolve (December, 1653).

First
United
Parliament
of
Great
Britain

The next experiment was a new Constitution, drawn up by the Army led by a band of officers with Lambert at their head. It was known as the *Instrument of Government*. Cromwell was to be called Protector, and to have the executive power and a fixed sum for the purposes of government. Parliament, consisting of one House, was to possess the legislative power. But Parliament was controlled by the Protector, because he alone could summon it, he could veto any of its acts which were contrary to the principles of the new Constitution, and he could dissolve it after it had sat

The
Instrument
of
Government:
the
Protectorate

¹ "Praise-God Barebones", a leather-seller of Fleet Street.
(F 988)

Dictator- five months. If not dissolved, it was to sit for three years and ship then a new Parliament must be elected. Cromwell himself was to be controlled, to a certain extent, by a Council of State which was created under the Instrument, and by the fact that, if he wanted additional money over and above the fixed sum allowed him, Parliament alone could grant it.¹

There now begins what in modern times we would call a dictatorship. Cromwell was head of the State, and his rule rested on the army. He was thus a true military dictator. He was to rule England for the next six years, and this experiment is of interest because it shows the typical successes and failures of such a system. Thus Cromwell was extremely successful abroad, he raised England's prestige to great heights, his army and navy won great victories. At home, his repressions made him unpopular, and yet he was bound to refuse liberty to his opponents. He crushed Ireland and forced her into submission, but he meant to give her representation in the English Parliament.

He himself believed in Parliamentary rule, and indeed the whole case against the Monarchy was bound up with it, yet he "could neither rule with Parliament nor without". He personally believed in religious toleration, and his quarrels with Parliament first arose because he wished to allow it, and the Puritans did not.

First Protectorate Parliament (1654) by discussing the new Constitution. One hundred of its members refused to sign an undertaking to be faithful to the Commonwealth and the Protector and had therefore to be excluded. The members who were left, however, evinced a desire to reduce the army and cut down its expenses. Moreover, they proposed to abolish toleration by drawing up a list of "damnable heresies", to which no one was to adhere, and of twenty "articles of faith", which no one was to

¹ In some respects Cromwell's powers were very similar to those possessed by the President of the United States of America to-day. It may be noted, too, that the "Instrument" gave Great Britain a written constitution, another point of resemblance with the U.S.A.

dispute. Cromwell wished Parliament to proceed to practical reforms, such as that of the Chancery and Criminal law, but he could not induce members to devote their energies to anything but endless debates on the Constitution. He had to wait for five months under the Constitution, but he interpreted the month to be "lunar" and not "calendar" and dissolved this intolerant Parliament as soon as he could.

After the dissolution Cromwell tried for a time a new experiment in local government. England was divided into eleven districts, each under an official called a "*Major-general*", whose business it was to supervise the militia, to prevent Royalist plots, and to stimulate the local authorities in enforcing the various laws relating to conduct and morality which had recently been passed. Nothing made the Puritan rule so unpopular as this "poor little invention", as Cromwell called it, for people resented it as the act of a military despotism.

Cromwell was still anxious to rule with Parliament, rather than without, so, in the summer of 1656, he summoned another Parliament — the *Second Protectorate Parliament*. The "*Major-generals*" had proved so unpopular, that the elections resulted in a large number of persons being returned to Parliament who were known to be hostile to the Government. As a precautionary measure, one hundred of these members were excluded from taking their seats. The remainder showed their belief in Cromwell by presenting to him a new Constitution known as the *Humble Petition and Advice*, under which the Council of State was to be abolished, Cromwell was to be made King and given larger powers, and a second House was to be created. Cromwell hesitated long over his new title. It was, he said, to him personally "but a feather in his cap", but there were great practical advantages in it, if only because, as one member said, the kingship was bounded "like an acre of land", and people would understand its powers. The

Second attempt to rule with Parliament

Second Protectorate Parliament (1656-8)

army was, however, opposed to the title, and Cromwell therefore refused it, whilst accepting the other changes.

The Second Protectorate Parliament then met again in its reformed condition; but many of Cromwell's supporters in the Lower House had been transferred to the new upper one, whilst the hundred members who had been excluded returned to the Lower House. Hence difficulties at once recurred; the Lower House discussed the functions and composition of the Upper House, and even the powers of the Protector himself; and in February, 1658, Parliament was dissolved. Seven months later, on 3rd September,¹ Cromwell died, with the problem of how to combine popular control with his own rule still unsolved.

Death of
Cromwell
(3rd Sept.,
1658)

5. FOREIGN POLICY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

England, it has been said, was more warlike during the period of the Commonwealth than she had been at any other time since the Hundred Years' War with France. But, as we have seen, till the end of 1651 the military energies of the Commonwealth Government were occupied in fighting its Royalist foes. Cromwell, on land, was winning Dunbar and Worcester; Blake, on sea, was sweeping Royalist privateers from the Channel and the Mediterranean, and forcing the colonies to recognize the rule of the Republic. In 1652, however, the Commonwealth was free to interfere with its Continental neighbours; and with the best army in Europe, composed of some forty thousand men, and a fleet to which it added two hundred and seven ships, its interference proved to be of a decisive character (*Note 71*).

Holland was England's first foe. It might have been expected that these two States, being both Republics and both Protestant, would have combined.² But England and

¹ The anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

² A suggestion, indeed, for a political union was actually put forward by England, but it came to nothing.

Holland were keen commercial rivals. "We are fighting," said a member of the Long Parliament, "for the fairest mistress in the world — trade." Holland had, so far, been the conqueror. The Dutch had shut the English out from trade in the East Indies. They had almost acquired a monopoly of the carrying trade; they were, it was said, "the wagoners of all seas". In the autumn of 1651, however, the "Rump" Parliament passed a *Navigation Act*, by which goods coming to England were to be carried in English ships, or in ships belonging to the country from which the goods came.¹ If ever an Act, it has been said, did make a nation great, it was this one; and the enormous development of English shipping in the years that follow must be largely attributed to its influence. But in fostering English shipping this Act struck a heavy blow at the Dutch. Then other questions arose between the two nations. An informal "sort of a war" was going on between the English and French on sea, and England claimed to seize French goods on Dutch ships, a claim which the Dutch resisted. Finally, there was a question of honour; the English held that Dutch ships should lower their flag to English men-of-war in the Channel, and the Dutch were naturally averse to recognizing such a right. Over this point came a collision between the Dutch and English fleets near Dover, and then the war began (May, 1652).

The
Causes of
Dutch
War
(1652)

The
Navigation
Act
(1651)

In the war that ensued the English had the advantage of more solidly built and more heavily armed ships, and, though they were without such a great tactician as the Dutch possessed in Tromp, they had in *Blake* a commander who combined great care in the organization of his fleet with brilliant daring in action. The war, which lasted from 1652-54, was crowded with sea battles. Tromp defeated *Blake* off *Dungeness* in November, 1652, and obtained

Incidents
of war
(1652-54)

¹ This policy was not, however, a new one, for Navigation Acts of one sort or another had been passed ever since the reign of Richard II, but they had not been effectively carried out.

command of the Channel.¹ But in the following February, 1653, Blake regained the command after a three days' battle off *Portland*. The English ships were able to inflict great damage upon Holland's extensive commerce. In the course of the war no less than one thousand four hundred Dutch ships were captured, including one hundred and twenty men-of-war, and towards its close no Dutch merchantman could show itself in the Channel (*Note 72*). (See map, p. 495.)

Cromwell's chief triumphs were won abroad, where he made England feared and courted. One great aim, of course, of Cromwell's foreign policy was to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts by foreign aid. His other two aims were to maintain and to extend, first, the Protestant religion, and then English commerce. Here Cromwell showed that intense religious feeling, combined with practical common sense, which has been noticed already. Cromwell at first pursued a policy of peace and sought alliance with the Protestant powers. In April, 1654, the Dutch war came to an end. The Dutch agreed to salute our flag in British seas and to expel Royalists from their country, whilst they tacitly acquiesced in the Navigation Act. Treaties of alliance followed with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, which gave England important commercial concessions.

Cromwell's energy soon found a fresh opportunity for action. The Thirty Years' War had ended in Germany in 1648, but war still lingered on between Spain and France. Each of these powers was anxious to secure his support. But Cromwell's terms were high. He proposed to Spain that Englishmen should have liberty for the exercise of their religion in the Spanish dominions, and freedom of trade with the Spanish West Indies. "This is to ask for my master's two eyes," was the reply of the astonished Spanish ambassador. Then Cromwell determined upon a colonial

¹ It was after this battle that Tromp was said to have put a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the English off the sea; but such a story of so modest a man as Tromp is probably untrue.

war with Spain. An expedition was sent to capture Hispaniola in the Spanish West Indies (1655).¹ But the attack upon that island was a disastrous failure. Jamaica, however, was captured, and Cromwell proceeded to colonize it with characteristic vigour.

The expedition to the West Indies (1655)

The expedition to the West Indies by no means exhausted Cromwell's activity in 1655. Blake was sent to the Mediterranean on a cruise; he made a fine attack on Tunis, whose Bey had refused to give up some English prisoners, but the voyage is chiefly interesting as marking the beginning of England's activity in the Mediterranean Sea. In the same year some horrible atrocities committed by the Duke of Savoy, with the connivance of the French, on the Protestants who lived in the Vaudois valleys in Savoy, aroused angry protests from Cromwell.² The French King, therefore, anxious to secure Cromwell's alliance, put pressure upon the Duke to stop the massacres, and Cromwell was regarded throughout Europe as the saviour of the Protestants.

Attack on Tunis (1655)

Shortly after this successful intervention Cromwell made a treaty with France, and war was formally declared between England and Spain in the beginning of 1656. The year 1657 saw a great naval success. The English fleet, under Blake, found the Spanish treasure fleet at Santa Cruz, protected by the forts. Entering the harbour with the flowing tide, Blake succeeded, before he retired with the ebb tide, in sinking, blowing up, or burning every Spanish ship.³ The following year (1658) it was the turn of the soldiers. The French and English determined to besiege Dunkirk, the possession of which would give the English "a bridle for the Dutch and a door into the Continent". Six thousand of the New Model Army combined with the French. They took the chief part in a battle waged near the

The attack at Santa Cruz (1657), and capture of Dunkirk (1658)

¹ Such an expedition would not necessarily in those days involve a formal war between England and Spain in Europe.

² See Milton's celebrated Sonnet on "The Late Massacre in Piedmont".

³ Blake died on his homeward journey on board his ship at the very entrance of Plymouth Sound, 7th August, 1657.

fort, and earned for themselves the nickname of "the Immortals". Shortly after this Dunkirk fell. But then Cromwell died, and in the confusion which followed nothing more could be done. "Cromwell's greatness at home," said Clarendon, "was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad"; and with this admission from the great Royalist historian we may be content to leave the study of the Commonwealth's foreign policy. The Commonwealth had done something, at all events, to restore the prestige which England had lost in Europe under the first two Stuarts.

6. EVENTS LEADING TO THE RESTORATION (1658-1660)

We now come to the *Fourth Period* — a year and a half of great complexity, between 1658 and 1660. "There is not a dog that wags his tongue, so great a calm are we in," wrote one man, when Richard, Cromwell's son, was made Protector. The calm was not to continue for long. A new Parliament met; the officers of the army quarrelled with it; and Richard, after trying to mediate, threw in his lot with the officers, and dissolved it. A fortnight later Richard resigned.¹ The army decided to recall the "Rump". The "Rump" — consisting now of some sixty or seventy members — wanted to limit the powers of the new commander-in-chief, and to provide that in future all commissions in the army should be signed by the Speaker, and therefore to a certain extent be controlled by him. Moreover, they threatened the freedom of conscience so dear to the army. Eventually "Honest John" Lambert, the darling of the soldiers, a brave and generous if unstable man, surrounded the House and stopped the entrance of members, and once again the army was triumphant.

¹ At the Restoration Richard Cromwell had to fly to the Continent. He came back to England twenty years later, and died in 1712. "Gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness" is the verdict passed upon him by a contemporary. His nickname "Tumbledown Dick" is a more disrespectful version of the same characterization.

But then another general appeared, determined, with the aid of a large army and £70,000 in his treasury, to put an end to what he called the "intolerable slavery of sword government", and to call a free Parliament. This was the commander-in-chief in Scotland, *George Monck*. On 8th December, 1659, he reached Coldstream; Lambert, who had gone north to meet him, found his army dwindling away, and was unable to do anything. Marching to London, Monck restored the members of the Long Parliament, including those originally evicted by Pride's Purge, but only so that they might make arrangements for a new and free Parliament being called. When these arrangements were completed, the elections took place amid great excitement; and a vast majority came back in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts. Monck had already suggested to Charles what proposals it was advisable for him to make. Charles adopted them in a *Declaration* which he issued to the English people from *Breda*. The Declaration was received with enthusiasm, and on 29th May, 1660, Charles re-entered London, "the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, and the fountains running with wine". The Commonwealth was at an end (*Note 70*).

Monck
and the
Restora-
tion

Declara-
tion of
Breda
(1660)

The rule of Cromwell and the Commonwealth had certainly not been above criticism. It is quite arguable to say that individual liberty and the right of free speech were threatened to a greater degree under the Commonwealth than during the reign of Charles I. Moreover, though taxation was three times heavier than it was during Charles I's reign, the Commonwealth had a deficit of half a million yearly. Again, if the Commonwealth showed toleration to Jews and Quakers, its treatment, if not of Anglicans, at all events of Roman Catholics, might be considered severe. And of course it is easy enough to scoff at the "rule of the saints by the sword", and ridicule their attempts to make men more virtuous by passing Acts against swearing and duelling, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bear-baiting,

The rule
of the
Common-
wealth

and by trying to enforce more strictly the keeping of the Sabbath. Yet, for all that, there was much to admire. The Commonwealth government was, it has been said, a more tolerant one than any which had existed since the time of the Reformation. It maintained good order, and did, as a matter of fact, succeed in suppressing some amusements of a highly undesirable character. Its constitutional experiments were ingenious and interesting; and its attempts to reform the Court of Chancery and to reduce legal expenses wholly praiseworthy. Much of the work it attempted to do was, indeed, very modern in outlook — and that is, perhaps, why it failed at that time. Above all, its Foreign Policy raised England from the low position it had reached in the time of the Stuarts, whilst it has been said that no previous Government had such imperial instincts as Cromwell's.

CHAPTER 39

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

When James I ascended the throne in 1603, the British Empire was non-existent. Attempts had been made to colonize Virginia, but they had failed; the East India Company had been formed in 1600 for the promotion of trade with the East, but its first expedition had not returned from the East Indies when Elizabeth died.¹ With the Stuarts, however, the beginnings of Empire came, and the seventeenth century is, therefore, from an imperial as well as from a domestic point of view, a very important one. And it is worth pointing out that the successful development of this Empire in the seventeenth century was largely due to private enterprise (*Note 83*).

Begin-
nings of
Empire
(1603-88)

¹ It returned six months after James's accession with one million pounds of pepper.

We may turn to affairs in the East first. It was under Portuguese auspices that the route to India and the Far East by the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered in 1502, and during the sixteenth century Portugal had been successful in preserving a monopoly of the Eastern trade for her own merchants.¹ But in the seventeenth century both the Dutch and English nations determined to secure some share in that trade. In the Far East the Dutch proved themselves persistent and intrepid traders. The Dutch East India Company conquered the Spice Islands from the Portuguese, and established their own supremacy. The English East India Company also endeavoured to trade in the Far East, but the Dutch Company was wealthier and stronger. Disputes between Dutch and English occurred, and culminated in the massacre at Amboyna (1623), when ten Englishmen were executed on a trumped-up charge of conspiring with some Japanese soldiers against the Dutch governor of that place.² Soon after this the English practically gave up their attempts to compete with the Dutch for trade in the Far East, and they did not re-enter the contest till the close of the eighteenth century.

Dutch
supre-
macy in
Far East

On the mainland of India the English East India Company met with greater success. It had to encounter the hostility of the Portuguese, but, despite that, it managed to prosper. In 1612, it established its first depot for goods, or "factory", as it was called, at Surat, on the west coast of India.³ Others followed at Madras (1639), Bombay (1661), and Calcutta (1690). At the close of the seventeenth century a rival company to the East India Company was

English
"fac-
tories"
in India

¹ A few Englishmen did, however, succeed in reaching India in the reign of Elizabeth. The first Englishman known to have visited India was a Jesuit, Stephens by name, in 1579.

² No reparation was extracted from the Dutch for this flagrant injustice for thirty-one years, then Cromwell insisted on a large money indemnity being paid to the English company and to the relatives of the executed men.

³ Leave would not have been obtained from the native ruler for this factory to be established but for the fact that Captain Thomas Best had won a great reputation for the English in that same year by defeating, on four successive occasions, an overwhelming force of Portuguese ships.

started in England; but the two companies amalgamated in 1709, and the united company quickly developed trade. So far the object of the English in India had been merely the extension of trade; how the East India Company in later years obtained an empire in India which stretched from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas must be explained in a later chapter. (See p. 638.)

Meantime, whilst the English merchants were developing a substantial trade in the East, English colonists had built up many settlements in the West. The first successful attempt was made in Virginia. In May, 1607, some hundred emigrants landed in Chesapeake Bay and founded the settlement of Jamestown. But the colony had great difficulties at first, though, when the adventurous Captain John Smith¹ was for a short time President in 1608, things progressed more favourably. The colony did not, however, really prosper until the arrival of Lord De la Warr in 1610. His short governorship was the turning-point in the early history of Virginia, and the colonists soon received large reinforcements in numbers from the mother country.

Then, in 1620, came the foundation of the Puritan colonies farther north. Many Puritans had fled, during Elizabeth's reign, from England in consequence of persecution, and settled in Holland. One hundred of these men got leave from James to found an English colony in America. Returning to England, the "Pilgrim Fathers", as they came to be called, started from Plymouth on board the Mayflower, landed in Cape Cod Harbour, and founded the little settlement of New Plymouth. The misgovernment and intolerance of Charles led to their numbers being largely aug-

Founda-
tion of
Virginia
(1607)

The
Pilgrim
Fathers
(1620)

¹ If his autobiography may be believed, John Smith had fought against the Spaniards in the Low Countries and the Turks in Hungary. He had been thrown overboard by the crew of a French ship in a storm because he was considered a Huguenot. Saved by another ship, he had again fought against the Turks, and defeated three Turkish champions in single combat. Subsequently he was taken prisoner and sold as a slave; but he killed his master, a Turkish pasha, made his escape, and returned to England. His career in America is made famous by his marriage with the Indian princess Pocahontas (*La Belle Sauvage*).

mented before long; indeed, it is said that nearly twenty thousand colonists sailed from Old to New England, as the group of the more northern colonies was called, between the accession of Charles I and the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640.¹ And so the northern colonies, of which *Massachusetts* became far the most important, were gradually formed.

The reign of Charles II proved an extremely important one in the history of our American colonies. For one thing, *North* and *South Carolina* were founded and named after the King. Above all, the territories of the English in America became continuous. The Dutch had colonized the territory which lay between the northern and southern settlements of the English. In the Dutch war of 1665, however, an expedition was sent, and these colonies were captured; and in the subsequent peace the Dutch formally relinquished them. New Amsterdam became *New York*, named after James, Duke of York, and the colonies of *New Jersey*, *Delaware*, founded by Lord De la Warr, and *Pennsylvania*, founded by the Quaker, William Penn, were established.

Develop-
ment of
Colonies
under
Charles

Of the relations between England and her American colonies we shall have something to say later on; it is sufficient to say here that to most of them an English governor was sent out, and that the degree of independence enjoyed by each colony varied. But, like all mother countries at that time, England regarded her colonies as a source of wealth, and the colonial trade was carefully regulated for the benefit of English merchants. As to the character of the colonies themselves, there were striking differences between them. The "New England" colonists² were Puritans by religion, inclined to be democratic in government, and they were hard-working, keen, if somewhat

Condition
of
America
Colonies

¹ There is a story, though there is no reliable evidence to support it, that in 1636 Cromwell and John Hampden, despairing of their country, took their passage to America, but that the vessel was stopped by an order in Council.

² Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, comprised New England.

austere men. The southern colonies¹ were more aristocratic, and in them the Church of England was established by law. There the climate was hot, and the chief products were tobacco and rice, the cultivation of which was worked by slaves. The colonists were owners of plantations, many of which were very large. The central colonies² were composed of somewhat heterogeneous elements, and every variety of race and religion might be found in one or other of them. With such differences between the various groups, it was not likely that the colonies would find combination an easy matter, and indeed there were continual disputes, chiefly about boundaries, between them. Unity was not to come till the oppression of the mother country — or what was considered by the colonists to be oppression — roused the colonies to common action in 1775; and less than a century after this the underlying differences between the North and the South were to produce the American Civil War of 1861.

Of the other parts of our Empire developed or acquired in the seventeenth century we must say little. In the Other
parts of
Empire West Indies the small island of *Barbados* was successfully colonized in 1626.³ The resources of *Jamaica*, captured by Cromwell in 1655, were quickly developed, and this island was also the home of the Buccaneers⁴ who preyed upon Spanish commerce in the Caribbean Sea. Meantime, settlements were made in *Newfoundland* and the *Bahamas*, whilst various points on the West African coast were secured, and in 1651 *St. Helena* was occupied by the East India Company. *Bermuda* was first settled by Sir George Somers in 1609, and the Crown took over the Government in 1684.

¹ i.e. Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which was founded in 1732.

² i.e. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware

³ Barbados was stoutly Royalist, and held out against the Commonwealth until 1652.

⁴ The most famous of these is perhaps Captain Dampier.

CHAPTER 40

CHARLES II (1660-1685)

1. FIRST PHASE: DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

We must now trace the internal history of the twenty-eight years that elapse between the Restoration of 1660 and the Revolution of 1688.

With the Restoration we are conscious of a lowering in the ideals of the nation. Both the rival parties in the previous troubles had produced fine personalities, men actuated by lofty motives, and exhibiting nobility of character. With the Restoration we begin, it has been said, the life of modern England, and the Age of Heroics gives way to the Age of Common Sense. Charles was a king in keeping with such an epoch. Since the age of fifteen he had been, but for the brief campaign in 1651, an exile from his country, and now he entered London as King, in 1660, on his thirtieth birthday. He had the Englishman's love of exercise — he was devoted to tennis¹ and hunting, and would often walk from Whitehall to Hampton Court. But in business he was sometimes indolent, and his frivolity was incurable. "Naturally I am more lazy than I ought to be," was his own frank confession; and he was engaged in chasing a poor moth, as Pepys describes in his diary, whilst the Dutch guns were heard roaring in the Thames. He was thoroughly selfish and unprincipled, and prepared to sacrifice religion, friends, or ministers, if he found such a course the more convenient for his own interests. Moreover, his life in exile had been a very demoralizing one for him, and when he returned to England his Court was notorious for its licence, and corruption, and for the evil influence exercised by women such as Lady Castlemaine and the Duchess of Ports-

Char-
acters of
Charles II
and
James II

¹ He used to play in the summer at 5 o'clock in the morning.

mouth. Finally, he was at heart a Catholic, but was too prudent in politics, or too lukewarm in faith, to venture to declare himself.

His brother James who was later to succeed him as James II, was in some respects a better man than Charles, though his own life was not above reproach. In his brother's reign James earned as a soldier the praise of a French general and as a sailor he fought well at sea and administered the navy with tolerable efficiency at Whitehall. He possessed energy and sincerity, and he proved himself a kind master and father. Yet Charles had many more interests than James in Nature, in Science¹, and in Art. He was more good-humoured, and he had a gift of wit which was denied to James. Moreover, he was a far abler man. "The King," said one observer, "could see things if he would; the Duke (i.e. James, then Duke of York) would see things if he could." James was a bigot, a man given to extremes in all things. He was an ardent Roman Catholic, and those who did not agree with him must be heretics; he was a believer in absolute monarchy, and those who opposed him were rebels. Charles, though of the same opinions, and not without a certain persistency in endeavouring to support them, was more pliable, more tactful, content to bide his time, and determined above all things "not to go on his travels again". James, perhaps, succeeded to a more difficult situation, but the differences in their respective characters largely account for the fact that whilst Charles reigned for twenty-five years and found himself in a stronger position at the end of his rule than he was at its beginning, James's reign came to an abrupt conclusion in less than four years.

Charles had made four promises in his *Declaration* signed at *Breda* before his return to England, the performance of these promises, however, being conditional upon the consent of Parliament. *First, arrears of pay* were promised to the soldiers. These were paid, and the New Model Army, with

¹ The Royal Society was founded in Charles II's time.

the exception of a regiment known as the Coldstream Guards, was disbanded. *Secondly*, Charles had promised a *general amnesty*. Charles himself was not revengeful, and was quite willing to forgive and to forget. Parliament, however, in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion which it passed made many exceptions. Thirteen regicides (i.e. those who had signed the death warrant of Charles I) were executed and twenty-five persons were imprisoned for life, whilst Cromwell's body was barbarously dug up from its grave in Westminster Abbey, hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows.¹

Thurdly, Charles had promised *security of tenure* to those who had obtained land under the Commonwealth. The land question proved a very complicated one. Eventually it was settled that all lands belonging to the Church and the Crown, and all lands which had been confiscated by the Commonwealth Government, should be returned to their previous owners, whilst the private sales of land held good, though they had been often made in order to pay the heavy fines inflicted upon recalcitrant Royalists by the Commonwealth. It was a compromise which pleased neither party and inflicted hardship on both; but perhaps this could hardly be avoided.

The land question

So far matters had been settled by the Convention Parliament, but this Parliament found itself unable to come to an agreement over the *fourth* promise of Charles — the *promise of liberty of conscience*. Charles had tried to effect a compromise through a conference between leading ecclesiastics; but the attempt was a failure, and it was left to a new Parliament to deal with the question. That Parliament is known in history as the *Cavalier Parliament*, and it lasted from 1661 to 1679. It was remarkable during the first few years of its existence for its exuberant Royalism; indeed, it was more Royalist, so the saying went, than the King himself.

Religion

The Cavalier Parliament (1661-79)

¹ The site is in Connaught Square.

On the religious question the Cavalier Parliament proved itself to be more Anglican than even the ordinary High Churchman, and between 1661 and 1665 four Acts were passed against the Puritans, and a time of persecution set in (*Note 77*).

By the first of these Acts, the *Corporation Act*, no one could be a member of the municipal bodies which governed the towns and controlled the election of Members of Parliament unless he took an oath denying the lawfulness, under any pretext whatever, of taking up arms against the king, and received the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act sought to deprive the Puritans of their hold upon the towns and the House of Commons. By the *Act of Uniformity* every clergyman and schoolmaster was obliged to take a similar oath of non-resistance and declare his "unfeigned consent and assent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, in which six hundred alterations had just been made, of a trivial character mostly, it is true, but in an anti-Puritan direction. No less than two thousand clergymen refused to conform to this Act, and were deprived of their livings. By the *Five-Mile Act* these two thousand dispossessed clergymen were not allowed to come within five miles of their former livings or of any corporate town unless they took the non-resistance oath imposed by the Corporation Act, and promised not "to endeavour at any time any alteration of government either in church or state". By the *Conventicle Act* religious meetings — other than those of the Church of England — were forbidden, under penalty of imprisonment for the first, and transportation for the third, offence. These Acts helped to complete the severance between the Church of England and the more advanced Puritans. They are sometimes known as the *Clarendon Code*. But this is unjust, because, though Clarendon was the chief minister at the time, neither he nor the King was the instigator of those laws; and the King himself was no persecutor.

The Amnesty, the Land, and the Religious Questions had all been settled, at least temporarily, but one problem still remained which no party in the State had hitherto satisfactorily solved — how were the powers of the Monarchy and the Parliament to be harmonized? It might appear, at first sight, that the Monarchy, at the Restoration, recovered all its old authority. The King, as before, chose his own ministers and conducted the home and foreign policy of the country. Though feudal dues were abolished, the King was granted by Parliament a revenue for life from customs and excise. In one respect, indeed, Charles was more powerful than his predecessors in that he had a small standing army of some five thousand men, which was increased as the reign progressed.¹

Power
of the
Crown
after
1660

But, in reality, the King was not in his old position of power. The arbitrary courts, such as the Star Chamber, were no longer in existence. The Restoration, it has been said, was not only a restoration of the Monarchy but of the Parliament as well, and the wishes of that Parliament could no longer be ignored. "The King of France", said a shrewd observer, "can make his subjects march as he pleases; but the King of England must march with his people." Moreover, in 1667 the Parliament made a great advance; it secured that additional grants of money to the Crown should be appropriated for particular objects, and that a Parliamentary audit should be made to ensure that the money was so expended. This meant that Parliament not only voted money, but could control and manage the way it was expended.

During the first seven years of Charles's reign (1660-67),

¹ A regiment of foot (the Coldstream) and a regiment of horse (the Blues — so called from their uniforms) were made up of "New Model" soldiers; besides these there were the regiment of Grenadiers, composed chiefly of Cavaliers, and two troops of Life Guards, whilst a troop of horse and a regiment of foot, known later as the Royal Dragoons and the Queen's Regiment, were required for the defence of Tangier. The Royal Scots and the Buffs were also created in Charles II's reign, the one being recruited from Scotsmen who had fought for the King of France, and the other from those who had served under the banner of Holland. The Scots Greys were also formed in Charles II's reign.

The *Lord Clarendon*, the author of the famous *History of the Ministry of Rebellion*, was the chief minister; indeed he had such influence that Charles, a contemporary said, was but "Half a king" whilst he was in power. As Edward Hyde, Clarendon had been a member of the Long Parliament, and had approved of its measures until the Grand Remonstrance was brought forward. Though not responsible for the Clarendon Code, he was perhaps too intolerant a High Churchman; but he was moderate in politics, upright and hard-working, and his great object was to establish a balance of power as between King and Parliament. Partly in consequence of his very moderation, he became in time unpopular with all classes. The King got tired of his lectures; the courtiers sneered at his morality; the Royalists disliked him for his supposed leniency to the Puritans over the amnesty and the land questions; whilst the Nonconformists hated him for the Code. Moreover, the marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, with James, Duke of York, the King's brother, made him appear self-seeking; and the sale of Dunkirk to France, for which Louis XIV, the French King, was said to have bribed him,¹ caused him to be accused of corruption.

Clarendon's unpopularity was increased by two disasters for which he was in no way responsible. The Great Plague of 1665 killed one-fifth of the population of London,² besides raging in the provinces. The Great Fire in the following year swept away two-thirds of London's houses, and not far short of a hundred of its churches, including St. Paul's; it was indeed fortunate for England that she had Sir Christopher Wren to rebuild so many of them.³ Finally, in 1667, the whole nation held Clarendon responsible for

¹ According to Pepys, the Diarist, the common people called the great house which Clarendon was building for himself, in Piccadilly, Dunkirk House, "from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that towne"

² For four months previous to the arrival of the Plague there had been no rain, and this made the capital very insanitary.

³ Wren built St. Paul's and fifty-two churches in London.

the appearance of the Dutch fleet up the Thames. And so Clarendon was dismissed by the King, was impeached by Parliament, and retired into exile.¹

2. SECOND PHASE: FOREIGN POLICY OF CHARLES II

England in the period of the Commonwealth had secured a position of great influence in Europe. With the return of the Stuarts, in 1660, she was soon to lose it. Between the restoration of Charles II, in 1660, and the revolution which his brother, James II, brought upon himself after three years of rule, there elapse twenty-eight years. During those years the King of France, Louis XIV, who reigned from 1643 till 1715, is the central figure in European politics. With the aid of a large revenue, capable ministers, and wonderful generals, he had already secured for the Crown, before the Restoration, absolute power at home and a pre-eminent position in Europe. By the time of the Revolution of 1688 his ambitions and resources were, as we shall see, a menace to every state in Europe.

Position of
France
under
Louis
XIV
(1643-
1715)

Charles returned to England in 1660 under obligations to no foreign power. But from the first he was attracted towards France (*Note 78*). His mother was French; his first cousin, Louis XIV, was such a king in France as he would have liked to be in England. Moreover, Charles wanted to foster the commercial welfare of England, and he looked upon Holland, not France, as the rival of the country over which he ruled. And so he married his sister, Henrietta, the only person whom he ever really loved, to the French Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV, and he himself married Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of the King of Portugal, with whom Louis XIV was in alliance. Catherine, as her dowry, secured two useful possessions for England — *Bombay*, which Charles leased to the East India Company

Charles
II's policy
towards
France

¹ Hyde Park was created out of the gardens surrounding the great new house which he had built for himself and which was confiscated at his fall.

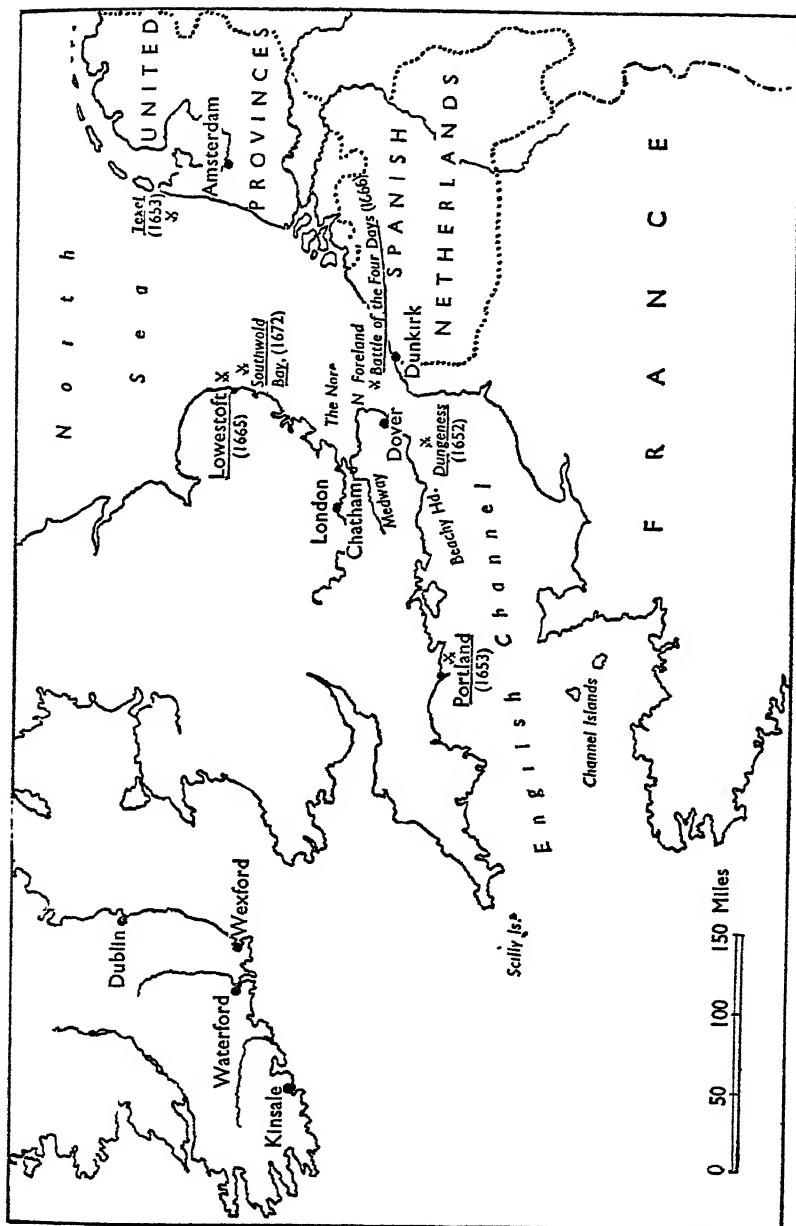
for the trivial rent of £10 a year, and *Tangier*, an important strategic port, which encouraged England to hope that "she might give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean". Moreover, Charles sold Dunkirk to the French (1662). Sale of Dunkirk (1662) The sale was unpopular, but wise; for Dunkirk was expensive to keep up, useless strategically, and the King could not afford to maintain garrisons there as well as at *Tangier*.

Meantime the commercial ambitions of Holland and England, especially in Africa and the East Indies, led to continual disputes between the ships of the rival nations and to attacks upon each other's commerce.¹ Second Dutch War (1665-7) The trade rivalry between the Dutch and the British was fierce, and the Government of Charles II was bombarded with petitions against the Dutch. Finally war was declared against Holland in 1665, and this was to be a war waged by England with the object of crushing a trade rival (*Note 79*).

In this war France was nominally in alliance with Holland, though she took no prominent part in the military operations, which were nearly all at sea. The battles were fiercely contested, and a large part was played in them by fire ships — the torpedo boats of that time. The King's brother, James, Duke of York, won a great battle off *Lowe-stoft*, in which, with the loss of one ship, he inflicted on the Dutch a loss of twelve ships.² In the next year (1666) *Monck* and *Rupert*, no longer generals on land but "generals at sea", unfortunately separated their fleets, and *Monck* was defeated in a battle lasting for four days, and hence called "*The Battle of the Four Days*", which was fought between *North Foreland* and *Dunkirk*. *Monck's* ships behaved well and "fought", it was said, "like a line of cavalry handled according to rule". In 1667 an indelible disgrace was inflicted upon England. Lack of money caused

¹ Two English companies — the Turkish Company and the East India Company — estimated their losses, in consequence of Dutch depredations, at £700,000.

² After the battle James went to bed, and, as a consequence of misunderstood orders, the Dutch fleet was not pursued.



THE NAVAL WARS, 1640-1674

Charles to lay up his ships.¹ The Dutch, taking advantage of this, sailed up the *Medway* as far as Chatham, and captured or destroyed sixteen ships. England was lucky to be able, only six weeks later, to make a peace at *Breda*, by which she obtained, in North America, New Jersey and New Amsterdam — afterwards called, in honour of the Duke, New York.

Now Parliament began to change its policy. People were afraid of Louis XIV, who was recognized as the greatest king in Europe. Louis was aggressive, and the English Parliament now wished to bolster up the Dutch against the attacks of France. Moreover, Louis had begun to persecute his Protestant subjects, and accordingly the chief Protestant powers, England, Holland, and Sweden, made a *Triple Alliance* against France.

The Alliance was a popular one in England, but there is reason to suppose that Charles had only consented to it in order later to bring upon the Dutch² the wrath of the French King. At all events, within a week of the formation of the Alliance, he was intriguing with Louis XIV, and long negotiations, in which the Duchess of Orleans took a prominent part, finally ended in the disgraceful *Treaty of Dover* (1670). By that treaty, first, Holland was to be partitioned, and Charles, in return for his military support, was to receive a subsidy; secondly, Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic "at a convenient opportunity", and, on making the declaration, was to receive from Louis an additional grant of money, and, if necessary, a force of soldiers, in order to be able to repress any disturbance that might occur. Of this latter portion of the treaty only two ministers³ in England were informed; but, in order

¹ No doubt Charles's personal extravagance was partly responsible for the lack of money, but the chief reason was that the war cost much more than was anticipated, while the taxes which Parliament had voted brought in a good deal less.

² Charles disliked the Dutch: "stinking Dutchmen" he was once rude enough to call them.

³ Clifford and Arlington, both Roman Catholics, and both members of the "Cabal" ministry (p. 498).

to deceive the other ministers and the nation, a "sham treaty" was drawn up, which had reference only to the proposed war with the Dutch. With the treaty of Dover the creditable portion of Charles's foreign policy terminates. In the war which followed in 1672 the Dutch made an heroic resistance. They cut their dykes and surrendered part of their land to the sea, in order to preserve it from the French; and their fleet, though defeated off *Southwold Bay*, more than held its own in the latter portion of the war. In 1674 England was glad to make peace. The power of Holland, however, was broken, and gradually a large portion of her trade fell into English hands.

Third
Dutch
war
(1672-74)

From 1674 to 1688 England ceased to be of importance in foreign affairs. Occasionally the King showed some independence of France, as, in 1677, when the Princess Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, married William of Orange, the ruler of Holland. But for the greater part of the time the English kings were the pensioners of Louis XIV. That monarch paid Charles II large sums of money for the prorogation of Parliament, and when he seemed to be too independent he bribed the Opposition in Parliament instead. Finally, Charles, a year before he died, gave up Tangier in order to please Louis XIV. When James II came to the throne in 1685, the French ambassador was the chief supporter of his disastrous policy. Meantime Louis XIV's powers and ambitions were extending, and when the Revolution of 1688 came, his ascendancy was threatening all Europe.

Foreign
policy
(1674-88)

Decline of
English
prestige

3. CHARLES II AND THE ATTEMPT AT PERSONAL RULE

After Clarendon's fall, Charles largely directed his own policy. For the next five years (1667-73) his chief ministers were five in number, and came to be known from the initial letters of their names as the *Cabal Ministry*. Two of them,

The Cabal Ministry (1667-73) *Clifford and Arlington*, were Roman Catholics. *Buckingham* the third member of the group, was "everything by starts, and nothing long"; in the fickleness of his opinions, the changeableness of his occupations, and the immorality of his life he was highly characteristic of that epoch. The fourth, *Ashley Cooper*, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, was a person who was accused of changing sides always at the right moment for himself (*Note 80*). He was undoubtedly a very able statesman. He was, in religious matters, in favour of toleration. He was keenly interested in colonial and trade development, and thus a supporter of the war against the Dutch. And he is regarded by some historians as the first great party leader in the modern sense, and as the founder of modern Parliamentary oratory. *Lauderdale*, the last of the five, and perhaps the wickedest, governed Scotland.

The Cabal, however, was in no respect like a modern Cabinet. Its members were not of the same opinions; they had no leader; and they were not consulted together. It was during the existence of the Cabal that there came the Triple Alliance, the secret Treaty of Dover — of which only Clifford and Arlington knew — and the Third Dutch War (p. 497). Just before the Dutch War began, Charles, in accordance with his agreement with Louis XIV, tried to secure toleration for Roman Catholics, and incidentally for Dissenters as well, by issuing what was called a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters (1672). But Parliament objected, and Charles had not only to withdraw the Declaration, but to agree to a *Test Act* by which no one was to hold any office of State who refused to take the sacrament according to the Church of England (1673). This Act caused the Duke of York to retire from the Admiralty, and Clifford and Arlington to retire from the Ministry. Charles then dismissed Shaftesbury, and the Cabal Ministry came to an end (1673) (*Note 82*).

The Declaration of Indulgence (1672) and the Test Act (1673)

For the next few years (1673-78) Charles's chief minister was *Danby*, who was an Anglican in religion, and the King gave up, for the time, his attempts to restore Roman Catholicism in England. These years are a maze of intrigues. The Cavalier Parliament was getting restive. Shaftesbury, on being dismissed by the King, had at once begun to organize an opposition in both Houses, which soon became formidable. Meantime the French King was at one time subsidizing Charles in order to get Parliament prorogued, and at another trying to bribe the Opposition to oppose the King. The nation was nervous and uneasy. Then an event happened which made it panic-stricken.

Ministry
of Danby
(1673-78)

In the autumn of 1678 a man called Titus Oates made a statement to a London magistrate declaring the existence of a *Popish plot*, the objects of which were to murder the King, to put the Duke of York in his place and to bring a French army into England. Shortly afterwards the magistrate¹ was found dead, having been obviously murdered. At once the nation, always in dread of Popish plots, took alarm, and a panic began. Every word of Titus Oates was believed, though he was really a thorough scoundrel.² Other informers sprang up in every direction; and Roman Catholics were tried and executed on the flimsiest evidence. Protestants carried flails to protect themselves from imaginary Roman Catholic assaults, whilst the Houses of Parliament without one dissentient declared a "damnable and hellish plot" to be in existence. Of course, there was in a sense a plot—in which Charles himself was implicated by the Treaty of Dover—to restore Catholicism in England, but the details of this particular plot were a pure fabrication. Shaftesbury and the Opposition, however, made unscrupulous use of the plot. For they were anxious to divert the succession from Charles II's brother James to an illegitimate

The
Popish
Plot
(1678)

¹ Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey

² He had been expelled successively from his school, the Navy, and two Jesuit Colleges, besides having had writs issued against him on two occasions for perjury.

son of the King's, known as the Duke of Monmouth; and they hoped that this proposal would, in consequence of the alleged plot, meet with much popular support.

In the same autumn (1678) some negotiations which Danby had, by Charles's command, undertaken for the supply of money from the French King were discovered. and Danby was impeached. Charles, to save him, dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had sat since 1661 (January, 1679). There followed in a space of two years three short Parliaments (1679-81). The first of these insisted upon committing Danby to the Tower despite the King's pardon, thereby developing the principle of the responsibility of ministers. It also passed, through Shaftesbury's influence, the very important *Habeas Corpus Act*, the object of which was to ensure that a man who was imprisoned should be brought up for trial as soon as possible.

In all three of these short Parliaments, however, the chief topic was the Bill for excluding James from the succession, the Opposition being resolved to make an effort to prevent the accession of a Roman Catholic. Hence Shaftesbury and the Opposition pressed for the succession of the Protestant Duke of Monmouth, who, they held, was a legitimate son of Charles, the marriage certificate of his mother with Charles being secreted (so it was alleged) in a certain "black box". Charles, however, said he would rather see his son hanged than legitimize him. It was during this time that Political Parties were first organized. At first they were known under the names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, from the fact that one party petitioned for the calling of Parliament, whilst the other expressed their abhorrence of any encroachment on the King's Prerogative; later they came to be called by their respective opponents, *Whigs* (Scots *whig*, to jog along) after the name of certain fanatical Scots Covenanters, and *Tories* (see p. 510) after some wild Irish Roman Catholic rebels; and the names are still in use to our own day. The last of the three Parliaments was sum-

moned by the King to meet not in London, where the mob was fiercely hostile to the Court, but at Oxford in the Convocation House; and men came armed — so great was the excitement. But it had only lasted a week when Charles dissolved it, and the Exclusion Bill was still unpassed (1681).

Now Charles appeared to have matters his own way. The alarms caused by the Popish Plot died down, and people were ashamed of what had been done. The execution of Lord Stafford, a blameless Roman Catholic peer of over seventy years of age, for alleged complicity in the Popish plot, made people realize the wildness of the exaggerations which they had hitherto believed. The opposition therefore lost popularity. Shaftesbury had to take refuge abroad, where he died, a refugee, and Monmouth was banished. Then came a plot to kill the King, on his way back from racing at Newmarket. This plot, called after the place where the ambush was to be laid, *the Rye House Plot*, was discovered, and Charles took advantage of it to execute, quite unjustly, two important Whigs, Russell and Sidney (1683).

Supremacy of Charles (1681-85)

The Rye House Plot (1683)

Having thus crushed his opponents Charles meant to go further. He defied the Test Act and restored his brother James to office. In the years from 1681 to 1684, thanks to the annual pension he secretly received from Louis XIV, he had governed without Parliament. Now he set to work to control elections to Parliament. He did this by changing the Charters of London and of sixty-five of the large towns, which formerly returned "Whig" members.¹ Charles in these selected boroughs now nominated the governing corporations, and thereby made sure that the corporations would send up to Parliament only members whom he approved.

How far he would have succeeded, and how far Parliament would have been manipulated by him, cannot be known, for in February, 1685, he was suddenly taken ill. Realizing that he was dying, he sent secretly for the old

¹ He altered the Charters under a writ "Quo Warranto".

priest who years before had helped him to escape from Worcester, and after receiving the Sacrament as a member of the Roman Catholic Church, he died.

CHAPTER 41

JAMES II (1685-1688)

James II succeeded without difficulty (*February, 1685*) on his brother's death. It was felt that he had been treated hardly over the Exclusion Bill, and he had the support of all moderate people. *Parliament*, enthusiastically loyal, voted him a large income; and even when the fabricators of the Popish Plot were most barbarously treated — *Oates* received three thousand four hundred lashes in three days¹ — it was felt that they had only got what they deserved.

Moreover, the successful crushing of two rebellions strengthened the King's position. *Argyll* in Scotland rose in support of *Monmouth*; but he could only get some of his own clan, the Campbells, to help him, and he was captured and beheaded. *Monmouth* himself landed in Dorset, and persuaded the country people of that county and of Somerset to join him in large numbers. He tried a night attack upon the King's forces at *Sedgemoor*, which might have been successful but for the fact that an unsuspected and impassable ditch stopped his advance. As it was, the attack failed, and *Monmouth* was subsequently captured and then executed (July, 1685). The Chief Justice, *Jeffreys* by name, accompanied by four other judges, was sent down to the West to try the rebels, and, in what is called "*the Bloody Assizes*", hanged over three hundred and transported some eight hundred,² thus bringing upon himself

¹ *Oates* subsequently joined the sect of Baptists, and used often to preach from the pulpit of Wapping Chapel, but he was finally expelled by the sect "as a disorderly person and a hypocrite".

² These eight hundred were presented to various courtiers, who sold them to slavery in the West Indian plantations

a reputation for cruelty which will last as long as history is read.

For the first nine months of his reign, till towards the close of 1685, James himself behaved with some moderation. The ease with which the two risings were quelled, however, encouraged him to a more extreme policy. He increased the numbers of the standing army, which was a very unpopular institution, to thirty thousand men. He began a systematic policy of officering it with Roman Catholics, by making use of the *dispensing power*, a power by which the judges held he was able to dispense, in the case of particular individuals, with the laws passed against the Roman Catholics. He changed his ministers, moderate men like Halifax or High Churchmen like Rochester giving way to Roman Catholics and recent converts to that religion like Sunderland; and in Ireland he made Tyrconnel, a bigoted Roman Catholic, viceroy. He showed his intention of converting the University of Oxford by appointing a Roman Catholic to the Deanery of Christ Church and by substituting Roman Catholic for Protestant Fellows at Magdalen College; and therefore incurred the hostility of that University, which had always been the most loyal supporter of the House of Stuart. He re-established the High Commission Court and issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending the penal laws against the Roman Catholics and Dissenters. He prorogued and finally dissolved his first Parliament (July, 1687), and he then made preparations for "packing" another one by calling on the Lords-Lieutenant to provide him with a list of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists suitable as Members — a demand which led most of them to resign.

Such conduct on the part of James alienated not only those classes who had fought against his father but also the classes — the country gentlemen and the clergy — who had fought for him. In the early summer of 1688 the crisis came. In May, the King issued a *second Declaration of In-*

James's
tyranny
(1686-88)

The crisis
(May-June
30, 1688)

^{The Seven Bishops} *dulgence*, and ordered it to be read in churches. The Arch-
^{Birth of a son} bishop of Canterbury and six other bishops drew up a protest, and James decided to try them for libel. On 10th June a son was born to James by his second wife, Mary of Modena. People had so far been content to await the advent of a new reign, in the hope that James's Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange, the ruler of Holland and a strong Protestant, would succeed. But now James had a successor who would be educated as a Roman Catholic. Moreover, it was widely believed that the child was not really the child of James and his wife, but had been brought into the palace in a warming-pan. On 30th June the Seven Bishops were acquitted, and on that night there was a scene of indescribable enthusiasm and rejoicing in London. On the same evening seven men of importance, representing different shades of opinion, met and drew up a letter inviting William to bring an army over to England and to restore to its people their liberties.¹

^{The Revolution of 1688} At this moment Louis XIV offered James his assistance. James, not appreciating his danger, refused it. Fortunately for William, Louis then moved his troops from the Netherlands frontier to wage a campaign in Germany. With Holland no longer threatened by a French army, William felt himself justified in coming to England, especially as he had received assurances of help from leaders of the English army and navy. He landed at Torbay on 5th November, 1688, and received support at once. Later he was joined by John Churchill (afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough), the chief man in the army, whilst an insurrection, supported by Anne, James's second daughter, took place in Yorkshire. James tried conciliation, but it was already too late. He then tried flight, and was ignominiously brought back to London. Finally, William, having arrived in London, sent James to Rochester. There only lax guard

¹ The letter was signed in cipher and conveyed by Admiral Herbert (afterwards Lord Torrington), who, disguised as a common sailor, managed to reach the Dutch coast in safety.

was kept over him, and James again escaped — to William's great satisfaction — and at 3 a.m. on Christmas Day, 1688, landed in France. James's reign was over,¹ and so at last was the long struggle of King and Parliament (*Note 84*). The Revolution of 1688 was, as we shall see, to produce wide-reaching changes in our system of government.

CHAPTER 42

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND UNDER THE STUARTS

1. IRELAND

We must now turn to consider what had been the history of Ireland under the Stuarts. Soon after James I came to the throne, an opportunity arose of developing the system of "plantation" begun in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1607 the *Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, the heads of the two great Irish tribes in Ulster, fearing that they were about to be attainted for treason, fled from the country. The Government then proceeded to confiscate the lands of these two clans. It held that the lands belonged to the two earls, the heads of the tribes; but, by Irish theory and custom, these lands belonged to the tribe, and it is difficult to justify the course pursued by the English Government. Some of the lands — the worst part of them — were restored to the Irish; but over half a million acres were given to settlers from England and Scotland and to the City of London and its twelve City Companies. Nor was Ulster the only province affected. Adventurers flocked over to Ireland, inquired into the titles of land in various districts, and, where they were non-existent or

The
Plantation
of Ulster
1608

¹ During his first flight, on 11th December, James had thrown the "Great Seal" into the Thames at Vauxhall, the seal being the symbol of authority without which no deed of Government was valid. This date was subsequently taken as the legal date of James's "Abdication".

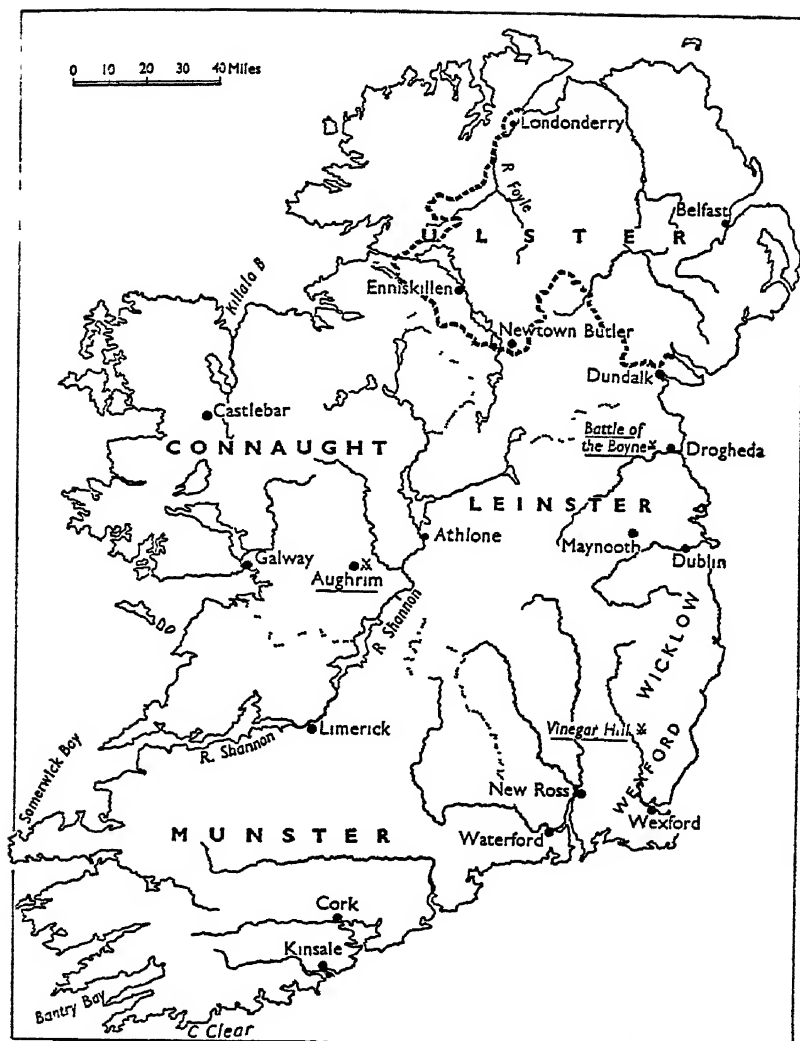
defective, obtained the grant of them from the Government.

The next important stage in the history of Ireland is marked by the *rule of Strafford* who was Lord Deputy from 1633 to 40. In many ways his government was admirable. He made the officials attend to their business, and endeavoured, with some success, to put a stop to jobbery. He found an army half-clothed and half-armed, undrilled and unpaid; he transformed it into an efficient fighting force well disciplined, well officered, and well paid. The Irish Sea, before his rule, was full of pirates; but under Strafford piracy was sternly and successfully repressed.¹ To his initiative was due the development of the flax industry in Ireland with money which he himself subscribed. He improved the Protestant Church; restored order to the Services; and encouraged clergymen of ability in England to come over and take benefices in Ireland.² Finally, he summoned the Irish Parliament, and made it pass some excellent laws.

Strafford's rule was then, for many things, worthy of great commendation. But his conduct was, in other ways, of an exceedingly arbitrary character, and his treatment of individuals was often very high-handed. It is, however, in his proceedings with regard to *Connaught* that he showed himself at his worst. He wished to "plant" that province, as Ulster had been "planted" a few years earlier. With this object he caused an inquiry to be made into the titles of the landholders, and intimidated and browbeat the juries into giving verdicts which would justify him in confiscating the lands. Before, however, he could bring over settlers the condition of affairs in England led him, as we have seen, to leave Ireland in 1640.

¹ Strafford himself experienced the inconveniences of piracy, for a pirate ship, the *Pickpocket*, of Dover, captured linen belonging to him worth £500.

² The condition of the Protestant Church in Ireland had been deplorable. A few years before Strafford came to Ireland the Archbishop of Cashel had held, besides his archbishopric, three bishoprics and seventy-seven livings. Strafford found on his arrival that the Earl of Cork had appropriated the revenues of a bishopric worth £1000 a year for a rent of £20. The earl, however, did not keep them for long when Strafford heard of it, and had to disgorge



IRELAND SINCE 1603

The dotted line is the boundary between Northern Ireland and Eire

Few will deny that Strafford's masterful energy had been of great service to the country; but his lack of sympathy with Irish hopes, his contempt and disregard for Irish customs and Irish sentiments, caused his rule to be regarded with a hatred which was almost universal. In Strafford's view the people ought not "to feed themselves with the vain flatteries of imaginary liberty"; their duty was merely "to attend upon the king's will with assurance in his parental affections". But in Ireland, as well as in England, the time for such sentiments was past. People no longer wished to be governed for their own good — they preferred to run the risk of misgoverning themselves.

Five months after Strafford's execution *the Irish Rebellion* broke out (October, 1641). That the Irish should have risen is not surprising. They had the memory of past injustice to stimulate them. The suppression of the Irish race in Elizabeth's reign had been carried out, it has been said, with a ferocity that was hardly exceeded by any page in the bloodstained annals of the Turks; whilst the confiscations of their land in Ulster during James I's reign, and the threatened confiscations in Connaught under Strafford, had appeared to the Irish to be monstrously unjust. But besides the memory of the past they had the fear of the future. The Scottish Covenanters and the Puritan majority in the Long Parliament now threatened to be supreme; and it was believed, not altogether without ground, that they would root out the Roman Catholic religion from Ireland.¹

The rebellion broke out on the night of 22nd October, 1641, and for ten and a half years Ireland was to suffer from almost incessant warfare. The centre of the rebellion was at first Ulster, where the English and Scots were driven from their homes and endured the most fearful hardships,

¹ It was reported in Ireland that a member of the Long Parliament had said that the conversion of the Irish Papists could only be effected with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, whilst Pym had prophesied that Parliament would not leave one priest in Ireland.

and from Ulster it spread to Wicklow. In a rebellion at such a period some massacres were perhaps inevitable; and modern historians estimate that about four thousand Protestants were killed and that double this number died of famine or exposure. These figures are horrible enough, but to the Puritan imagination in England the number of victims was far greater, and by some people was put at one hundred thousand, and by others even as high as three hundred thousand.¹ It was natural, therefore, that the Long Parliament should pass, in angry vengeance, two laws against the Irish Catholics, the one declaring that no toleration should be granted to the Catholic religion in Ireland, and the other confiscating two and a half million acres of land in that country for the benefit of those who subscribed towards the suppression of the rebellion. The chief result of such laws, again, was to embitter feeling in Ireland, and led to many Catholic gentlemen joining in the rising.

Persecution
of Irish
Catholics

In 1642 the situation was complicated by the outbreak of the Civil War in England, and affairs in Ireland became so entangled, owing to the variety of parties, that a brief summary is hardly possible. It is sufficient to say that Charles, in the course of the Civil War, made attempts to secure aid from the Irish, and that a few did come over; but otherwise nothing definite was done. Then, in 1649, when Charles was executed, all parties in Ireland combined, for a brief period, in order to secure the recognition of his son as king, as the prospect of rule by the "Rump" Parliament was detested by all alike.

Irish
affairs
(1642-49)

Consequently Cromwell was sent over to subdue Ireland. But before he arrived a Colonel Jones had defeated the combined army at *Rathmunes*, and the Irish, till they could gather fresh forces, had to rely on their ability to hold out in their fortresses. Cromwell, however, quickly stormed

Cromwell
in Ireland
(1649-50)

¹ This number is a third more than the total estimated Protestant population in Ireland.

Drogheda and *Wexford*,¹ and before he left Ireland had obtained possession of the whole coast except Waterford. The conquest which Cromwell had begun his son-in-law, Ireton, completed, and by April, 1652, the whole of Ireland was subdued.

The condition of Ireland at the end of this long period of warfare was pitiable. Over one-third of the population, it is estimated, died during these ten years of bloodshed and misery. Much of the land was out of cultivation, and a great deal of country depopulated. The inhabitants were further reduced, as thousands of Irishmen went to serve in foreign armies, and some hundreds of boys and girls were shipped to Barbados and sold to the planters.

The war was followed by fresh plantations. Enormous quantities of land were distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and other Protestant settlers, whilst some of the previous landholders were given compensation in Connaught. At the same time the exercise of the Catholic religion was rigidly suppressed. But, in Ireland as in Scotland, Cromwell's rule had some merits, and on the whole fair order was maintained.² Ireland was given representation in the British Parliament, and above all she enjoyed the benefits of free trade with England.

The Restoration in 1660 brought to Ireland the same

¹ Cromwell put the whole garrison to death at Drogheda; "I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives," he wrote. By the rules of war at that time the garrison of a place which had refused to surrender and was then stormed was liable to this fate. Cromwell, however, defended his conduct on the ground that the garrison had been concerned in the massacres of 1641 and that severity on this occasion would lead other garrisons to surrender at once. It may be doubted whether this severity had this result, and, as a matter of fact, no member of the garrison had been concerned in the previous massacres. Both at Drogheda and Wexford Cromwell put to death all the priests he could find, by knocking them on the head, as he himself put it.

² Measures had to be undertaken for the extermination of two pests — wolves and Tories. The former had increased enormously during the war, and one man was allowed to lease an estate, only 9 miles from Dublin, at a very cheap rate, on condition that he kept a pack of wolfhounds and "a knowing huntsman". Tories (Gaelic *toraidhe*, to rob) were discontented Irish soldiers who had lost their holdings in the Cromwellian settlement, and had retaliated by murdering the new colonists and stealing their cattle. Five pounds was offered for the head of a wolf, and as much as twenty pounds for the head of a really bad Tory.

difficulty over the land question as had occurred in England — what was to happen to the Cromwellian settlers? Eventually it was settled in this way: those landholders who could prove that they had no share in the rebellion of 1641 recovered their lands, whilst the Cromwellian holders of them received compensation elsewhere. But the arrangements were not satisfactory; a good many innocent Roman Catholics did not, as a matter of fact, recover all their lands, and some recovered none. The general result was this. In 1640 two-thirds of the landholders had been Roman Catholic. After 1665 one-third belonged to the *native* interest, including families of Anglo-Norman descent and mainly Catholic; one-third belonged to the *Irish* interest, i.e. the settlers of Elizabeth's and James I's days or their descendants, mainly Protestant; one-third to the *English* interest, i.e. the Cromwellian settlers.

Ireland
under
Charles II

The land-
owners

The reign of Charles II was a period of peace for Ireland. For a great part of the time Ormonde was the ruler, and under him a discreet toleration was exercised, and the country enjoyed repose. In the reign of Charles II, however, Ireland not only lost her free trade with England, but began to suffer from the laws which the influence of jealous English merchants and farmers secured in the English Parliament. But of that we shall have something to say later on (*Note 75*).

2. SCOTLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND LATER STUARTS (1651-1688)

At the Battle of Worcester, 1651, the Scottish army was destroyed as a fighting force, and Scotland was occupied by an English army and subjugated. Till the Restoration in 1660 she was governed, on the whole successfully, by George Monck and English Commissioners. Taxation, it is true, was heavy, but justice was done in civil and criminal cases far more effectively than ever before. The tyranny of the Presbyterian Church was broken, and some efforts in

Scotland
under the
Common-
wealth
(1651-60)

the direction of toleration were made. The Highlands were pacified and good order maintained throughout Scotland.¹

Scottish members sat in the British Parliament and Scotland secured Free Trade with England, and her prosperity was, as a consequence, greatly developed.

Then came the Restoration. One result of it was that Scotland lost her Free Trade with England, though she recovered her independence. Another was that the supreme authority of the King was restored. And along with his supremacy in political affairs Charles desired to have supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. So he restored Episcopacy in Scotland and determined to maintain it at all costs. The Presbyterians, who had had things their own way from 1638 to 1651, still pressed for the execution of the provisions of the Solemn League and Covenant (see p. 455). But the King in his zeal for Episcopacy was as extreme and intolerant as were they in their claims for Presbyterianism. All existing holders of livings had to be reinstituted by bishops and had to renounce the Covenants. Many ministers, especially in the South-west, refused, and they were, in consequence, "outed" from their charges, and their places were taken by others, often by uneducated and vicious men. People who refused to go to church were fined, and laws of ever increasing severity were passed against persons attending "Conventicles", as religious meetings held outside church were called. There was a good deal of persecution, particularly after a Covenanting rising (the Pentland Rising) in 1666. Lauderdale, who became Royal Commissioner in 1667, did attempt reconciliation, but there was little response, and the Covenanters began to hold their meetings in lonely and inaccessible moorlands. Consequently Government efforts to put them down increased in ferocity, dragoons being employed to hunt Covenanters, often with ruthless injustice, and in 1678 a horde of 8000 Highlanders was

Scotland
and the
Restoration

Episcopacy
restored
(1661-62)

The
Covenanters

¹ "A man may ride over all Scotland", said a contemporary, "with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years."

brought to the South-west, where it spoiled, murdered, and looted.

Early in 1679 James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had deserted the Covenanters and had become one of the main persecutors, was done to death by some fanatics,¹ and a few weeks later a body of Covenanters declared their defiance of all civil authority. At Drumclog, in Lanarkshire, they defeated Graham of Claverhouse, who had been sent to suppress conventicles. Elated by their small victory, they marched on Glasgow, but were met at Bothwell Bridge on the river Clyde and defeated by Monmouth.²

Murder
of Sharp;
Drumclog,
and
Bothwell
Bridge
(1679)

For a time after Bothwell Bridge Scotland was treated with more moderation, but when James, Duke of York, afterwards James VII, became Royal Commissioner in Scotland in 1681, the "Killing Time" began, and there was a fierce persecution of the Presbyterian zealots, or Cameronians as they were called from their leader Richard

The
"Killing
Time"
(1681-87)

¹ From an account written by one of the nine men concerned in the death of Sharp, it is clear that, though the murder had been decided on, the actual meeting with the Archbishop on Magus Moor, near St. Andrews, was accidental. Sharp was a particularly despicable character, but it is not possible to regard his death as being anything but a very brutal murder. The Covenanters concerned believed that they "had a clear call to execute God's justice" — "John Balfour stroke him on the face, and Andrew Henderson stroke him on the hand and cut it, and John Balfour rode him down, whereupon he, lying upon his face as if he had been dead, and James Russell hearing his daughter say to Wallace that there was life in him yet, . . . went presently to him and cast off his hat, for it would not cut at first, and haked his head in pieces . . . James Russell desired his servants to take up their priest now" Having carried out what they conceived to be their mission they "went to prayer, first together, and then each one alone, with great composure of spirit, and enlargement of heart more nor ordinary, blessing the Lord, who had called them out and carried them so courageously thro' so great a work" This episode and these quotations go far to provide a key to the strength and the weaknesses of the Covenanters.

² In face of the enemy, the Covenanters, instead of preparing for battle, began to dispute about the object of the rising, the zealots insisted that they were striving to establish Presbyterianism as supreme over all other forms of Church government, and the moderates thought they should aim at something which might be attained — the free exercise of their own form of worship. The moderates also pointed out that these questions could be settled later, and that in the meantime their first task was to defeat Monmouth. But the argument continued and though a nominal settlement of the differences was reached, internal dissension continued, the Covenanting army dwindled away, no preparations were made for battle, and many of the Covenanting leaders failed dismally. "The Lord took both courage and wisdom from us," is the summing-up of one of the moderates.

Cameron. Persecution reached its height with the accession of James to the throne in 1685, the increased intensity being perhaps a result of the futile rebellion of the Earl of Argyll in support of Monmouth (p. 502). In 1687, however, James VII and II (1685-88) granted an Indulgence to Presbyterians and Roman Catholics alike. This put an end to persecution, and gave the Presbyterians liberty "to serve God after their own way and manner", but it also paved the way for the introduction of Roman Catholicism which James so eagerly desired, and it was accompanied by the dismissal of Protestants from offices of State and their replacement by Roman Catholics, and by the handing over of Holyroodhouse to the Roman Catholics. Thus, when the Revolution came in 1688, Scotland was full of discontent.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD SIX
(1603-1688)

- 1 To what extent was the great Civil War the result of religious causes? (LGS 1935)
- 2 What were the aims of James I in his foreign policy? How far did he succeed in carrying them out? (LGS 1937)
3. Say what you can in favour of the foreign policy of James I. (LGS 1932)
- 4 Summarize the chief complaints of James I's Parliaments. How far were they justified? (OC 1938)
- 5 What can be said in defence of *either* the foreign policy *or* the domestic policy of James I (OC 1936)
- 6 Give an account of the colonization of North America by the British in the reigns of James I and Charles I. (NUJB 1935)
- 7 What were the chief causes of the civil war? (NUJB 1939)
- 8 Give an account of the relations between King and Parliament between the accession of James I (1603) and the dissolution of Charles I's third Parliament (1629) (NUJB 1938)
- 9 Account for the defeat of the Royalists in the Civil War. (OC 1931; D 1932)
- 10 Account for the failure of the Commonwealth to survive. (OC 1938)
- 11 What were the chief difficulties which faced Cromwell as Protector, and how did he try to overcome them? (LGS 1932)
- 12 Show the influence of *either* Scotland *or* Ireland on English history between 1629 and 1660. (LGS 1936)
13. How much of the work of the Long Parliament was permanent? (OC 1939)
- 14 Describe the work of Oliver Cromwell after the death of Charles I. (LGS 1937)
- 15 What exactly were Cromwell's powers from 1654-58? Why did he fail to establish a permanent republican government? (B 1932)
- 16 State the main facts of Oliver Cromwell's dealings with (a) the Irish, and (b) the Scots. (NUJB 1936)

17 "The Restoration was a triumph less of the Monarchy than of the Church of England". Explain this statement with reference to the period 1660-88. (CL 1932)

18 Describe the main events of the three Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century. (NUJB 1937)

19 Both Charles I and Cromwell found it impossible to govern with Parliaments. Why? (OC '32)

20 Was Charles II's foreign policy advantageous to England? (OC 1935)

21 What were the causes and results of the English naval wars with the Dutch? (OC 1936)

22 Give a brief history of religious affairs during the reign of Charles II. (LGS 1920)

23 What were Charles II's principal aims and how far was he successful in achieving them? (OC 1939)

24. Describe social life in town and country in the latter part of the seventeenth century (B 1931)

25. The Revolution of 1688 was as important an event in European as in English history. Discuss (LGS 1924)

26. Explain why Charles II succeeded in retaining his throne, and why James II lost it (LM 1925)

27 Why and how did James II unite the most important sections of the English Nation against himself? (LGS 1937)

28. Charles II and James II both wished to rule as absolute monarchs. Explain (a) the means adopted by each for this purpose, and (b) why Charles II succeeded and James II failed. (NUJB 1937)

29. Describe the growth of the party system under Charles II (LGS 1935)

PERIOD SEVEN

THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE AND THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

1688-1714

CHAPTER 43

WILLIAM AND MARY; AND ANNE

1. WILLIAM III (1689-1702) AND MARY (1689-1694)

The accession of William III and Mary marks what is known as the "peaceful" Revolution, for really it settled the question which had occupied the country throughout the period when Stuarts sat on the throne of England. Parliament had finally won in its contest with the Crown.

The details of the Revolution Settlement have now to be considered (*Note 85*). The great result of the Revolution upon our system of government was that henceforth the bulk of the king's revenue was obtained by annual grants from Parliament, and that Parliament had therefore to meet every year. As a consequence, Parliament acquired the complete control of finance, and, with that, an increasing control of the administration. Gradually, also, the relation between the two Houses of Parliament underwent alteration. The House of Commons has had, since 1407, the sole power to initiate Bills involving the grant of public money or the imposition of taxation, and in the reign of Charles II it denied the right of the House of Lords to amend such Bills. Consequently, with the increasing control of Parliament in financial affairs, the Lower House became the

Parliament and the control of finance

more important; though, as we shall see, individual members of the Upper House could, up till 1832, largely influence the composition of the House of Commons.

Moreover, as the result of the Revolution, two Acts were passed, the one at the beginning of William and Mary's and the other at the end of William's reign, which limited the power of the Crown. The *Declaration or Bill of Rights* which was drawn up and passed through Parliament in 1689, completed the work which Magna Carta had begun. Its clauses may be briefly summarized. First, William and Mary were declared to be King and Queen, and the succession to the throne was settled upon their children, and, failing them, upon James's other daughter, Anne; and a clause was added that no person who was a Roman Catholic or who married a Roman Catholic could succeed to the throne.¹ Secondly, it declared to be illegal: (a) the "pretended power" of the Crown to suspend laws; (b) the power of dispensing with laws "as it hath been exercised of late" by the Crown; (c) the existence of the Court of High Commission and similar courts. Thirdly, Parliament was to be freely elected, to have freedom of speech and to meet frequently, and there was to be no taxation without its consent. Taxation Fourthly, a standing army was declared illegal. This clause is still in force, and the army is only made legal by an Act passed every year, called the Army (Annual) Act — and this is another reason why Parliament has to be called annually. The second measure was the *Act of Settlement*, passed in 1701. The first question to be arranged was that of the succession, for William and Mary were childless and all the children of the Princess Anne had died.² The Protestant representative of the House of Stuart who had the best claim

The Bill
of Rights
(1689)

The
Protestant
Settle-
ment

Dispen-
sing
power
abolished

Taxation

The
Army
(Annual)
Act (1689)

Act of
Settle-
ment
(1701)

¹ It has been calculated that this clause has taken away the eventual claims to the succession of nearly sixty persons.

² The Duke of Gloucester, the only one to survive infancy, died in 1700 when nearly eleven years of age; eight months before his death he celebrated Queen Elizabeth's birthday in high spirits, "firing all his guns and making great rejoicing". It may be noted that the birthday of the great Queen, 7th September, was kept as a national day of rejoicing throughout this period.

was Sophia, the granddaughter of James I (her mother was Elizabeth who married the Elector Palatine) and the wife of the Elector of Hanover. The crown was accordingly settled upon "the most excellent Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants". With regard to the other clauses in the Act of Settlement, some were inserted because of William's personal unpopularity and because of the jealousy felt with regard to his foreign policy at that time. Thus the monarch was not to leave the kingdom without the consent of Parliament, and England was not to be obliged to engage in wars for the foreign possessions of the Crown. But these articles were soon modified or repealed. Two clauses are, however, of permanent importance. Henceforth judges could only be dismissed after being convicted in the Law Courts, or after an address by both Houses of Parliament — and the king, therefore, lost his power of dismissal which had been so useful in previous reigns. No pardon by the Crown could be pleaded to an impeachment by the House of Commons — a clause which finally established the responsibility of the king's ministers for all acts of state.

Han-
overian
Succes-
sionThe
judgesThe
ministers

Though the Crown still continued to select the ministers, and, in William's reign at all events, to control the home and foreign policies of the country, the Revolution had secured, therefore, for the individual Englishman his political liberty and for the Parliament which represented him complete control of taxation and, subject to the king's veto, of legislation. In two other respects the Revolution had important effects. Hitherto all publications had, under an annual *Licensing Act*, been subject to a rigorous censorship.¹ In 1695 the House of Commons decided not to renew the Act, and thus was secured the Liberty of the Press for which half a century previously Milton had ardently pleaded — though that liberty was still somewhat curtailed by the

Liberty
of the
Press
(1695)

¹ In Charles II's reign printing was confined to London, York, and the two Universities, and the number of "master-printers" was only twenty. All new works had to be examined and licensed before they were published.

The
Toleration
Act (1689)

severity of the laws of Libel¹ and by heavy stamp duties upon newspapers. Secondly, something was done to make religious restrictions less severe (*Note 86*). By the *Toleration Act* (1689) liberty of worship was allowed to those who could subscribe to thirty-six of the thirty-nine Articles in the Book of Common Prayer, i.e. practically all except Roman Catholics and Unitarians. But the Nonconformists were still excluded from office under the Test and Corporation Acts passed in the reign of Charles II. The Toleration Act marked, nevertheless, a great advance, and from that time the feeling of tolerance steadily increased. After the accession of the House of Hanover in the eighteenth century an Act was annually passed excusing the Nonconformists from the penalties which they had incurred for holding any office. Complete toleration to all sects, including Roman Catholics, was not, however, to come till the nineteenth century.²

Lack of
loyalty to
William
and Mary

We must now say something about the details of the domestic history. William and Mary established their position with greater ease than might have been expected. The death of Dundee at the Battle of Killiecrankie (p. 546) and the flight of James to France after the Battle of the Boyne (p. 546) led to the submission of Scotland and Ireland. In England itself there was surprisingly little opposition. One of the Archbishops, four bishops, and four hundred other clergymen, known as the *Non-jurors*, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and consequently were deprived of their benefices — and that was all. Yet, though there was little opposition, there was also little loyalty to the new sovereigns. Statesmen and warriors were alike

¹ These libel laws were mitigated by an Act passed in 1792.

² Though the Nonconformists obtained toleration, severe laws continued to be passed against the Roman Catholics. Thus in 1699 a law was passed rendering any priest liable to perpetual imprisonment for celebrating Mass; and a friar named Atkinson, who was convicted through the evidence of his serving-maid — she was rewarded with a gift of £100 — was imprisoned for thirty years at Hurst Castle, finally dying there in 1729 at the age of seventy-three. But these vindictive laws were not as a rule enforced by the Government, and the Roman Catholics, as a whole, were allowed to have their worship undisturbed.

faithless. Danby, who was the chief minister for five years, Marlborough, the general, and Russell, the victor of the Battle of La Hogue, all intrigued with James whilst holding office under William and Anne. Parliaments were often unfriendly, and there was one plot against William's life.¹

No doubt Englishmen ought to have been grateful for the benefits of the Revolution, but perhaps their want of loyalty to William and Mary is not altogether surprising. The King himself was interested in foreign politics alone. England was to him merely a factor in his war with France; "he had", as a contemporary said, "to take England on his way to France". His individual opinions, moreover, were not likely to make him popular. In religion he was a Calvinist, and he was therefore distrusted by the very powerful High Church party in the Church of England. In politics, though the Tory opposition to the war compelled him in 1695 to depend for a time upon a Whig ministry — the Whig Junto, as it was called — yet for the greater part of his reign he tried to ignore parties, and to rule with ministers drawn impartially from Whigs and Tories; as a consequence, he obtained the hearty support of neither party. Nor was William's personality an attractive one. Diminutive in stature, thin and fragile-looking, his appearance was only redeemed by the brightness and keenness of his eyes. His manner was cold and repellent, and his habits unsociable;² and the few friends that he possessed were all Dutchmen. Moreover, his health was wretched, and inclined to make him irascible and peevish. William had none of the outwardly attractive qualities which would have secured the affection of his English subjects; and they failed to do justice to the magnanimity which he showed in dealing with his enemies, his patience and calmness in times

Charac-
ters of
William
and Mary

¹ The idea was to kill the King in a narrow lane near Turnham Green, as he was returning from his usual Saturday hunt; but the plot was discovered.

² "He spoke little and very shortly," said a contemporary, "and most commonly with a disgusting dryness." Long and solitary hunting expeditions in the New Forest were his only recreation, and he disliked conversation and all indoor games.

of crisis, or the unwearying industry which he displayed in public affairs. Mary, on the other hand, was an affable, kind-hearted, genial queen; it was a saying at the time that "she talked as much as William thought, or her sister, the Princess Anne, ate". Mary's death, in 1694, was consequently a great blow to William's position, and after that his unpopularity steadily increased.

The
Opposi-
tion to
William
after
1697

After the conclusion of the war with France, in 1697, opposition to William's policy came to a head. A *Tory Parliament* attacked — with some reason — the enormous tracts of land which the King had granted to his Dutch favourites in Ireland. Moreover, a standing army was still very unpopular, and Parliament insisted — with great stupidity — upon reducing the armed forces in England to seven thousand men. Then, again, Parliament was jealous of his foreign policy, and consequently passed those clauses in the Act of Settlement to which reference has already been made. William, indeed, was so worried by the Opposition that he seriously thought of resigning his crown, and had even drafted a proclamation for that purpose. Englishmen, in truth, were somewhat ignorant of foreign politics; and the greatness of the work accomplished by William, not only for England, but for Europe, was never realized. The King, however, had the satisfaction before his death of feeling that the nation was strongly supporting him in the War of the Spanish Succession, the opening of which he just lived to see (1702).

Financial
Features
of Reign:
(1) The
National
Debt
(1693)

Two features in our National Finance make their appearance during the reigns of William and Mary. The first was the *National Debt*, which dates from 1693. By 1697 it had reached £20,000,000; by 1713, £78,000,000; and by 1815 it was to rise to the stupendous total of £840,000,000.¹ The

¹ The National Debt helped to rivet the Commercial Classes to the Revolution Settlement, because it was thought that if the Stuarts returned they would repudiate the Debt. It therefore helped to cause the alliance between the Whig aristocracy and the merchants, as both depended for their power or prosperity in the eighteenth century on the Hanoverian dynasty.

Government borrowed money to finance the wars, and citizens lent that money in return for interest. This gave the people of the country a very sound investment for their savings, while it also enabled the terrible burden of the wars to be spread out, and prevented that burden from crushing out all trade and industry. The other was the *Bank of England*, which was founded in 1694, and which gave a solid foundation to England's commercial and imperial development in the next century. In 1695 occurred the *restoration of the currency*; the old money, which was much worn, and was often "clipped" round the edges, was called in, and a new coinage was issued, whose milled edges made clipping impossible in the future.

(2) Foundation of Bank of England (1694)

2. A PERIOD OF FOREIGN WARS (1689-1714)

The Revolution of 1688 ushered in a period of prolonged conflict for Great Britain. Between 1688 and 1815 she was engaged in a series of seven great wars, which occupied no less than fifty-six years. Of these wars five begin and the other two end as wars in which Great Britain's chief opponent is France, and we must try to understand the general causes of the hostility between these two countries before examining the particular causes of each war (*Note 88*).

The conflict with France (1689-1815)

First of all, there were the ambitions of France in Europe. France wanted to extend and to strengthen her eastern frontier with the ultimate object of making the River Rhine her boundary.¹ This could only be accomplished at the expense, in the south-east, of the German States and, in the north-east, of the Netherlands. The Netherlands were divided. Part of them, called Holland or the United Provinces, was independent: part of them, corresponding to the modern country of Belgium, belonged to the King of Spain up till 1713, when it came under the rule of Austria,

¹ The Rhine, the frontier of old Gaul, was the great object of French ambition. An old proverb ran —

Quand Paris boira le Rhin
Toute la Gaule aura sa fin.

and was thenceforward called the Austrian Netherlands. The frontier between France and what is now Belgium was no natural boundary, such as a river or a range of mountains, but on each side of it had been built a great chain of forts known as the "Barrier Fortresses". Those on the Belgian side were slowly and steadily passing into the hands of France as she pushed her frontier forward. Once they were all, or nearly all, in her hands, France might be able to seize not only Belgium, but Holland as well. But with the independence of Holland, England's own fortunes were linked. The French, if they obtained outlets in the North Sea, would threaten our maritime position and thus our national security. For that reason England insisted that the "Barrier Fortresses" should be garrisoned wholly or in part by soldiers from Holland.

The ambitions of France were not only concerned with the acquisition of the Rhine frontier. At various times between 1689 and 1815 her rulers attempted, if not to annex the country, at all events to control the policy of Spain by means of a close family alliance or a treaty. Moreover, Louis XIV (1643-1715) at the beginning, and the French revolutionaries and Napoleon (1793-1815) at the end, of the period had achieved a position in Europe which threatened the independence of all other States.

The causes of this constant warfare between England and France were not, however, solely European. The ambitions of France and of England clashed, as will be shown later, throughout the world. In India and in the West Indies, in North America and in North Africa, a great struggle had to be contested to decide between their competing ideals of expansion. And if contemporary statesmen, with rare exceptions, attached more importance to the European than to the Imperial aspect of the struggle, to us to-day it is the struggle for Empire that must always possess the greater interest.

We must now deal with the wars in detail. And first we

will take the two wars that were fought between 1688 and 1713. The position of Louis XIV in 1688 was unique. His army, although it had been engaged in continual wars, had suffered no serious reverse in battle for over forty years, and his navy was equal to those of Holland and England combined. In Louvois the King possessed the best war minister, in Vauban the best engineer, and in Tourville the best admiral of the age; and though Condé and Turenne, his greatest generals, were dead by 1689, he still had Luxembourg and Villars. With such resources at his command, Louis, during his reign, had added to his dominions many of the frontier fortresses in the Netherlands already referred to, and, farther south, Alsace, Franche Comté, and the great fortress of Strasbourg. He was threatening further annexations at the expense of the Netherlands and of Germany. The English kings, Charles II and James II, had been his pensioners, and he had hopes of securing for his family the succession to the throne of Spain. The Revolution in England, however, ruined the plans of Louis XIV. To a king of England who was dependent upon Louis for money and upon his ambassador for advice succeeded William III, the ruler of Holland, one whose whole life had been devoted to resisting France. William had already in 1688 formed a League against France, and the support of England in 1689 was the coping stone to that alliance. "Without the concurrence of the realm and power of England," said William later, "it was impossible to put a stop to the ambitions and greatness of France."

The position of Louis XIV

The war which followed is known in Continental history as the *War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97)*. To us it is better known as the *War of the English Succession*, for Louis XIV was supporting James II, and therefore its issue decided whether William or James was to be king of England. For the first two years of the war (1689-90) English military operations were confined mainly to the British Isles and to the sea (Note 88). In Scotland, John

The War of the English Succession (1689-97)

The war from 1689-90

(a) In Scotland: Battle of Killiecrankie (1689) Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised the Highlanders on behalf of James, and routed, in the space of two minutes, just beyond the Pass of *Killiecrankie*, William's forces under the leadership of Mackay (June, 1689). In the battle, however, Dundee was mortally wounded, and with his death all the energy was taken out of the movement, which quickly subsided.

(b) In Ireland: the Siege of Londonderry (1689) Meantime, in Ireland, James II arrived with French money and troops. In Ireland the situation was far more serious than in Scotland, for, in addition to the bitter religious feeling, there was the racial hatred between the Irish inhabitants and the English and Scottish settlers. A war between Catholics and Protestants at once broke out. The Protestants in the North were attacked and the two Protestant strongholds, *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen*, besieged. But the Protestants in Londonderry held out heroically for one hundred and five days till they were relieved, whilst those in Enniskillen attacked their besiegers and won the Battle of *Newtown Butler*.

Battle of the Boyne (1690) Subsequently William himself came to Ireland, and won a victory at the *River Boyne* (1st July, 1690). The battle was notable for the variety of nations engaged in it. Of James's forces, over a third were French, and the commander-in-chief was a Frenchman. On William's side, about half were natives of England, and, of course, he had many Irish Protestants from the north of Ireland and some two thousand Dutchmen fighting for him; the rest of his force included Huguenots, Prussians, Danes, and Finlanders. James shortly afterwards fled back to France, and in 1691 the war in Ireland came to an end. John Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough, had a brilliant campaign, and took Cork and Kinsale, whilst Ginkel, a Dutch general, won a desperate battle for William at *Aughrim*. A few months later, in the autumn of 1691, *Limerick*, the last great Catholic fortress, surrendered, and with its capitulation William's position in Ireland was secure.

On the sea, in these two years, Louis XIV missed his chances. With a superior fleet, and with the best admiral of the day in Tourville,¹ he should, according to military historians, have isolated Ireland from England so as to give every assistance to James; instead of which William was allowed to pass over to Ireland unmolested, and his communications were never threatened even for an hour. Tourville, however, on 30th June, 1690, the day before the Battle of the Boyne, met at *Beachy Head* a combined Dutch and English fleet under Lord Torrington. The latter, who was inferior in force, wished to refuse battle with his van and centre and to fight only a rearguard action.² But the impetuous Dutch van insisted on fighting, and were very severely handled; and had Tourville followed up his victory, the result might have been disastrous.

(c) On the Sea

Battle of Beachy Head (1690)

During the rest of the war (1691-97) England obtained the supremacy at sea. In 1692 came the victory off *La Hogue*. Tourville, on this occasion vastly inferior in force, had fought with credit a rearguard action against the English admiral, Russell. But, after the battle, the French fleet had to retire in some disorder, and many ships retreated through the dangerous "Race of Alderney", which is between that island and the mainland. Thirteen of the French ships, however, were unable to get through, took refuge at La Hogue, and were burnt by Russell's fleet. That victory, received in England with tremendous and perhaps exaggerated enthusiasm, saved England from fear of invasion, and gave to her the command of the Channel.³

The war from 1691-97: (a) On the Sea

Battle of La Hogue (1692)

¹ Tourville had served in the French fleet for thirty years, and had seen service in the Anglo-Dutch wars and against the Barbary pirates. He was a practical seaman as well as a good tactician; indeed it was a saying at the time that he could act in any capacity from a ship's carpenter to an admiral.

² The Government had information that the enemy's ships-of-the-line numbered only sixty, and ordered Torrington with his fifty ships to engage them. Torrington counted with his own eyes — or rather with his one eye, as he had lost the other in an explosion — eighty ships of the enemy, and was unwilling to fight, but he had to obey orders.

³ "During several days," says Macaulay, "the bells of London pealed without ceasing. Flags were flying on all the steeples. Rows of candles were in all the windows. Bonfires were at all the corners of the streets. And three Lords took down with them £37,000 in coin to distribute among the sailors."

The French, however, then took to commerce-destroying and did considerable damage, especially when they captured one hundred out of four hundred ships of a convoy bound for Smyrna. In 1694 an interesting event occurred. William sent a fleet to the Mediterranean, where it saved Barcelona from capture and consequently Spain from French control, and by wintering at Cadiz and returning to the Mediterranean in the next year exerted considerable influence upon the course of the war.

(b) In the Netherlands operations are confined to the Spanish Netherlands. The war was chiefly a war of sieges. William as a soldier was painstaking but mediocre; his opponent, Luxembourg, was brilliant but indolent. Consequently William generally lost the battles; but Luxembourg took no advantage of his victories. William's designs were excellent. Thus he tried to surprise Luxembourg at *Steinkirk* in 1692; but he wasted time by a preliminary cannonade of artillery which lasted one hour and a half, and by an elaborate deployment of infantry which was already late in arriving. Luxembourg, though genuinely surprised, marshalled his troops with great rapidity and won a victory. In the next year (1693) William was beaten at *Neerwinden*. But by sheer tenacity and strength of purpose he clung on, and two years later he won his first great success by recapturing the strong fortress of Namur.

The Treaty of Ryswick (1697) Finally, by 1697, France was exhausted. She had been fighting a coalition of Great Britain, Holland, Spain, the Empire, and some of the German States. Now she could not continue the struggle, and at the *Treaty of Ryswick* she recognized William as King of England, and gave up all her conquests since 1678 except Strasbourg. The war had been an uninteresting one. The English had, however, done well. They had secured the supremacy at sea. They had learnt some valuable lessons under William's leadership, lessons whose effect was to be shown in the subsequent wars under

Marlborough. They had secured an honourable treaty, and, above all, had helped to inflict the first decided check on the ambitions of Louis XIV.

We turn now to the causes of the next war — *the War of the Spanish Succession*. That two monarchs should arrange for the distribution of the territories belonging to a third monarch in anticipation of his death and without consulting either him or his ministers seems an indefensible proceeding. Yet this is what happened in 1698. The circumstances were, it is true, peculiar. The Spanish dominions included not only Spain, but the Spanish Netherlands, Milan and Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, besides vast possessions in the West Indies and South America. Charles II, the King of Spain, had no children or brothers, but he had two sisters and two aunts. Of the two aunts, the elder had married the French king, and the younger the emperor. They were all dead, but their respective sons, Louis XIV and the Emperor Leopold I, had married, the one the elder and the other the younger of the two sisters of the Spanish King.¹ Thus the children of Louis and of Leopold combined both sets of claims. Here was a difficult situation. It was quite obvious that neither Louis XIV nor Leopold nor their eldest sons could be allowed to add the enormous territories of Spain to those either of France or Austria. It was hopeless to deal with Charles II, who was sickly and half-witted. Consequently Louis XIV and William III proceeded to draw up Partition Treaties by which a baby, the grandson of Leopold (child of his daughter Maria) and the heir to the Electorate of Bavaria (but, of course, not heir to the Empire), was to succeed to the greater part of the Spanish dominions (1698).

The Spanish Succession and the Partition Treaties (1698-1702)

Unfortunately the Bavarian baby died of smallpox. Another treaty was accordingly drawn up (1700), under which the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, was to obtain the bulk of the Spanish inheritance, but the Dauphin of France was to have Naples and Milan.² It is

First Partition Treaty (1698)

Second Partition Treaty (1700)

¹ See table on p. 405.

² Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

hardly a matter for surprise that the King of Spain, when he heard of these Partition Treaties, flew into a violent passion, and that his queen smashed some of the furniture in her room. Charles II of Spain subsequently sickened, and on his deathbed was persuaded to leave all his possessions to Philip of France, the second son of the Dauphin (1700). Louis XIV, after some hesitation, accepted the will and threw over the treaty. Philip was therefore declared King of Spain. A Bourbon had displaced a Habsburg, and Louis XIV might well have said — as he is wrongly reported to have said — “Henceforth there are no Pyrenees.”

The will of Charles II (1700)
Causes of renewal of war
 Louis XIV's acceptance of the will would not, in itself, however, have produced the war, for, after all, it was his second and not his eldest grandson that succeeded. Other actions of the French King made war inevitable (*Note 88*). In the first place, he expelled the Dutch from the Barrier Fortresses, which they garrisoned, and substituted French troops, and thus showed his intention of making a further advance in the Netherlands. Secondly, he expressly reserved the rights of Philip to the French throne. Philip's elder brother was delicate and not expected to live long, and Philip might therefore succeed not only to Spain but to France as well. Thirdly, he showed by his policy that he was attempting to secure for France the commercial concessions which England had obtained for trade with Spanish America. Finally, on James II's death, in 1701, he recognized James's son — the “Old Pretender” as he is called — as James III, King of England. For Louis XIV, after recognizing William's title at the Peace of Ryswick to support the Pretender four years later, was the one thing needed to make England as enthusiastic as William for renewed war. The war, therefore, broke out in 1702, but William died before he could take any part in the fighting.

3. REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE (1702-1714): THE GREAT WAR

The Princess Anne succeeded to the throne, under the terms of the Bill of Rights, on William's death in 1702. The chief part of her reign was to be occupied by the great War of the Spanish Succession which now broke out.

The
reign of
Queen
Anne
(1702-14)

To summarize a war which lasted for over ten years, and which was fought in Italy and Germany, in the Netherlands, and in Spain, is no easy task. At the opening of the war, England, Holland, Austria, and most of the German States were on one side, and they were joined later by Portugal and Savoy; on the other side were France, Spain, and Bavaria. The great figure in the war, so far as the Allies were concerned, was John Churchill, created Duke of Marlborough.

The War
of the
Spanish
Succession
(1702-13)

Born in 1650, he had seen service in Holland as a colonel in the French service during Charles II's reign,¹ had subsequently by his coolness saved the situation at Sedgemoor in that of James II, and had undertaken some very successful operations in the south of Ireland under William III. No one can deny either his avarice or his faithlessness. He deserted James II twice. He betrayed, it is said, the secret of two expeditions to Louis XIV in William III's reign, and in one year was concerned in two plots against him. He was consequently dismissed from his appointments, and he did not recover favour till towards the close of William's career. Yet, though faithless in his political principles, his military friendship with Prince Eugene, the most famous of the other allied generals, and his political friendship with Godolphin, the English minister at home, showed that in his relations with individuals no one could be a more loyal or more admirable colleague. Moreover, he was not only a great general, but a great diplomatist as well — the best of his age, according to Voltaire. Strikingly handsome, with a manner described by a contemporary as irresistible, he

Marl-
borough
(1650-
1722)

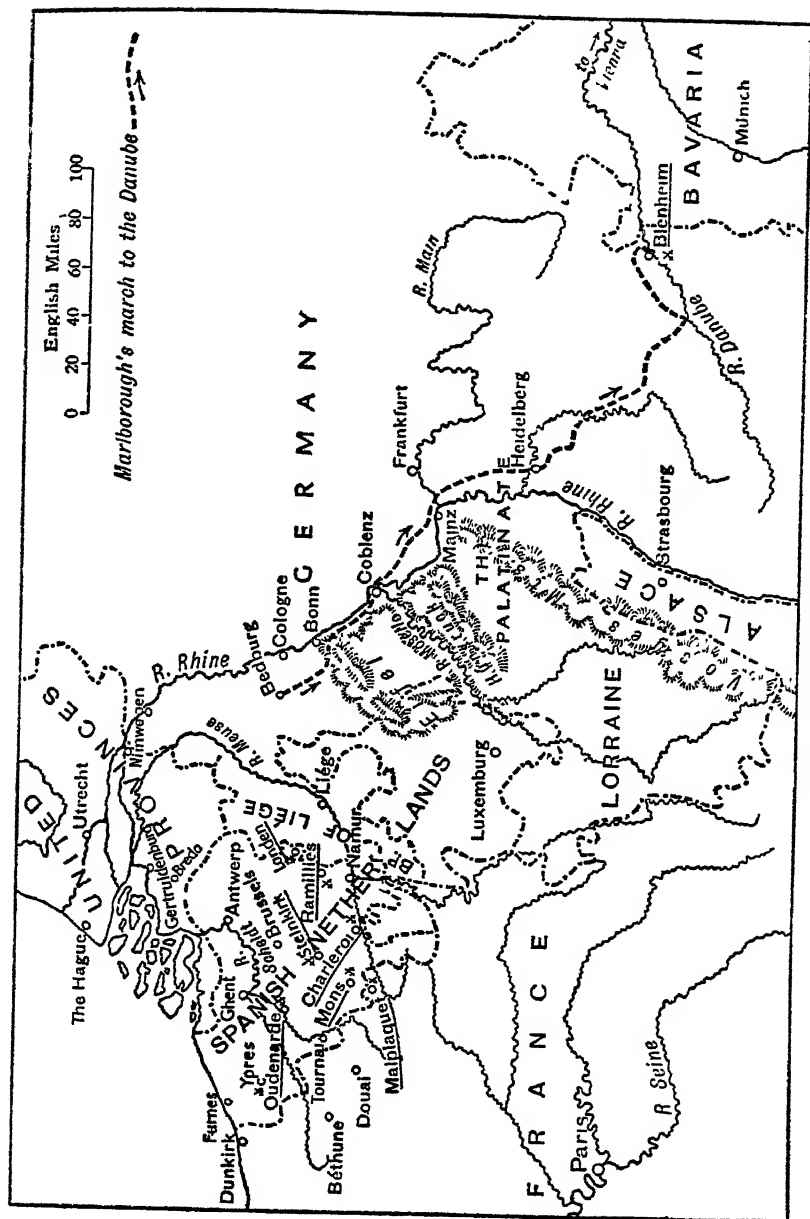
¹ Turenne, the French general, is said to have called him "the handsome Englishman", and to have won a bet that Churchill would recover a post with half the number of men who had failed to defend it.

needed all his powers of negotiation during each winter, so that he might induce the allies to furnish him with adequate forces during the following summer.

As regards Marlborough's tactics, military critics agree in praising the effective use which he made of all arms. He insisted upon accuracy in infantry shooting, and taught all ranks to fire simultaneously and not, as the French did, consecutively. He made the cavalry, after the example set by Rupert and Cromwell, rely on the momentum of their charge rather than on their firing, and he showed great capacity in utilizing them at the critical moment with decisive effect. He handled the artillery with remarkable skill, more especially at Blenheim, where every gun was laid under his own eye. No less praiseworthy was the quickness with which he saw the weakness of an enemy's position; of this quickness the best example was perhaps at Ramillies. As a strategist, Marlborough was superb. Many of his schemes were upset because of the opposition of the Allies, and more especially of the Dutch; but those that he carried into execution show that Marlborough deserves the distinction of being called the greatest general that this country, or, if we may believe Bolingbroke, any other country, has produced. At all events, of hardly any other general can it be said, as it can be said of Marlborough, that he never fought a battle which he did not win, or besieged a place which he did not take.

In order to understand Marlborough's operations, it must be remembered that, at the opening of the war, the French were in possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Marlborough's earlier campaigns, therefore — with the exception of the greatest of them all, that of Blenheim (1704) — had for their objective the expulsion of the French from the Spanish Netherlands. The later campaigns aimed at the conquest of the French barrier fortresses with a view, finally, to an advance into the interior of France.

In the first two years of the war (1702-3) no big engage-



MARLBOROUGH'S CAMPAIGNS

The war
(1702-4) ment was fought. With 1704 came the first of Marlborough's great campaigns. The position of the Allies was extremely critical. Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, was threatened not only by Hungarian rebels on the east, but by French and Bavarian armies on the west. Marlborough planned a great march from the Netherlands to save Vienna. But his task was complicated. He had to hoodwink the Dutch as to his intentions, for otherwise they would not let him go. He had to make a flank march over difficult country right across the French front. He had to effect a junction with Eugene whilst preventing the junction of all the French armies. And, finally, he had, in order to cross the Danube, to storm a strongly fortified position held by the Bavarians. But he accomplished all these things, and his army and that of Eugene succeeded in getting between Vienna and the armies of the French.

Blenheim
(1704) Then followed the *battle of Blenheim*. Marlborough's attack was entirely successful; the French centre was pierced, and their right wing then enveloped. By the end of the day Marlborough had one of the two chief French generals in his own coach, and had captured one hundred guns and some eleven thousand prisoners. The Blenheim campaign marks an epoch in history. It saved Vienna; it preserved Germany from a French occupation; it destroyed the impression of French invincibility on land; and it re-established our military prestige.

Yet the Blenheim campaign did not exhaust Marlborough's schemes for that year. Marlborough, like William, had realized the importance of the Mediterranean, and had planned a great attack on Toulon by land under the Duke of Savoy and ~~by sea with the English fleet~~. Unfortunately the Duke of Savoy was unable to make the attack. Our fleet, however, under Rooke, took Gibraltar, and fought a battle off Malaga which, though indecisive, led the French fleet to desist from challenging our position in the Mediterranean.

Capture
of Gib-
raltar
(1704)

The next important year is 1706. First, the French were evicted from Italy in consequence of a great battle won by Eugene near Turin. Then, in the Netherlands, Marlborough won the battle of Ramillies. He was threatening the strong fortress of Namur, and the French general had concentrated his forces to protect it. In the battle which ensued Marlborough won a victory which he followed up with such rapidity, that by the end of the year the French had lost not only Antwerp and Brussels, but nearly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands.

Battle of
Ramillies
(1706)

The third success of the Allies in 1706 was won in Spain. Two years previously the Allies had determined to attempt to put the Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne. At first not much was done, but in 1705 Peterborough captured Barcelona¹ by a brilliant feat of arms, and occupied Catalonia and Valencia. In 1706 the Allies under Galway marched from Portugal and occupied Madrid, whilst Peterborough and his army marched from the east and effected a junction. Later in the year, however, Madrid had to be evacuated, and the joint army retreated to Valencia. But the year had been so disastrous to Louis XIV, that he offered terms of peace that the Allies would have done well to accept.

The war
in Spain
(1705-6)

The year 1707 was a set back to the Allies, as Eugene failed in an attempt to invade France, Marlborough could do nothing in the Netherlands, and in Spain Galway was severely defeated at Almanza owing to the flight of the Portuguese contingent, which left the English to contend against a force three times their number. In the following year (1708), however, Marlborough won another great victory at Oudenarde, which led to the practical completion of the capture of the Spanish Netherlands and also to the

Oudenarde
(1708)

¹ The evidence for this and other achievements of Peterborough depends upon the *Memoirs* of Captain Carleton, which were for long accepted as genuine by historians, and which were edited in 1809 by Sir Walter Scott. It was later proved, however, that these memoirs are fictitious, and that they were written probably either by Defoe or Swift, and there is good reason for thinking that the credit for the capture of Barcelona really belongs to Peterborough's subordinate officers.

Capture
of
Minorca
(1708)

capture of Lille, one of the most important of the French barrier fortresses. Moreover, the English captured *Minorca*, and by so doing secured what was most important—a harbour in the Mediterranean in which a fleet could winter; whilst stormy weather led to the failure of a French expedition which was sent up the Firth of Forth to capture Edinburgh. Louis again offered peace, and was prepared to preserve for Philip only Naples and Sicily. The terms he offered now were actually far better than those the Allies were in the end to obtain. The Allies insisted that he should also, if necessary, assist them in expelling Philip from Spain by force. Such a proposal naturally not only infuriated the French King, but the French nation as well, and gave them both fresh energy for the war. And then, in 1709, came the last and the most costly of Marlborough's victories, *Malplaquet*, and the capture of Mons.

Mal-
plaquet
(1709)

Recovery
of France
(1710-13)

Our great series of successes ended with *Malplaquet*. French enthusiasm revived. The Allies became slack, and a Tory Ministry in favour of peace succeeded to power in Great Britain. This Ministry dismissed *Marlborough* in 1711, and *Ormonde*, his successor, was given instructions—which he was to keep secret from the Allies—not to undertake offensive operations.¹ In Spain the Allies, though they managed temporarily to occupy *Madrid*, were defeated in two battles in 1710; and the accession in the following year of the Archduke Charles to the Austrian dominions, and his election as Emperor, altered the whole situation.

Now that, in 1711, the Archduke Charles had succeeded to all the Austrian dominions, it was absurd for Great Britain to go on fighting in order that he might succeed to the Spanish dominions as well. But the difficulty was that our allies, the Dutch and the Austrians, would not agree to a peace. What then was *Bolingbroke*, the joint

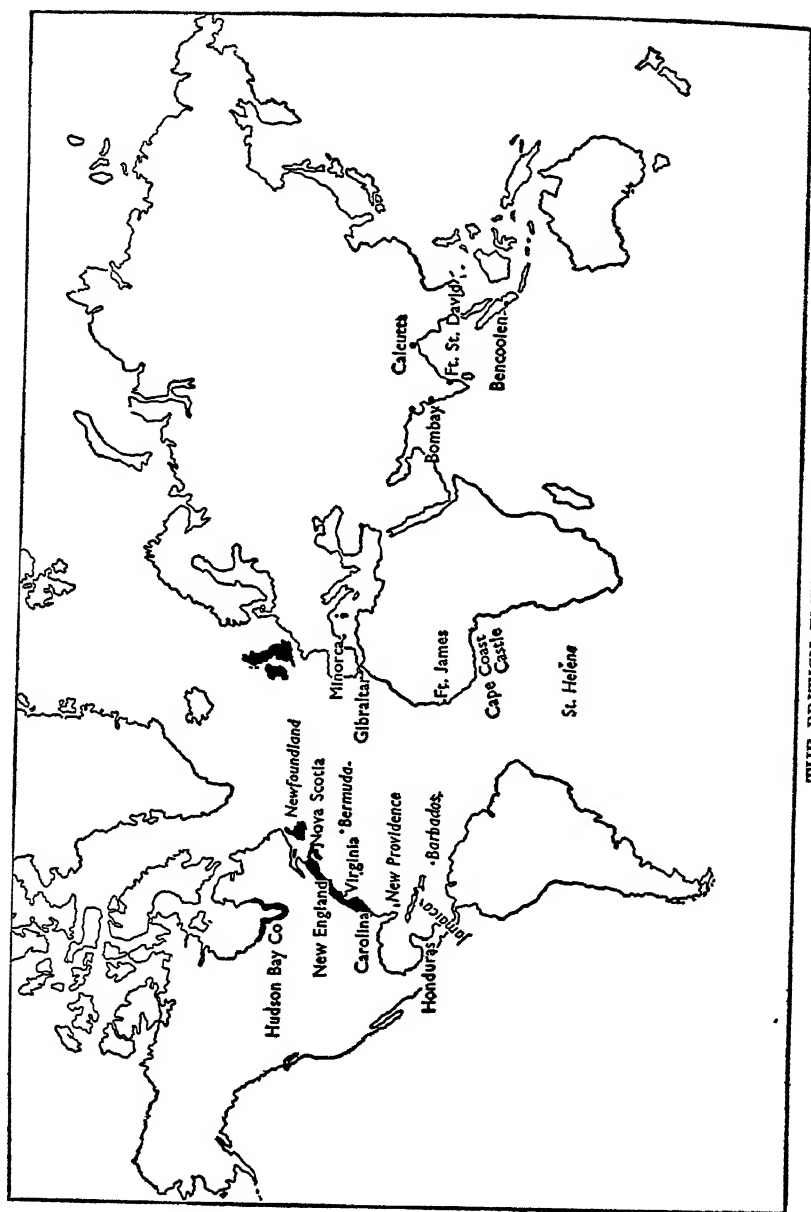
¹ This was perhaps the most dishonourable action ever done by a British Government. *Ormonde*, in obedience to instructions from home, finally withdrew his forces altogether, though there was a brilliant opportunity of defeating the French.

head of the Government, to do? He had already begun to open up negotiations with France behind the back of the Allies, and these were now continued. Eventually in 1713 a series of treaties was signed at Utrecht.¹ By these treaties Philip kept Spain and the New World, but was excluded from the succession to the French throne (*Note 89*). The Emperor Charles was given the Spanish dominions in Italy and the Netherlands. The Dutch were allowed to garrison the Barrier Fortresses. With regard to Great Britain, the Protestant succession was recognized. She obtained from France Newfoundland (leaving to the French certain fishing rights which were the cause, later, of many difficulties) and Nova Scotia, and from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca, thereby establishing her position in that sea which has been called the "keyboard" of Europe. Spain also gave to Great Britain the monopoly of the slave trade with Spanish America — not then regarded as either inhuman or wicked — and the right to send one ship a year to Porto Bello in the Spanish Main.

The
Treaty of
Utrecht
(1713)

Great Britain had therefore gained her original objects in going to war. She had made, moreover, very important additions to her Empire; and there is some truth, if also some exaggeration, in the verdict of an historian that if at the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht. Further, the peace, though it checked French ambitions, was not a vindictive one against France, and therefore that country did not, after it, harbour the desire for a future "war of revenge". Englishmen must remember, however, to their shame that the people of Catalonia, who had fought bravely for the Allies throughout the war, were left to the vengeance of Philip — and a terrible vengeance it proved to be.

¹ Treaties were signed between France, Spain, Holland, and England at Utrecht in 1713, but the treaty between France and Austria was made in the following year at Rastadt.



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1714

4. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS UNDER ANNE

The Union with Scotland (1707) — perhaps the most important event in Anne's reign—will be discussed later (*Note 91*). The history of the domestic politics whilst Anne was Queen remains to be narrated. Two features deserve special notice. One is the fierceness of the party strife, especially towards the close of the reign, when it extended even to the ladies of the two parties, who, it is said, patched upon different sides of their faces, and had different designs upon their fans. It is to the struggle over the Exclusion Bill in Charles II's reign that these two great parties, known as Whigs and Tories — nicknames given to those parties by their respective opponents — owe their origin, and in Anne's reign the differences between them were sharply defined (*Note 92*). The Whigs were in favour of Toleration, whilst the Tories were strong upholders of the Church of England, and were jealous even of the liberties which the Dissenters had recently acquired under the Toleration Act. The Whigs upheld the constitutional government that had developed as a result of the Revolution, but the Tories still had ideas of divine right and passive obedience. The Whigs supported the War of the Spanish Succession, the Tories, on the other hand, in the earlier stages of the war, wished it to be chiefly maritime, and in the later stages were opposed to it altogether. Finally, whilst all the Whigs were in favour of the succession, on Anne's death, of the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, many of the Tories favoured James II's son.

Whigs
and
Tories

The other feature to be noticed in Anne's reign is the close connection between politics and literature. In those days the reporting of speeches in Parliament was forbidden, whilst the age of public meetings had not begun. But the increased interest that was being taken in public questions and the increased importance of Parliament made it neces-

Politics
and
literature

sary for the rival parties to influence the country; and this was done through the papers and pamphlets of the great literary men of the period. Thus *Addison*, a Whig and the editor of the *Spectator*, eventually became a Secretary of State, though he never opened his mouth in the House of Commons; whilst *Swift*, a Tory and a clergyman, composed pamphlets which had enormous political influence, and, when towards the end of Anne's reign the Tory party was in power, used to dine every week with the two leaders of the Government, in order to assist in formulating their policy.

There were two ministries during Anne's reign. The first was under the leadership of *Godolphin*, who was in close alliance with Marlborough. Of the latter something has been said already. Of the former Charles II once remarked that "little Sidney Godolphin was never in the way and never out of the way". He seems to have been a shrewd statesman, though his personality has left curiously little impression. At first the members of the Government were drawn from both parties, but the growing hostility of the Tories to the war led to the ministry becoming increasingly, and in 1708 completely, of a Whig complexion. Two of the Tories who were dismissed in 1708 were *Robert Harley* and *Henry St. John*, both of whom immediately began to scheme the overthrow of the ministry.

Godolphin's ministry has justly been called "one of the most glorious in English history", for under its rule occurred the great achievements of Marlborough and of Peterborough, the captures of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the Union with Scotland.

Godolphin's Ministry came to an abrupt termination in 1710. The causes were many. The war was becoming unpopular, and it was urged with some force that Great Britain should have accepted the terms of peace offered by Louis XIV in 1706, and the still more favourable offers of 1709. Moreover, Marlborough was ambitious to be made

Godolphin's
ministry
(1702-10)

causes of
its fate

Captain-General of the British forces for life — an ambition which frightened Englishmen into thinking that he wished to be a second Cromwell and which therefore brought unpopularity on the Whig ministers though they had not supported the proposal.

Then, again, the Queen became hostile to the ministry. Though she was a person of no intellectual attainments, and appears to have had little influence in the actual administration of her Government, she was extremely popular with all classes for her kindness of heart, and because, as she said of herself, she was "perfectly English".¹ She disliked a purely Whig ministry, and she could not forgive the Whigs for their attacks upon her husband, Prince George of Denmark, whilst he was alive, or for their suggestion, soon after his death, that she should take thoughts of a second husband. Moreover, the Queen was very subject to the influence of those of her own sex. For some time the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough had been supreme. The Duchess was a very self-willed, masterful, and somewhat quarrelsome lady; about 1708 she quarrelled with the Queen, as she did subsequently with her son-in-law, her granddaughter, and even her doctors.² Mrs. Masham (Abigail Hill) who had strong Tory connections,³ succeeded to the first place in the Queen's affections, and the change was ominous for Godolphin's ministry.

Queen
Anne

Sarah
Churchill,
the
Duchess
of Marl-
borough

Above all, Anne was a strong supporter of the Church of England; and it was the cry of "the Church in danger"

¹ The Queen had no taste for literature and music, and for some years never heard even her own band play. But she was fond of hunting, and in her later years used to follow the stag-hunt in Windsor Forest in an open chaise drawn by one horse, "which she drives herself", wrote Swift, "and drives furiously, like Jehu".

² The duchess got a portrait of her granddaughter, blackened its face, and hung it up with the inscription: "She is much blacker within". In 1740 she had lain a great while ill, without speaking. Her physicians said: "She must be blistered, or she will die." She then called out: "I won't be blistered, and I won't die." And, as a matter of fact, she was not blistered, and she did not die — till four years later.

³ She was a cousin of Harley's and to him she owed her introduction into the royal circle.

The
Sache-
verell
trial

that finally brought about the downfall of the Whigs. A certain Doctor Sacheverell, whose chief recommendations to favour were a fine presence and a good voice, preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, in which he advocated Passive Obedience, said that the Church was in danger of schism, and attacked the ministers, calling them amongst other things "wiley Volpones", in allusion to a nickname of Godolphin. The Government was foolish enough to take notice of the sermon and impeached the doctor. There was great popular excitement. The Queen, on her journey to the trial at Westminster Hall, was greeted with shouts of "We hope Your Majesty is for the Church and Doctor Sacheverell". Sacheverell became a popular hero and was acclaimed by cheering mobs, and after the trial was over — as a result of which he was sentenced to a light punishment¹ — he had a triumphal progress through the provinces on his way to Shropshire.² The Queen then took action. The Whigs were dismissed and the Tories were called to office. Parliament was dissolved and in the new House of Commons there was a large Tory majority (*Note 92*).

Whig
ministry
falls
(1710)

Tory
ministry
(1710-4),
Harley
and St.
John

This rise to power of the Tories was important, for it was to affect the history of the next reign (George I). The two leaders of the party were Harley (created *Earl of Oxford*) and St. John (created *Viscount Bolingbroke*). These two were really opposed to each other, and their intrigues in the end were to ruin their party and drive the Hanoverian heirs to depend upon the Whigs. Harley possessed personal courage and was a great patron of literature — his famous collection of manuscripts, now in the possession of the British Museum, is priceless. In politics he was

¹ He was forbidden to preach for three years — a possibly agreeable punishment.

² The Sacheverell case is interesting as being one of the earliest political movements in which ladies took an active share, and the ladies were enthusiastic admirers of the doctor. "Matters of government and affairs of State", wrote a contemporary, "are become the province of the ladies. They have hardly leisure to live, little time to eat and sleep, and none at all to say their prayers." The Duchess of Marlborough, however, did not agree with her own sex in the matter — she described Sacheverell as an "ignorant and impudent incendiary"

a moderate. Hence he was liable to be accused of being irresolute in his decisions and dilatory in their execution. This moderation led him also sometimes to be shifty in his dealings with his Tory colleagues, and not averse to negotiations with his political opponents. Hence he has been called the "mole" in the politics of that day, because he was always burrowing. Bolingbroke has been described as a "brilliant knave". No one will deny his brilliancy. Swift said that he was the greatest young man he knew. Pope went further and declared him to be the greatest man in the world, whilst Pitt said that he would rather recover one of his speeches than "all the gaps in Greek and Roman lore". His style provided a model for Gibbon the historian, and his political ideas were not without their influence upon statesmen who lived so recently as Disraeli. His knavery is more open to doubt, but it is certain that his actions and policy were not quite so disinterested and straightforward as he makes them out to be.¹ Bolingbroke was impetuous, and a strong party man; and he soon supplanted Harley in the affections of the Tories. "Members", said Bolingbroke of the House of Commons, "grow fond like hounds of the man who shows them sport, and by whose halloo they are wont to be encouraged." And Harley was too fond of running with the hare to be able to cheer on his followers.

The Tory ministers proceeded to secure the objects which their supporters had most at heart. They tried to strengthen the Church and to weaken the Nonconformists by passing the *Occasional Conformity* (1711) and the *Schism Acts* (1714). The first Act was directed against the habit of the Nonconformists of qualifying for office by taking the Communion every now and again in an Anglican Church, and thus evading the Test and Corporation Acts; the second Act tried to deprive the Nonconformists of their hold upon education by forbidding anyone to teach without a licence

Measures
of minis-
try:
Occa-
sional
Conform-
ity and
Schism
Acts

¹ "Ah, Harry," his father is reported to have said to him after he went to the House of Lords, "I always said you would be hanged, but now you are made a peer, I suppose you'll be beheaded."

from a bishop. To make the war unpopular Swift's genius was employed in the composition of pamphlets such as "The Conduct of the Allies", and Marlborough himself was dismissed from his employments, accused of peculation, and attacked with such violence that he left the country. The war, conducted half-heartedly for a year or two, was, as we have seen, terminated in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht (Note 89).

Then came the question of the *Succession to the throne*. The peaceful succession of the House of Hanover has been called the "greatest miracle in our history"; if it was not that, it was undoubtedly at one time unlikely. The majority of the people were probably Tory in sentiment, and would have preferred a Stuart, especially as the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her son George, if not unpopular, were completely unknown in England.¹ Men known to be supporters of the Stuart succession were put into positions of trust by the ministry, the Earl of Mar, for instance, being given control of Scotland, and the Duke of Ormonde being made Warden of the Cinque Ports. Two things, however, prevented the continuance of the House of Stuart on the throne of England. In the first place, James the Second's son, James Edward, the Old Pretender as he was called, refused — and it was greatly to his credit — either to change or to dissemble his Roman Catholic religion. Consequently in England the Tories found themselves torn between their affection for the Anglican Church and their allegiance to the Stuart dynasty, while the Scottish nation was divided into those who had a passionate romantic loyalty to the Stuarts and those whose devotion to Protestantism made support of a Roman Catholic an impossibility.

In the second place, Anne died too soon. There were dissensions between the Tory leaders, but Bolingbroke

¹ Of course, by the Act of Settlement the Princess Sophia was the successor to the throne, but Queen Anne, beyond inserting her name in the Liturgy, did nothing to recognize her claim, and never invited the princess to England or gave her a title.

managed to get rid of Harley, who was dismissed from the ministry. It is uncertain what Bolingbroke really intended, but it is probable that he was working for the succession of the Old Pretender. Events, however, moved too quickly for him. Two days after Harley's dismissal Anne fell very seriously ill. A council meeting was summoned to discuss the situation. Two Whig dukes who were Privy Councillors suddenly entered the meeting and, as they were legally entitled to do, took part in the discussion. As a result, it was resolved that the Treasurer's staff—the symbol of authority—should be given to Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig, and Anne, on her deathbed, gave it to him. On Anne's death, whilst the plans of Bolingbroke were still undeveloped, George I., through Shrewsbury's influence, was proclaimed King (the Electress Sophia being dead). Had the Queen lived six months, or even six weeks, longer, our history might have been very different.

The death
of Queen
Anne

5. SCOTLAND UNDER THE LATER STUARTS

The condition of Scotland on William III's accession was deplorable. It was rent by religious feuds. There was little wealth and few industries, and every bad harvest produced a famine. The Lowlands suffered from the depredations of the Highlanders—and even as late as 1747 it was reckoned that £5000 worth of cattle were annually "lifted", whilst another £5000 were paid by various owners to save their cattle from that fate. The Highlands were in a barbarous condition; the chief had almost supreme authority over the members of his clan;¹ and plunder, it has been said, was at once "the passion, the trade, and the romance of the Highlander".

Condition
of
Scotland
in 1689

The reigns of William and Mary and of Anne mark the beginning of a happier and more prosperous period for

¹ Some chiefs had a private executioner of their own; and the town of Perth, in 1707, sent a request to Lord Drummond for the occasional use of his executioner—a request which was very courteously granted.

Scotland. One fearful atrocity, it is true, was committed. The Battle of Killiecrankie (p. 546) and the death of Dundee (1689) did not at once terminate hostilities, and some of the clans still refused to recognize the new sovereigns. At last a proclamation was issued, promising pardon to all who took an oath of allegiance to the new Government before the last day of 1691. Only two chiefs had not taken the oath by the appointed day, and of these, one, Macdonald of Glencoe, failed merely because he had made it a point of honour to delay till the last possible moment, and had then gone to the wrong place to take the oath. Sir John Dalrymple, the joint Secretary of State, was completely out of sympathy with the Highlanders, and determined to make a signal example of the people of Glencoe. Troops were sent there commanded by their hereditary enemy, Campbell of Glenlyon, who, after being entertained by the Macdonalds for a fortnight, suddenly made an attack upon them and brutally murdered the chief and thirty-seven of his clan (1692).

The
Glencoe
massacre
(1692)

Causes of
improvement

The condition of Scotland, however, rapidly improved after the Revolution of 1688. The Bank of Scotland, founded in 1695, was an incentive to trade; the Habeas Corpus Act, passed in 1701, and similar to that passed in England thirty years before, protected the liberty of the individual. But to three things, above all, did Scotland owe her prosperity. In the first place, Presbyterianism, the religion of the great majority, was made, in 1689, the established religion, whilst the Episcopalians obtained toleration. Hence Scotland obtained what she most needed — the cessation of religious strife — though a small sect of Presbyterian extremists refused to enter the Establishment, and persisted in demanding the enforcing of the Solemn League and Covenant. Secondly, a law was passed in 1696 establishing schools in every parish, and Scotland, long before England, enjoyed a widespread measure of education.

Thirdly, the Union between England and Scotland was

achieved in 1707 (*Note 91*). There had been great difficulties in the way. English merchants did not wish to give commercial concessions or English Churchmen to recognize Presbyterianism. Scotland was legitimately proud of her nationality and had no wish to have her individuality absorbed in that of England. And, moreover, Scotland attributed to English jealousy and deliberate obstruction the failure of an attempt made by her merchants in 1698 to develop a trading centre at the Isthmus of Darien (now Panama). It gradually became clear, however, that the slender monarchic union would have to be either broken, or very considerably strengthened. Endless complications might arise when Anne died. After long negotiations the Union was at last completed. By its terms Scotland was allowed forty-five members in the House of Commons and sixteen peers in the House of Lords; she contributed one-fortieth to the Land Tax and was paid nearly £400,000 for sharing in the English National Debt. Scotland was to preserve her own Law Courts, whilst a separate Act secured her Presbyterian church. Above all, free trade was established between England and Scotland, and Scotland was allowed to trade with the colonies. Scotland was at last given her industrial opportunity, and soon her shipping and manufactures proved formidable rivals to the shippers and manufacturers of England. Moreover, no one can fail to realize the immense share Scotsmen have had in developing the British Empire.

The Union between England and Scotland (1707)

The Darien Scheme (1698)

The Terms of the Union

Effects of the Union

Yet the Union was not popular for some time. In Scotland, during the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, one of the cries was for the abolition of the Union. In England the Scots were long unpopular, and at the beginning of George III's reign Bute's Scottish ancestry was one of the causes of his great unpopularity when Prime Minister. But gradually the national prejudices faded away, and the natives of both countries learnt to appreciate the immense advantages each derived from the Union. Henceforth the histories of England and Scotland are linked together.

NOTES ON PERIOD SEVEN (1688-1714)

RULERS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1694)

WILLIAM III (1694-1702)

ANNE (1702-1714)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: LOUIS XIV (1643-1715)

SPAIN: CHARLES II (1665-1700)

PHILIP V (1708-1746) — first of
the Bourbon Kings of Spain.

EMPIRE: LEOPOLD I (1657-1705)

JOSEPH I (1705-1711)

CHARLES VI (1711-1740)

BRANDENBURG: FREDERICK I (1688-1713)

SWEDEN: CHARLES XII (1697-1720)

NOTE 85. — EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

1. Parliament really gained the upper hand, for

- (a) *King's revenue now granted annually*, hence Parliament had to meet every year.
- (b) House of Commons denied right of Lords to amend money Bills. *Appropriation of Supplies* meant that money must be spent on purpose for which it was voted.

2. Power of the Crown limited by two very important Acts.

(a) Bill of Rights (1689).

- (i) Crown could only be held by a Protestant.
- (ii) Declared illegal the "suspending" or "dispensing power" lately claimed by the Crown.
- (iii) All prerogative courts illegal.
- (iv) *Parliament* to be freely elected, have freedom of speech, and no taxation without its consent.

- (v) Standing army illegal — this provision was contained in the corollary *Mutiny Act*, which said that troops could not be kept under arms for longer than twelve months (To this day an annual Army Act has to be passed)

(c) **Act of Settlement (1701)**

- (i) Settled the Crown on Protestant line (i.e. the *Protestant* grand-daughter of James I, Princess Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover. Other claimants who were Roman Catholics were thus disqualified)
- (ii) Judges only to be dismissed after address by both Houses of Parliament
- (iii) No pardon by Crown could be pleaded for impeachment — this made ministers responsible
- (iv) Persons holding office of profit under the Crown might not sit in Parliament (repealed in 1706) Kings must not involve Britain in war to defend other possessions

Neither of these last two provisions was kept. *Ministers* (who hold offices of profit) are in the House of Commons and owing to this can defend measures there and are responsible for presenting measures.

William III and George II both involved England in foreign wars which were largely fought over foreign possessions.

- (c) *Triennial Act* (1694) ordered General Election every 3 years (now is 5 years). Thus, the Crown was no longer independent of Parliament, for had to ask annually for money, the army was under Parliament's control through need for annual Act, the King's ministers were responsible to Parliament, and the judges were independent of the Crown.

NOTE 86 — EFFECTS OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III

- 1 (a) **Religious Toleration** began. William resolved on toleration and passed the Act of Toleration (1689) — allowing freedom of worship.
- (b) **Freedom of Press** helped, as "Licensing Bill" no longer renewed, so censorship abolished.
- 2 Finally put an end to "Divine right", for William and all subsequent kings owed their throne to the decision of Parliament, embodied in the Act of Settlement.
- 3 "Whigs" had called William to power, so a period of Whig rule followed, which encouraged commerce as the Whigs tended to be supported by commercial classes, Tories by landlords.
- 4 **England drawn into continental struggle against France**, as William being ruler of Holland was resolved to save Holland from France. (Some historians say that for the first time foreign policy was the only interest of the reign.)

NOTE 87 — WILLIAM III AND SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

1. The Scots accepted the Revolution

- (a) They recognized William as King, and he recognized Presbyterianism as religion of Scotland (1688)
- (b) Some of the Scots, under Graham of Claverhouse, rose for James II, and won battle of *Killicrankie* (1689) Later, rebellion collapsed
- (c) Amnesty offered to all by a certain date *Macdonald of Glencoe* late in accepting amnesty, *Massacre of Glencoe* (1692) brought about by their neighbouring foes, the Campbells William was blamed, but probably never understood what was being done

2 The Irish stood by James II, who landed with French troops (1689)

- (a) Ireland rose for him *Londonderry* and *Enniskillen*, loyal to William, and besieged (1689)
- (b) 1690 William went to Ireland and won *Battle of the Boyne* James returned to France — and died there in 1701
- (c) *Treaty of Limerick* (1691), promised Irish Catholics the same privileges they had under Charles II Not kept Roman Catholics excluded from Irish Parliament, and
- (d) Protestants passed the Penal Code which forbade Roman Catholics to own land, or belong to professions, and all priests "banished" from land (latter never enforced)

NOTE 88. — ENGLAND AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (1702-1713)

1 Why England entered the War.

- (a) To check absolute preponderance of France, which would have followed had Louis gained control of Spain
- (b) To safeguard English trade, which was threatened by Louis who sent French troops to take the Netherlands and Italy, and who granted France privileges in trading with these countries
- (c) To prevent restoration of the Stuarts, which was favoured by France as Louis recognized the son of James II (the "Old Pretender") as King of England

2 England's Part in the War.

- (a) Drove the French out of Holland. This was achieved as follows:
 - (i) 1702 Marlborough defended the Dutch frontier against the French
 - (ii) *Austria saved by Battle of Blenheim* (1704) when Marlborough drove French army from Vienna and drove them back over the Rhine He was supported by Austrians, under Prince Eugene. Bavaria, France's ally, forced to make peace.

- (iii) *Marlborough* won *Battle of Ramillies* (1706), took 8 great fortresses from France, and conquered part of the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium)
- (iv) Won *Battle of Oudenarde* (1708) and took *Lille*. Won *Battle of Malplaquet* (1709) and took *Mons*, the last great fortress in French hands. Way open to France itself
- (c) For a time won *Spain* for the Imperial candidate, *Charles III*. *Gibraltar* captured (1704). *Barcelona* and *Madrid* taken (1706). Finally English defeated at *Almanza* (1707). *Minorca* captured (1708). English lost *Madrid* (1710).
- (c) Gained Supremacy at Sea.

(i) Admiral *Rooke* destroyed the Spanish treasure fleet at *Cape Finisterre* (1703)

(ii) Britain by capture of *Gibraltar* (1704) and *Minorca* (1708) gained control of Mediterranean

The wars checked *Louis's* ambitions, saved *Holland*, and indirectly helped *Great Britain*, but the nation had been unwilling to go to war, and grew tired of it.

NOTE 89. — CLOSE OF THE WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION

Attempts of *Louis* to obtain Peace.

- (a) 1706 after *Ramillies* *Louis* offered terms of partition. *Charles* to have *Spain*, *Philip* of France to have *Italian* possessions. Rejected
- (b) 1708 after *Oudenarde* *Louis* offered to withdraw his support of *Philip*. Rejected by *Whigs*, who demanded that he should make war on *Philip*
- (c) 1709 after *Malplaquet* *Louis* offered to help allies with money against *Philip*, but would not declare war on him. Rejected by *Whigs*

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ended the war. It was brought about because nation was tired of war, and the *Whigs* falling from power, the *Tories*, who were a "peace party", made peace at once

(*Tories* dismissed *Marlborough* and negotiated peace with France without consulting their allies).

The results of the war were

1. France kept her early conquests, including *Alsace*, and *Louis's* grandson became King of Spain, as *Philip V*
2. *Holland* recovered her territory and her safety was guaranteed by the line of great barrier fortresses. Saved from French conquest.
3. *Spain* accepted *Philip* of France as King, gave up *Italian* possessions and the Spanish Netherlands. *Thrones of France and Spain never to be united* (This had been one of chief causes of war)

4. *Austria* gave up claim to Spanish throne, but got instead Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands
5. *Great Britain* gained
 - (a) Gibraltar and Minorca in Europe
 - (b) Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay Territory, and Newfoundland in America
 - (c) Commercial treaties with Spain and Holland By Spanish *Treaty of Assiento* England could supply Spanish colonies with slaves
 - (d) Recognition by France of the Protestant succession and Pretender expelled from France

Thus, comparing the gains with the causes, Britain really achieved her objects, for aggression of France was defeated, and both France and Holland were so exhausted by the struggle that Britain which had suffered far less, went ahead commercially and politically, owing to her immense gain in prestige due to Marlborough's victories

NOTE 90 — FINANCE AND COMMERCE UNDER THE LATER STUARTS

As the *Whigs* had brought about the Revolution of 1688, they gained long ascendancy Being supported largely by the commercial classes, great attention was paid to commerce

1. **Bank of England** founded (1694) by Paterson, encouraged by Montagu, the Chancellor of Exchequer Government borrowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and subscribers of this formed a company Government paid interest on the loan, guaranteed the Bank, and gave it a Charter This helped British finance and commerce, as it enabled money to be loaned for great undertakings, with security
2. **National Debt** funded (1693) Montagu arranged that the money for the enormously expensive wars should be borrowed from business men, but *capital not to be repaid*, only annual interest paid, and guaranteed by Government
 - (a) This meant that expenditure on wars was spread out if it had been raised and paid for out of taxes, taxation would have been so heavy that all trade and industry would have been ruined
 - (b) The loans provided a perfectly safe investment, and encouraged people to save
 - (c) So many people lent money to the Government in this stock that great stability was gained for the Protestant rulers, as any restoration of the Stuarts might have meant repudiation of the money loaned to William's Government
3. Great attention paid to Britain's commercial interests in the policy of the Government Thus, at Utrecht (1713) Britain gained by commercial clauses. She also gained by the subordination of the Dutch to the English in the war.

- 4 **Darien scheme** (1695-1700) by Scots to form an overseas trading company. Object to buy trade concession at "Darien", i.e. Isthmus of Panama. Failed. This made Scots readier for Act of Union, to enable them to share in English trading concession.
- 5 Restoration of the **currency**; old money called in, and new money was 'milled' round the edge, which prevented clipping.

NOTE 21 — ACT OF UNION WITH SCOTLAND, 1707

One of the most important events of Anne's reign. Hitherto countries only united by the Crown. Hence the Scots could not share, e.g. in trading companies.

Under the Commonwealth Scotland was united to England and shared in benefits of English trade. On the Restoration of Charles II, this Union was ended.

Scotland had passed its Habeas Corpus Act and founded its own Bank of Scotland. Had established toleration in 1689. In 1696 set up 'public' schools.

Events leading up to Union.

- 1 After Revolution of 1688, Scots did not accept English settlement of succession.
- 2 In 1703 Scots passed *Act of Security*. English succession of Anne only to be accepted by Scots if England granted free trade with Scotland and allowed Scots to control own affairs. Bill vetoed by Anne.
- 3 In 1704 Scots again passed Act of Security — now accepted by Anne.

Act uniting England and Scotland passed in 1707.

One *Kingdom of Great Britain* formed, with one sovereign and one Parliament.

Formerly opposed because England did not want to recognize Presbyterianism as State religion of Scotland, nor grant commercial privileges.

Terms of Act:

- 1 Scotland given 45 members in Commons, 16 peers in Lords (her peers elected by the other Scottish peers).
- 2 Scotland to contribute one-fortieth of land tax.
- 3 Scotland kept her own law courts, and her own laws (Scottish Law differs from English Law, and is based on Roman Law).
- 4 Presbyterianism recognized as State religion of Scotland.
- 5 Free trade established between the two countries.
- 6 Scotland to be allowed to trade with the English colonies.

NOTE 22 — GROWTH OF PARTIES UNDER LATER STUARTS

- 1 **Origin of Parties.** Grew up under *Charles II*. Shaftesbury reckoned the first party leader.

- (a) *Whigs* opposed Charles II, for they objected to French alliance and dreaded Catholicism. Worked up feeling over Popish Plot (1678), in order to secure exclusion of James.
- (b) *Tories* believed in "divine right" and passive obedience. Supported Crown and Church of England.
(Names came from Whigs, a term used in Scotland for strong Presbyterians, Tories used to denote Irish Roman Catholics)

2 Parties under William and Mary (1688-1702).

Both parties invited William to England, as Tories driven to oppose James II's Roman Catholic policy (1688)

- (a) *Tories* opposed the (Dutch) war with France, and wished for neutrality. Hence Tory ministers dismissed by William (1696), opposed toleration and wished to maintain privileges of Church of England. Stood for power of Crown.
- (b) *Whigs* supported the war and wished for Dutch alliance. Supported toleration for Dissenters. Stood for power of Parliament.
- (c) *Both parties* united to pass Act of Settlement (1701) which settled the Crown on Protestants.

3 Parties under Queen Anne (1702-1714).

Note: Anne's Ministries at first contained members of both parties. Marlborough and Godolphin at first reckoned as Tories, gradually became Whigs.

(a) *Tory Ministry* (1702-8)

1702-4 Tory Ministry, with a few Whigs. War of Spanish Succession. Tories gradually ceased to support war.

1704-6 Moderate Tories in office, extreme Tories dismissed. Marlborough's influence supreme through his wife's friendship with the Queen. War successfully waged.

1706-8 Whigs given posts in Ministry. Union with Scotland strengthened Whigs (1707).

(b) *Whig Ministry* (1708-10).

(i) All Tories resigned. Marlborough supreme. War continued.

(ii) Gradual unpopularity of war. Sarah Churchill displaced in Queen's favour by Abigail Hill (Mrs Masham), a Tory.

(iii) Quarrel over the Church. Sacheverell incident lost the Whigs the Queen's support (1709).

(c) *Tory Triumph* (1710-14)

Harley (Earl of Oxford) and St John (Bolingbroke) in office.

(i) Peace made at Utrecht (1713). Marlborough dismissed.

(ii) Non-conformists attacked, Schism Act passed.

(iii) Tories began to work for *succession of Stuarts* to the throne, with safeguards against arbitrary rule. "Old Pretender" came over in secret to see Anne.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD SEVEN (1688-1714)

Sovereign	Great Britain	Dates	Other Powers	Dates
William III (1689-1702) and Mary II (1689-1694)	Bill of Rights, Toleration Act	1689		
	Battle of the Boyne, Battle of Beachy Head	1690		
	Massacre of Glencoe; Battle of La Hogue	1692		
	National Debt funded	1693		
	Death of Mary, Bank of England started	1694		
	Darien Scheme.	1695		
		1697	Peace of Ryswick First Partition Treaty	1697 1698
	Death of Duke of Gloucester (heir to throne)	1700	Charles II of Spain dies; 2nd Partition Treaty	1700
	Act of Settlement; Death of James II	1701	Prussia becomes a Kingdom, Frederick I	1701
	Godolphin's Ministry	1702		
Anne (1702-1714)	Scottish Act of security vetoed	1703		
	Scottish Act of Security passed, Blenheim	1704		
	Battle of Ramillies	1706		
	Act of Union between England and Scotland	1707	Death of Aurangzeb, Great Mogul	1707
	Battle of Oudenarde, Minorca captured	1708		
	Battle of Malplaquet.	1709		
	Tory Ministry under Harley and St John	1710		
		1713	Charles VI becomes Emperor	1711
	Treaty of Utrecht.	1714		
	Death of Anne			

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD SEVEN
(1688-1714)

- 1 Did William III's foreign policy prove of benefit to England?
(OC 1936)
- 2 State the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht Why was it important?
(LGS 1936)
- 3 How did the Revolution of 1688 affect (a) Scotland, and (b) Ireland?
(LGS 1937)
- 4 Give an account of the work of the Duke of Marlborough
(NUJB 1937)
- 5 What were the chief changes in the constitution affected by (a) the Bill of Rights, (b) the Act of Settlement?
(OC 1935)
- 6 Write a short account of *two* of the following (a) the economic development in the eighteenth century of the British colonies in North America (b) the English woollen industry in this period, (c) the establishment of the Bank of England, (d) enclosures in England in this period
(NUJB 1938)
- 7 Why did England take part in the War of the Spanish Succession?
(OC 1938)
- 8 Describe the rivalry between Whig and Tory parties in the reign of Anne and George I
(NUJB 1938)
- 9 Describe the series of Acts passed on the accession of William III for securing the liberty of the subject
(LGS 1920)
- 10 Account for and describe William III's long struggle to weaken the power of France How far was his object attained? (OL 1927, '28)
- 11 Trace the growth of the principle of religious toleration during the seventeenth century
(LM 1921)
12. What justification can be urged for the participation of England in the War of the Spanish Succession?
(LM 1923)
- 13 What were the conditions leading up to the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments?
(LGS 1937)
- 14 Why did Britain enter the War of the Spanish Succession? What did she gain by doing so?
(LGS 1937)

PERIOD EIGHT

THE EXPANSION OF BRITAIN AND THE FINAL CONTEST WITH THE CROWN

(1714-1783)

CHAPTER 44

THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY

1. DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE FIRST TWO GEORGES

On the death of Anne, the Elector of Hanover became King, and ascended the throne as George I.

The new dynasty cannot have been said to have presented the nation with a very attractive monarchy in its first two Kings. A contemporary said of George I that "he had no notion of what was princely"; whilst George II was somewhat coarse, occasionally irritable, and not over-generous—he only made one present to Walpole, who was his minister for fifteen years, and that was a diamond with a flaw in it. Neither of the two Kings was much interested in science, art, or literature.¹ Both of them quarrelled with their eldest sons.² But whilst George I quarrelled also with

George I
(1714-27),
and
George II
(1727-60)

¹ There is a story that George I, when congratulated by some courtier on becoming King of England, said: "Rather congratulate me in having Newton for a subject in one country and Leibnitz in the other." But the story lacks confirmation, and there is no reason to suppose that George I realized the greatness either of the discoverer of the law of gravitation or of the inventor of the differential calculus.

² George I was so much displeased with his son, the future George II, that he appears to have entertained a suggestion that the son should be seized and sent to America, "where he should never be heard of more"; for Queen Caroline, George II's wife, found in George I's cabinet after his death a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty containing this proposal.

his wife and kept her in prison for over thirty years, George II was very much attached to Queen Caroline (she died in 1737), who was indeed a remarkable woman, keenly interested in the philosophy and literature of her time, and exercising considerable influence upon politics.

Both George I and George II, however, possessed characteristics which should have appealed to their new subjects. They were keen soldiers. George I began his fighting career at the age of fifteen, and commanded the forces of the Empire for a short period during the War of the Spanish Succession, whilst George II led a great cavalry charge at Oudenarde, and, donning the same old uniform thirty-five years later, fought like a lion at Dettingen. Both Kings were truthful and trustworthy, loyal to their friends and not vindictive to their opponents. Moreover, it is very greatly to their credit that, though they were absolute rulers in Hanover, they never overstepped the constitutional limits imposed upon them in Great Britain, and they had the good sense to rely for counsel in British affairs upon their British advisers and not upon any German ministers or favourites. It was hardly to be expected that George I, who came to the throne at the age of fifty-four and did not know a word of English, should understand or care for British politics; he spent half his time in Hanover, and his influence in Great Britain was small. George II, though also devoted to Hanover, knew more of Great Britain, and, as he possessed shrewdness and common sense, was a factor of considerable importance in domestic affairs.

The accession of George I in 1714 made the Whigs supreme. The Tories were tainted with Jacobite sympathies, and for forty-five years (till after the accession of George III) the Whigs remained in secure possession of the Government. The Whigs had an immense majority in the first Parliament of George I, and they carried through some notable measures. First, they introduced greater *toleration*, by repealing the persecuting Acts of Anne's

Tory ministers (the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts). Then, hoping to gain security, they passed the *Septennial Act* (1716) which allowed Parliament to sit for seven years. This was clearly better than the limit of three years imposed in the reign of William.¹ Parliament, as a result of the Revolution of 1688, had obtained control of legislation and taxation. William III, however, as has been pointed out, chose his own ministers and directed both the home and foreign policy of the nation; and even Anne often presided at meetings of the cabinet² — as the meetings of heads of departments came to be called — and directly appointed the ministers. But with the accession of the House of Hanover came a great change, and it may be convenient here to summarize the chief features of the constitution during the hundred years after 1714 (*Note 93*). \

"The Act of Settlement had given us," it has been said, "a foreign sovereign; the presence of a foreign sovereign gave us a Prime Minister." George I could not speak English — Walpole, after 1721 the King's chief minister, had to brush up his Latin in order to converse with the King in that language — and George II only spoke it with a strong German accent; while neither of the two Kings was sufficiently interested in or intimate with British politics to comprehend its details. Consequently neither of them attended cabinet meetings; and George III, when he came to the throne in 1760, was unable, despite his desire, to do so owing to the precedent set by his predecessors. Hence it was natural that one minister should preside over the cabinet and direct its proceedings; and gradually it came about that he and not the King appointed his colleagues to

The Prime
Minister

The
cabinet
system

¹ This arrangement held good till 1911, when the life of a Parliament was changed to five years.

² The privy council had grown too large for consultative purposes; consequently an inner royal council had developed, which was first called a "cabinet" in the reign of Charles I. After the Revolution the cabinet became an established institution. A statesman of Anne's reign illustrated the difference between the privy council and the cabinet thus: "The privy council were such as were thought to know everything and knew nothing, while those of the cabinet thought that nobody knew anything but themselves."

the ministry, and that he obtained the title of Prime Minister. Moreover, the King, as he was not present at the cabinet meetings where the details were discussed, gradually lost the power of deciding on what was to be done. He would be told that such and such had happened, and that the advice of his minister was to do this. If he did not understand, or were careless, or not interested, he agreed without further comment. Gradually, the other characteristics of our present system of cabinet government were evolved: The King's ministers ministers were chosen from the same party; they became jointly responsible for the policy pursued; and they became dependent for the continuance of their power, not upon the king, but upon the House of Commons. Hitherto the Crown had decided, though the ministers might be consulted; but as time goes on the position is reversed — the ministers decided, though the Crown might be consulted. Moreover, the Crown ceased to refuse its assent to bills passed by Parliament, Anne being the last sovereign who exercised this right.

Slowness of its development We must beware, however, of two mistakes in tracing the history of cabinet government. In the first place, we must not antedate its full development. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the leader of the ministry would have repudiated the title of Prime Minister owing to its unpopularity. Members of a cabinet not infrequently gave individual and contradictory advice to the king and seldom retired from office at the same time. Moreover, the Crown was still a very great force and still a real factor in the administration of the country; indeed, it might be said that the ministers of the eighteenth century had to serve two masters — the Crown and a majority of the House of Commons. And when there was no disciplined or organized party, as happened especially in George III's reign, the monarchy counted for a great deal in politics.

In the second place, it must not be imagined that the power which the Crown lost was gained by the people, that

monarchy gave way to democracy. Britain in the eighteenth century, it has been said, was ruled by a "Venetian oligarchy". It was an oligarchy not, indeed, as exclusive, but almost as omnipotent, as in that famous republic, although its power was based, not, as in Venice, on the wealth derived from commerce, but mainly on the power derived from the possession of large landed estates. Educated at one of the large public schools, intermarrying with one another, meeting each other constantly in the small and exclusive society of the London of that day, a few family clans composed in the main the governing classes of the period. The leaders of such families as the Pelhams, the Russells, and the Cavendishes were found constantly in the higher, and their relatives in the lower posts of each Government. In one cabinet half the members were dukes, and in another there was only one commoner. This landowning oligarchy not only at times "encircled and enchained the throne", but to a large extent dominated the House of Lords, and possessed enormous influence in the House of Commons.

Power
of the
aristo-
cracy

The House of Commons was, up till the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, a very undemocratic body. The representation was most unequal; Cornwall, for instance, because it was a royal duchy and therefore subject to the Crown influence, returned as many members as the whole of Scotland. In the English and Welsh counties the franchise was limited to freeholders, namely, those who owned their own land — not, of course, a large number. In the English and Welsh boroughs the franchise was confined to members of the corporation; in the city of Bath, for instance, the number of voters was only thirty-five. Moreover, whilst towns becoming so important as Manchester or Birmingham had no representatives at all, there were a great many small and insignificant boroughs, with a very few voters, which returned one and sometimes two members. Many of these boroughs were either "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs. A "rotten" borough was generally sold to the highest bidder, very often

Composi-
tion of
the House
of Com-
mons

"Rotten"
and
"Pocket"
boroughs

some rich merchant.¹ A "pocket" borough belonged to an individual, generally a neighbouring landowner, who nominated a member to represent it. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was said that no less than fifty members of the House of Commons owed, in some measure, their seats to the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, whilst, a little later, Sir James Lowther (Lord Lonsdale) practically nominated nine members, known as "Sir James's Ninepins", who had to vote as he directed.²

In Scotland the electoral system was just as unrepresentative. The county of Bute possessed but twelve voters, whilst in the burghs the elections were controlled by a few individuals. Just before the Reform Bill of 1832 it was reckoned that with a population of over two and a quarter millions Scotland had only three thousand electors, and it was said that more votes were cast at a single by-election in Westminster than in a Scottish general election. Moreover, the ministers responsible for Scottish affairs had an enormous influence, which they exercised to secure members favourable to the Government in power.³

Corruption in politics Politics was regarded as a lucrative profession, and a minister in the eighteenth century might expect to be able to endow his relatives and supporters with desirable offices, which combined a small amount of work with a large amount of remuneration.⁴ Loyalty to a party or a minister was

¹ In 1730 the price for the lifetime of a single parliament was £1500; in 1830, £7000.

² About the time of the accession of George III, the number of members representing English constituencies was 489. Of these 80 represented the counties and were almost entirely the landed gentry. Of members representing boroughs, the election of 32 was controlled by the Government, and of just on 200 by some 100 patrons. Of the other 180 members, many had bought their seats or had the seats bought for them.

³ Thus the Duke of Argyll and his brother were supreme during part of Walpole's ministry, and Henry Dundas during Pitt's rule (1783-1801) had such authority that he was known as Harry the Ninth, and practically all the Scottish members were his supporters.

⁴ Thus Horace Walpole, the letter writer, was the third son of Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister. Whilst still a boy at Eton his father gave him the offices of Clerk of the Estreats and Comptroller of the Pipe, which produced about £300 per annum. At the age of twenty he became Usher of the Exchequer, which was worth from £1000 to £1500 a year. His duties were not exacting; they

generously rewarded; in George III's reign, for instance, **Placemen** no less than three hundred and eighty-eight peerages were created, most of them for political services. There were many places and pensions, and a large number of members had either one or the other.¹ But this was all part of the political system of that day. The direct bribery of members of Parliament, however, to obtain their votes on a particular occasion was rare; and owing largely to the influence of such statesmen as the elder, and to a lesser extent the younger Pitt, and to a bill passed at the end of the century which reduced the number of places and pensions, the standard of political morality was steadily improved. And by no means all politicians found politics remunerative: the Duke of Newcastle was in public life for nearly fifty years, and found himself at the end of it some £300,000 the poorer as a consequence.

The political system in existence between 1714 and 1832 did, as a matter of fact, produce many statesmen of distinguished ability, who guided Great Britain on the whole very successfully through very difficult times. Many of our greatest statesmen, including Walpole, Canning, Fox, the two Pitts, Gladstone, and Palmerston, began their political career as representatives of "pocket" boroughs. Of course it is quite true that the House of Commons was not acutely sensitive to public opinion and did not readily reflect every change in the nation's ideas. But if the nation really felt strongly about anything, its feelings would in the end prevail in the House. And in some ways the system was good, for it gave the House a stability and the member an

were "to furnish papers, pens, ink, wax, sand, tape, penknives, scissors, and parchment to the Exchequer and Treasury, and to pay the bills of the workmen and tradesmen who serve these offices". On his father's death, Walpole received in addition £1000 a year from the collector's place in the custom house. All these offices Walpole held for the rest of his life. Of his two brothers, one held the lucrative office of Auditor of the Exchequer, and the other was Clerk of the Pells.

¹ In the Parliament elected in 1761, it is estimated, there were 50 ministers and civil servants, 50 court officials, 50 holders of sinecures, 37 Government contractors, and 10 holders of secret service pensions.

independence which were valuable. And though the landed classes had the chief, it must not be supposed that they had the sole power, or that the professions and trade and industry were not represented; on the contrary, lawyers and merchants, naval and army officers, civil servants and diplomats were present in the House of Commons and helped to make it a real microcosm of the nation.¹

2. THE JACOBITE RISINGS OF 1715 AND 1719

Character
of period
(1714-60)

It must be admitted that the period known as the early Hanoverian had some unattractive characteristics. "Soul extinct; stomach well alive" is the verdict of one distinguished historian on this epoch. Indeed, it cannot, except towards its close, be called an inspiring one. In politics there was a good deal of corruption, and no great principle to ennoble the strife between the party factions. In religion, the Church of England, it has been said, slept and rotted in peace, and its leaders — the bishops — were in some cases hardly Christians. A period of peace was followed by a period of war, in which for a time many of our soldiers and seamen showed conspicuous incapacity. In literature, the poetry of the period has been criticised as being too artificial and epigrammatic. But the merits of its greatest poet, Pope, somewhat underrated in the nineteenth century, are now more fully recognized, whilst in the period was written one of the most widely-read poems in the world — Gray's *Elegy*. Moreover, it was a period of growing toleration in matters of religion, and of growing common sense in the affairs of the world; the country grew prosperous, and trade and industry increased; and the nation obtained, for the first half of this epoch, what perhaps it most needed at that time — an interval of repose. Nor must we forget that this epoch

¹ In the Parliament elected in 1761, 169 members were Irish peers or the sons of peers, and 101 were baronets or the sons of baronets. There were 50 merchants, 40 practising lawyers, 21 naval officers, 59 army officers, 7 civil servants, and 5 diplomats.

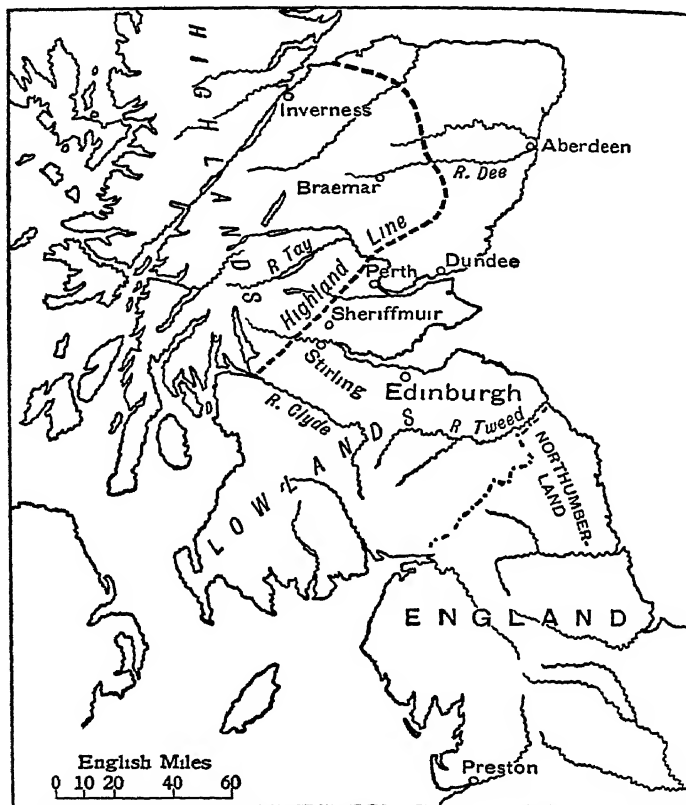
produced in John Wesley one of the greatest religious leaders in England's history.

Such a period, however, was not one in which men would be ready to lead forlorn hopes in support of lost causes. Tory squires and Oxford undergraduates might still continue to toast the Stuarts,¹ but the mass of the nation quietly acquiesced in the Hanoverian succession (*Note 93*). Only in Scotland, and especially in the Highlands, was active devotion shown to the House of Stuart, and Scotland was the centre of the two rebellions which took place. The first rising was in 1715, and is known, from the name of its leader, as *Mar's Rebellion*. There were to be risings in the Highlands under the Earl of Mar himself, and in the Lowlands of Scotland; in Cumberland, under a Mr. Forster; and in the west of England, where the Duke of Ormonde was to land. But the rising in the west came to nothing. The two Scottish forces should have combined for a joint attack upon Stirling, which commanded the communications of Highlands and Lowlands; but the Lowlanders went south instead of north, and along with the men of Cumberland were taken prisoners at Preston. On the same day Mar met the Hanoverian army at *Sheriffmuir*, and though the battle was indecisive, the right wing of each army soundly defeating the wing opposed to it, Government troops blocked the road to Edinburgh, and the rebellion fizzled out.

The causes of the failure of the rising were many. To begin with, its leaders were incompetent, and no one had much faith in Mar, "bobbing John" as he was called. The Old Pretender did indeed land in Scotland, but not till after Sheriffmuir had been fought, and not only did he bring neither men nor money with him, but he also proved a very dispiriting and frigid leader. Moreover, Louis XIV had just died, and the Regent Orleans, who governed during

¹ Under such disguises as Job, standing for James III (the Old Pretender), Ormonde, and Bolingbroke; or £3. 14s. 5d., which denoted James III and the two foreign kings who were expected to assist him, Louis XIV of France and Philip V of Spain.

the childhood of Louis XV, wished to keep on good terms with Great Britain. Consequently no help came from



THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1715

France. Finally, the Whig Government dealt energetically with the situation.¹

In 1719 a small Spanish force under the Earl Marischal

¹ The Old Pretender, or the Chevalier de St George as he is called, left Scotland in less than six weeks. Subsequently he married a granddaughter of the King of Poland, his two sons being Charles Edward (d. 1788) and the Cardinal of York (d. 1807). He himself died in 1766, and in 1819 George III erected a monument to his memory in St Peter's at Rome.

landed in Scotland and was joined by about a thousand clansmen led by the Marquis of Tullibardine. Government troops, however, defeated and scattered them at Glenshiel.

3. WALPOLE

The danger of a Stuart restoration had thus been safely overcome. Now, however, came difficulties in another direction, namely finance.

A company had been formed in 1711 to secure the trade of the South Seas. It had prospered, and in 1719 it offered to take over the National Debt, that is to say, to become the sole creditor of the Government, and to buy out, either by cash or by shares in the Company, all other creditors. The Company proposed to pay £7,000,000 for this privilege — for as such it was regarded — and to reduce the interest which the nation was paying. The Government accepted the offer, and the more willingly as the Company had paid considerable bribes to the less honest of its members. The directors of the Company thought that the close connection with the Government which would result from the Company being its sole creditor would be a gigantic advertisement and inspire confidence. And so it proved. Everyone, including philosophers and clergymen, and even in its corporate capacity the Canton of Berne, began to buy shares in the Company. The £100 shares went up by bounds and reached £1000. There followed a craze of speculation. Numerous companies were formed, none too foolish to lack subscribers.¹ And then came the reaction, and the bubble burst. People began to realize that the South Sea Company's shares could not possibly be worth what had been paid for them, and tried to get rid of them. Consequently the shares fell even quicker than they had risen,

The
South
Sea
Bubble
(1719)

¹ One financier brought out a company to promote "a certain design which will hereafter be promulgated"; and even this company did not lack subscribers.

and hundreds of people who had bought when the stock was high lost their fortunes.

Fall of the ministry (1720) At once there was a cry for vengeance. It was seriously proposed to tie the directors up in sacks and throw them into the Thames. Revelations regarding the bribes to the ministers came out, and the Government was ruined. Of the two leaders, Sunderland resigned, and Stanhope, who was honest, had a fit when an unjust charge of corruption was brought against him, and died. Of the other ministers, one committed suicide, another was sent to the Tower, whilst the smallpox accounted for a third. The way was thus left open for Walpole, who had not been officially connected with the South Sea Company's transactions, though he had made a profit of 1000 per cent by judicious buying and selling of its shares on his own private account.

Character of Walpole *Robert Walpole* was a typical product of his time (*Note 94*). By birth a Norfolk squire, and educated at Eton, he was a cheerful, good-natured, tolerant person, and a keen sportsman, who, it was said, always opened the letters from his gamekeeper first, however important his other correspondence might be.¹ He was a man of considerable common sense, and a prodigiously hard worker. He never appeared to be in a hurry, and he had the invaluable faculty of forgetting his worries. "I throw off my cares," he said, "when I throw off my clothes." As he said, however, of himself, he was no saint, no reformer, no Spartan. A cynical, coarse person, he lacked all enthusiasms. With him there was no ideal for his country to seek to attain in external affairs, no passion to lessen the sum of human misery at home. Such a statesman may make a nation prosperous, but he can never make a nation great. It was fortunate for Great

¹ Parliament owes its Saturday holiday to the fact that Walpole on that day used always to hunt with his beagles at Richmond. Pope, the great friend of Walpole's chief opponents, has borne witness to his social qualities:

"Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure ill exchanged for power;
Seen him uncumbered with the venal tribe,
Smile without art and win without a bribe."

Britain that, after she had waxed fat under a Walpole, she had a Pitt to inspire her to action.

The twenty-one years of Walpole's administration, from 1721-42, contain, it has been said, "no history". In foreign affairs Walpole maintained till near the close of his ministry a policy of peace, which was very beneficial to England. In domestic affairs little happened. In our financial history, however, Walpole's rule was very important. Walpole undoubtedly was a great financier. He restored credit after the South Sea panic. He found, it is said, our tariff to be the worst in Europe; and by abolishing duties on a great number of articles he made it the best. In all the details of financial administration he was excellent; if he could not, as George I said he could, make gold out of nothing, he could make it go a long way.

Walpole's
rule
(1721-42)

Finance

Walpole's administration, again, marks a stage in the evolution of cabinet government. Walpole has been called our first prime minister, because he practically appointed all his colleagues and insisted that they should have the same opinions as himself. He, however, was no believer in cabinet councils, and preferred to discuss public affairs with two or three of his colleagues at the more convivial and less controversial dinner table. But if a minister differed from him he had to go — either to govern Ireland like Carteret (1724); or to be the first leader of an organized Opposition like Pulteney (1725), whose tongue Walpole feared; it was said, more than another man's sword; or to grow turnips like Townshend (1730), the brother-in-law and Norfolk neighbour of Walpole.

Develop-
ment of
Cabinet
Govern-
ment

Though Walpole was supreme in his ministry, he had to encounter considerable opposition from other quarters. Bolingbroke, who had fled to the Continent on George I's accession, had been allowed to come back to England, and, though excluded, as one of the conditions of his return, from using his great powers of speech in the House of Lords, wielded his pen with great effect in a weekly paper

Walpole
and the
Opposi-
tion

called *The Craftsman*.¹ He and the Tories, though not very numerous themselves, had as their allies in opposing Walpole an increasing number of the older Whigs under Pulteney, who were discontented with Walpole's monopoly of power, and of the younger Whigs called "the Boys", including a rising statesman in William Pitt, who unsparingly attacked Walpole's system of bribery and corruption. Walpole, however, held his own. He had the support of both George I and George II, and especially of Queen Caroline until she died in 1737.² Moreover, his mixture of shrewdness, good sense, and good humour made him an excellent leader in the House of Commons; and these qualities, besides the power which he could exercise through the gift of places and pensions, and the possession by some of his chief supporters of "pocket boroughs", served to secure him a fairly docile majority.

Walpole was careful, moreover, to avoid raising great antagonisms. Whilst allowing the Dissenters in practice to hold office in towns and elsewhere, he would not, for fear of angering the Church, formally repeal the laws which forbade them to do so. In another matter he gave way to popular feeling. In 1733 he introduced an *Excise Bill*. Under this Bill duties on wine and tobacco were to be paid, not on their arrival in port, but only if and when they were taken for internal consumption in Great Britain out of the warehouses where they were to be placed on arrival. The object of the Bill was to check smuggling and to make London and other places free ports by allowing goods to be re-exported without paying any duty. The Bill, however, met with tremendous opposition. An army of excise

The
Excise
Bill
(1733)

¹ The first number of *The Craftsman* appeared at the end of 1726, and the last number in 1736. It was published at first twice and then once a week, and amongst its contributors, besides Bolingbroke himself, were Swift, Pulteney, Pope, and Arbuthnot.

² Queen Caroline on one occasion succeeded in convincing the King with arguments Walpole had used to her, though unconvinced by them herself. She had great influence over the King, cf. the old couplet:

"You may strut, dapper George, but 't will all be in vain;
We know 't is Queen Caroline, not you that reign."

men, it was alleged, would be created, who would swamp the elections with their votes, and who would invade Englishmen's homes to see that the duty had been paid, reducing British subjects to a condition of slavery. The citizens of London prayed to be heard against the Bill, and sent a petition escorted by coaches that stretched from Westminster to Temple Bar. The soldiers were on the point of mutiny because they thought that the price of their tobacco would be raised. The whole country took up the cry of "No slavery, no excise", and numbers of people marched about with badges on their hats bearing this and similar inscriptions. In the House of Commons the Opposition attacked the Bill with great fury, and Walpole's majority sank to seventeen. When this occurred, Walpole felt he must yield. "This dance", he said, "will no further go"; and, to the great popular delight, the Bill was abandoned.¹

Three years after the withdrawal of the Excise Bill, Walpole's Government became very unpopular in Scotland. As a result of the Union of 1707, the customs duties in that country had been increased so as to tally with those in England, and consequently many Scots thought themselves justified in eluding them. Smuggling was therefore regarded with an indulgent eye in Scotland, and was so general as to be almost one of its minor industries. In 1736 two notorious smugglers, who had robbed a custom-house officer, were convicted and ordered to be executed in Edinburgh. One of them made himself a popular hero by chivalrously aiding the escape of the other,² and there was consequently a huge and sympathetic crowd at his execution. The execution

¹ Even Samuel Johnson, some twenty years after, so far forgot the impartiality of a lexicographer as thus to define the word "excise" in his Dictionary: "a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid".

² The two prisoners had planned to escape from prison by enlarging the window in their cell. One of them, however, stuck in the aperture, and not only was unable to get out himself, but prevented the egress of the other. But, on the following Sunday, he attacked the guard at the close of divine service, and endeavoured to escape. He failed, but prolonged his struggles to distract the attention of the guards, thus enabling his fellow-prisoner to get away.

The
Porteous
Riots
(1736)

over, there was some disorder, and stones were thrown at the town guard. Its commander, *Captain Porteous*, gave orders for the guard to fire, and some people were killed. Popular fury was aroused. Captain Porteous was tried and condemned to death. But he was reprieved by the Government, and the mob then took matters into their own hands and hanged him on a dyer's pole.¹ Walpole's Government accordingly tried to pass a Bill punishing the city of Edinburgh, but its terms were so stringent that they were opposed by all the Scottish members and had to be considerably modified. Walpole's position in Scotland was further weakened by the defection of the Duke of Argyll, who had enormous influence; consequently in the new Parliament of 1741 only six Scottish members supported Walpole.

Fall of
Walpole
(1742)

Meanwhile Queen Caroline's death in 1737 had deprived Walpole of his chief ally, whilst in the same year the Prince of Wales joined the Opposition. Finally, the Opposition forced on the war with Spain in 1739 (p. 599), and Walpole's mismanagement of it helped to secure his defeat and resignation in 1742. Walpole's rule had not been an inspiring one. But his policy of peace abroad and inactivity at home had two results; it made the Hanoverian dynasty secure, and it gave the country a breathing space which enabled her to endure the exertions demanded during the later wars of the century. Moreover, Walpole's strong, clear common sense had been of great value in matters of practical administration, whilst his financial ability had done much, and would, but for a factious opposition, have done more to develop the prosperity and trade of the country.

Walpole had been a great minister, but the same cannot be said of the men who followed him. The Whigs still continued their long hold of office, and *Carteret*, *Pelham*, and the *Duke of Newcastle* were the new leaders.

The new Government had now to meet what threatened to be a very formidable danger, and here they really reaped

¹ See Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* for a full account of the Porteous Riots.

the advantages which Walpole's rule had sowed. The peace and prosperity which he had secured for Britain made the country willing to support the Hanoverians whom he had served, and when another attempt was made to bring back the Stuarts, England did not support it (*Note 93*).

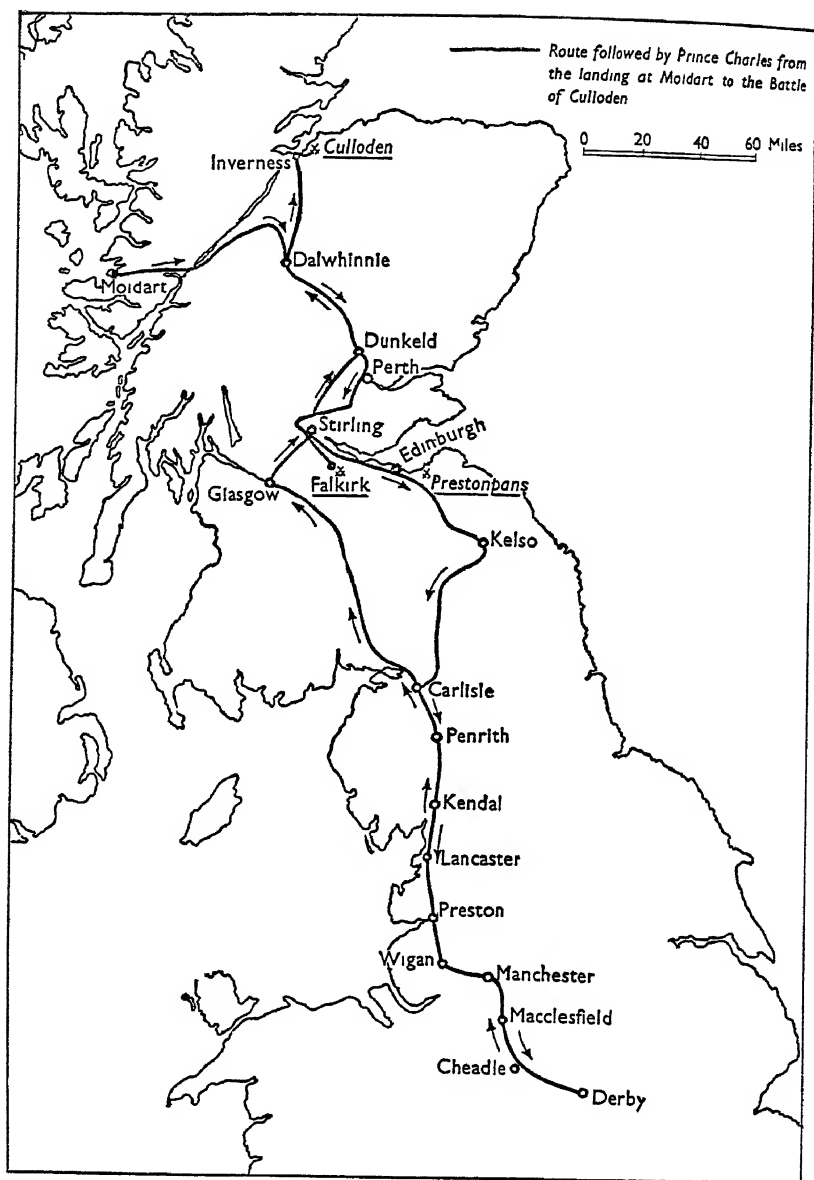
4. THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1745

The Jacobite rising in 1745 was a more formidable affair than either of the preceding attempts, though in the interval between 1719 and 1745 Jacobitism had become almost entirely a Scottish movement. This rising took place during the War of the Austrian Succession soon after the battle of Fontenoy (p. 601), where Great Britain had lost great numbers of her bravest troops. The hero of the '45 was Charles Edward, the son of the Old Pretender, whose daring and attractive personality well fitted him to lead the Highlanders to victory. Though France had refused to give him any help, he was determined to win back the throne of his fathers, and in July he landed at Moidart in the north-west of Scotland with only seven men. Some of the Highland chieftains knew well the folly of his attempt, and Lochiel and Macdonald of Boisdale tried to dissuade him. But he would not listen to them, and, seeing his determination, they decided to give him their support. Some other clans joined in, and Charles marched south. Cope, the opposing general, came north from Edinburgh to meet him, but made a tactical error, and Charles, who had been joined by a very capable officer, Lord George Murray,¹ entered Edinburgh unopposed and advanced to meet Cope, who had returned by sea, at *Prestonpans*. Crossing by night a marsh which was supposed to be impassable, Prince Charles at daylight found himself within two hundred yards of the enemy; and his Highlanders, charging successively the artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry, won a decisive

The
1745
Rebellion:
the
Young
Pretender

The
Battle of
Preston-
pans

¹ He had a son at Eton who was very anxious to fight for King George.



THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1745-1746

victory in under ten minutes (September). "They ran like rabbits", wrote the Prince of the enemy (the spelling is his own); "not a single bayonet was blood-stained."¹ Scotland seemed to be at his feet.

General Wade, meanwhile, had been sent north to Newcastle with ten battalions (seven of which were composed of foreigners) to prevent an invasion of England. Prince Charles, against the advice of his ablest advisers, advanced south, then suddenly — to avoid Wade — swerved west, entered England by Carlisle, took Manchester, and reached Derby — within one hundred and twenty-five miles of London. Whether he ought to have advanced farther will always be a matter for dispute. Had he but known that Newcastle, one of the chief ministers of the day, was restlessly pacing his room in an agony of doubt as to whether to join the Pretender or not, that George II himself had made all preparations to retire to Hanover, and that people were rushing in wild panic to get their money from the bank, he might have proceeded. As it was, Prudence in the person of Lord George Murray said "No"; for Wade was with one army in the north, Cumberland with another in the Midlands, and yet another lay near London, whilst the Prince's own army was dwindling and recruits were not coming in. The Scottish Lowlands, which had gained much from the Union, were apathetic where he had expected enthusiasm, and the north of England had "given him not the least encouragement". Consequently Prince Charles, against his own wishes and in very bad grace, retreated; and when he had once begun, he could not stop.

The rebellion henceforward became, as a contemporary said, "a rebellion on the defensive", and was bound to fail. Prince Charles, however, reached Scotland safely, and won a victory at *Falkirk* (January, 1746). The Duke of Cumberland was then appointed to the chief command in

¹ The Highlanders were delighted; they had, they said, a prince "who could eat a dry crust, sleep on pease-straw, eat his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five".

The
invasion
of Eng-
land

March to
Derby

Reasons
for retrea

Suppres-
sion of
rising

The
Battle of
Culloden
(1746)

Scotland, and showed a great energy in drilling his troops and in teaching them to meet a Highland charge. Whilst the men in the rear rank were to fire volleys, those in the front rank were to kneel with bayonets fixed, and each man was to thrust at the Highlander on his right front, the right being the Highlander's unprotected side. After a clever winter campaign in a mountainous country, Cumberland met Prince Charles at *Culloden*, near Inverness, and won a complete victory (April, 1746), though he obtained the horrible appellation of "Butcher", from the cruelty which he showed after the battle, his troops being ordered to show no mercy and to kill all they captured.¹

After the rebellion was over, many Scotsmen were executed. Prince Charles himself, with £30,000 on his head, after wandering for five months amongst the moorlands and mountains and islands of the west, was, through the heroism of Flora Macdonald, able to effect his escape, and eventually died in 1788.² The British Parliament passed a stringent Disarming Act. Parliament also abolished the hereditary jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs—many of whom had taken part in the insurrection—and tried, though without success, to abolish the national dress. With the failure of the rising, the hopes of the Jacobites were for ever crushed. Before long the Highlanders were to show on many a battlefield the same splendid loyalty to the House of Hanover as they had shown to the House of Stuart, for Pitt during the Seven Years' War formed two Scottish regiments, which did magnificent service, especially on the "Heights of Abraham".

The
reform
of the
calendar

Peace having thus been re-established, the country once more settled down. Only one matter of interest need be mentioned, and that was the reform of the calendar. Hitherto

¹ Cumberland celebrated his 24th birthday on the night before Culloden. Charles Edward was one year his senior.

² Through Flora Macdonald's help he escaped to Skye disguised as an Irish spinning-maid, and subsequently got safely to France. In 1750 he revisited England, of course disguised, and "in the new church in the Strand" made a Declaration of his Protestantism, hoping thereby to gain additional support.

in Great Britain the old Roman calendar had been used, and not the corrected calendar adopted first by Gregory XIII in 1582, and subsequently by nearly all European nations. The old calendar was several days wrong, and the ministry, in order to rectify it, omitted some days in September, 1752, calling the 3rd of September the 14th. Great irritation was aroused by this change, many people thinking that they had been defrauded by the Government of these days; hence came the popular cry, "Give us back our eleven days". Another change was made at the same time, and the legal year in future was to begin on 1st January, and not, as heretofore, on 25th March.

CHAPTER 45

FOREIGN POLICY AFTER 1714

To the conduct of foreign affairs, and the events which led to the great wars of George II's reign, we must now turn. For twenty-six years after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht — from 1713 to 1739 — Great Britain enjoyed a period of repose. Both France and Great Britain wished to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht, and for a great part of this period each country was ruled by a peace-loving minister, *Walpole* being chief minister in Great Britain from 1721–42 and *Fleury* being responsible for French policy from 1720–29. Hence not only were there no hostilities, but even at times an alliance or informal co-operation between these two powers — a very unusual state of affairs in the eighteenth century.

British
relations
with
France

England and France were thus transformed from age-long enemies to allies. But the hostility which Great Britain had felt towards France was now transferred to *Spain*. In 1718 Spain wished to seize Sicily, and Britain prevented

Great
Britain
and
Spain

Battle of Cape Passaro (1718) this by sinking her fleet off *Cape Passaro*.¹ Later Spain tried to recover Gibraltar and Minorca, but again Britain prevented her.

A few years later trade controversies with Spain became acute. The Spaniards jealously tried to exclude all other nations from trading with their enormous possessions in South America, though they failed to develop the trade on their own account. But British ships did a great deal of illicit trade with Spanish America, especially through the solitary British ship which under the terms of the *Assiento* clause of the Treaty of Utrecht was allowed to be sent there annually. This ship, whilst in the Spanish port, was emptied of its cargo each day, and refilled under cover of night by small boats from other ships outside the harbour.

The Spaniards, not unnaturally incensed at these proceedings, had retaliated by searching on the high seas British ships whose destination might be Spanish America, and treating British sailors with great brutality. Consequently, British feeling was roused, and the politicians opposed to Walpole, then the chief minister, thinking they had got a good party cry, took care to fan the indignation. Finally, anger reached boiling-point when a certain Captain Jenkins's ear (1739) Jenkins produced his ear in a bottle before the House of Commons, and asserted that it had been cut off by the Spaniards. He was asked "what his feelings were when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians", and he answered in words which were probably suggested to him beforehand, but which had the effect desired by the opposition of stimulating patriotic fervour: "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country."² Walpole,

¹ The Spanish fleet of eighteen sail was utterly destroyed by an English fleet of twenty-one sail under *Admiral Byng*. Part of the Spanish fleet fled, and took refuge inshore. A Captain Walton was sent in pursuit, and his dispatch announcing his success is said to be the shortest on record and to have run as follows: "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast the number as per margin. Respectfully, &c, G. Walton." But, as a matter of fact, this was only the ending of the letter.

² It has been doubted whether Jenkins ever really lost an ear at all, or, if he did, it has been asserted that he lost it in an English pillory. According to

unable to withstand popular opinion, after futile negotiations with Spain, declared war in 1739.

The year 1739 ushered in a new and prolonged period of conflict (*Note 95*). The war with Spain, somewhat discreditable to our honour in its origin, was discreditable to our arms in its conduct. An attempt on *Cartagena*, in Spanish America, was a miserable failure, and our only success was a voyage round the world undertaken by *Anson*, who captured an enormous amount of treasure on the west coast of South America.¹

The war
with
Spain
(1739)

But meanwhile, in 1740, another Succession War broke out. This had to do with Austria. Charles VI, the emperor and ruler of the vast Austrian dominions — known to us already, in the Spanish Succession War, as the Archduke Charles — had one child, a daughter, *Maria Theresa*. He persuaded nearly all the European powers to recognize an arrangement known as the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which it was laid down that all his kingdoms and territories should pass undivided to this daughter. But on Charles's death, in 1740, the Elector of Bavaria, the husband of Charles's elder brother's daughter, claimed the Austrian dominions. The King of France supported him and sent two armies across the Rhine. Meanwhile Frederick II, known in history as Frederick the Great, who had just succeeded to the Prussian throne, disregarded his promise to Charles to recognize his daughter, and seized Silesia, which belonged to Austria.

The
Austrian
Succession
War
(1740-48)

Feelings of chivalry and also fears of what might happen to the Austrian Netherlands impelled Great Britain to assist Maria Theresa, and, moreover, the Electors of Hanover

Great
Britain
enters
the war

Jenkins's story, the ear had been cut off in 1731 by a ferocious Spanish captain, by name Fandino, who was himself captured by a British frigate eleven years later after a desperate resistance

¹ Anson succeeded in capturing the great treasure-ship that sailed every year from Manila to Acapulco. The treasure he secured, worth some £500,000, was paraded through the city, on its way to the Bank of England, in a procession of thirty two wagons, the ship's company marching alongside with colours flying and band playing.

were traditional allies of the House of Habsburg. Hence, once again, England and France, though they did not declare formal war till 1744, found themselves engaged in hostilities. The military operations in which we took part were at the outset somewhat complicated, and it is sufficient to say that the position of Maria Theresa was at first very precarious, but that the loyalty of her subjects, and especially of the Hungarians, saved her.

Carteret became, on Walpole's resignation in 1742, responsible for our foreign policy. A gifted man, with great knowledge of European politics, and with the advantage, rare at that time, of being able to talk fluently in German, he belongs to the small number — perhaps fortunately small — of foreign secretaries who wished Great Britain to play a large part in Continental politics. He succeeded, first, in negotiating a peace between Frederick and Maria Theresa, by which Prussia withdrew from the struggle, and then in combining nearly all the German powers, with the exception of Prussia, against France. An army composed of English and Hanoverians, under the command of Lord Stair and accompanied by George II himself, was directed to evict the French from Germany. But the army soon found itself in an apparently hopeless position at *Dettingen*, with no food, with the River Main on one flank and impenetrable mountains and forests on the other, whilst its advance and retreat were covered by French forces. Fortunately the French left their strong position, and the British were able to make a decisive charge and snatch a victory from the jaws of defeat.¹ As a consequence, the French troops retired from Germany, and the situation was relieved.

The coalition of German powers, however, soon broke up. Prussia again took up arms against Austria, and

¹ George II's horse, frightened by the crackle of musketry, ran away with him at the beginning of the battle; the King therefore, fought during the remainder of the time on foot, saying that he could trust his legs not to run away with him. He behaved with the utmost bravery, encouraging his soldiers. "Steady, my boys, fire, my brave boys, give them fire; they will soon run." In honour of the victory, Handel composed a *Te Deum*.

Carteret, owing to his unpopularity at home, retired from office. Meanwhile, a French force of 80,000 men, under the famous Marshal Saxe, invaded the Austrian Netherlands; and, despite the efforts of the British, it was everywhere victorious. In 1745 the British were defeated at *Fontenoy*,^{Fontenoy (1745)} though the infantry won great glory by a magnificent charge, which was finally checked by the Irish Brigade serving in the French army.¹ In the same year the rising of the Young Pretender (see p. 593) led to the withdrawal of the British troops from the Continent. The French proceeded to occupy nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and when the British returned two years later they met with no success.

The war was ended in 1748 by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Maria Theresa was left in possession of the Austrian dominions, including the Austrian Netherlands, though Prussia kept Silesia; otherwise no change of importance took place. The war, however, so far as Great Britain and France were concerned, was not merely European. The French took Madras in India. We took Louisburg, the great port of Cape Breton Island, the Gibraltar, as it has been called, of the New World. These two places were exchanged at the peace. Concerning the right of search, the original cause of the war with Spain, nothing was said at all.

CHAPTER 46

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: AMERICA, INDIA, AND PITT

1. AMERICA

The Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* settled nothing permanently. It was only a truce, and a few years later, in 1756, a mightier war broke out — the *Seven Years' War* (*Note 96*).

¹ It was at Fontenoy that the young Duke of Cumberland so distinguished himself by his bravery that he was given command of the troops sent to Scotland to fight the Young Pretender.

The
British
and
French
in North
America

The rival ambitions of Great Britain and France in America and in India had to be adjusted — and the sword alone could do that. Something has already been said about our colonies in North America. The British colonies — thirteen in number — stretched along the shores of the Atlantic. To the north of them lay the French possession of Canada, to the south and west of them French Louisiana. The French ambitions were brilliant in conception. Just as in later times the French desired a sphere of influence that would stretch from the east to the west of Africa, so in the eighteenth century they wished to join Louisiana and Canada by occupying the land behind and to the west of the British settlements. At first sight the French ambitions might seem absurd; for the French colonists in Canada numbered only some 60,000, and the English colonists were nearly a million and a half. The French colony was united, and autocratically governed by capable French officials. The thirteen English colonies, on the other hand, were entirely separate in government, and often ill-disposed to one another; and all attempts to combine them for joint action had hitherto been complete failures. Moreover river valleys favoured the French designs. Throw a cork into the River Alleghany at its source near Lake Erie, and it will eventually find its way — if it meets with no obstacles — by the River Ohio and the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. Mountains — the Alleghany Mountains — on the other hand, interposed a natural barrier to the British expansion westward.

The
French
forts

After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle events moved fast in America. The French seemed likely to achieve their ambitions. If they could cut off the English on the north and south, and close in on them from the west, the English would be surrounded and shut up in a limited space, and could then be gradually squeezed out and either conquered or evicted from North America. Hence the French began to build a great chain of fortresses to serve the twofold purpose of forming a link between their northern and southern

possessions and of hemming in the British. South of Montreal they had already built, on the shores of Lake Champlain, two forts at *Crown Point* and at *Ticonderoga*. They now developed the building of a line of forts from north to south to secure the river valleys. Meantime the British, owing partly to the disunion of the colonies themselves and partly to the procrastination of the home government, had done nothing except the building of *Oswego* on the south side of Lake Ontario. Then in 1754 came the building by the French, near the western boundary of Pennsylvania and at the junction of three rivers, of *Fort Duquesne*; and the last link, it has been said, in the French chain of forts was forged. Its building at once led to war in America. Two attempts to capture it were made, the first under Washington in 1754, and the second under Braddock in 1755; and both were disastrous.¹ The outlook for the French in America was bright, when in 1756 formal war was declared between Great Britain and France.

Fort
Duquesne
(1754)

2. INDIA

But in the east as well as in the west, in India as well as in America, French and British ambitions clashed. Though on the west coast *Bombay* belonging to the English East India Company and *Mahé* belonging to the French East India Company lay far apart, their factories on the east coast were in the same districts. In the north the English *Calcutta* lay close to the French *Chandernagore*, whilst in the south the French *Pondicherry* lay between, though at some distance from, *Madras* and *Fort St. David*. Both companies had reached a point when for their future commercial development some interference with the politics of the interior was probable. It was, however, the condition of India itself which made that interference inevitable.

English
and
French
East
India
Com-
panies.

¹ Braddock, who had pushed forward with twelve hundred men, was caught in an ambush some seven miles from the fort, and lost nearly two-thirds of his force. He himself fought most bravely, and, after having five horses shot under him, was mortally wounded, and died next day.

The races
of India

India, it must be remembered, is not a country like France or Germany, but a large Continent. Its area is almost equal to, and its population is greater than, that of all Europe if Russia is excluded. The inhabitants of this vast continent speak some fifty languages, and from the Northern Pathan to the Southern Tamil there is a great diversity of customs and manners; and they are divided into races which, in the words of a recent viceroy, differ from one another "as much as the Esquimaux from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk". It may be urged that the Hindu religion gives a certain unifying influence; but it must be borne in mind that the Mohammedans — to say nothing of other religious sects such as the Parsees and Sikhs — constitute a very strong minority.¹ Moreover, the Hindus are themselves divided into some 3000 castes, the members of which have little social intercourse with one another; and their religion, it has been said, exhibits the worship of innumerable gods and an endless diversity of ritual. The religion of the well-educated Brahmin — the highest caste — may be called a form of Deism; the religion of the ordinary Hindu peasant embraces the worship of many local deities, and almost every village has its own particular objects of veneration.

Its an-
archical
condition
after
1707

The great Mohammedan dynasty, generally known as the Mogul dynasty, had, for a time, brought nearly the whole of India under its control. Established in the sixteenth century, it had gradually extended its power, especially under *Akbar* — the contemporary of Elizabeth — and *Aurangzeb*. But with the death of the last-named in 1707 the empire had begun to break asunder and India fell into a condition of anarchy. From the north the King of Persia came in 1739 and sacked Delhi, the Mogul capital. The Afghans after six successive invasions established themselves in the Punjab, until finally they gave way, towards the end of the century, to the Sikhs. In the north-east the rulers

¹ According to the last census, the Hindus number at the present time about 70 per cent of the total population.

of Bengal and Oudh were practically independent. In Central India, the Marathas — Hindu tribes — made expeditions north and east from their two great centres at Poona and at Nagpur. In the south the Nizam of Hyderabad was the greatest potentate, and the Nabob of the Carnatic in the south-east was his vassal. In the south-west the ruler of Mysore was shortly to possess formidable power.

In the constant rivalries between these various States lay the opportunity for European interference. And in 1741 a Frenchman, by name *Dupleix*, of exceptional ability and ambition, was appointed Governor of Pondicherry. He determined to take advantage, in the south, of this state of affairs. During the War of the Austrian Succession he devoted his energies to the capture of Madras, only to be obliged to give it back at the peace. But there followed disputed successions in Hyderabad and in the Carnatic. Dupleix and the British each supported a rival pair of candidates. One of the French candidates triumphed at Hyderabad; the other secured the whole Carnatic save Trichinopoly, and even that place was besieged and seemed likely to fall.

Dupleix
in India
(1741-54)

It was at this critical moment in 1751 that the position was saved by *Robert Clive*. The son of a small Shropshire squire, he had — after a somewhat turbulent boyhood — gone to India to act as a clerk in the East India Company.¹ When Dupleix attacked Madras, he had volunteered for service, and both then and subsequently made his mark as a soldier. He now proposed, as a diversion, an attack upon *Arcot*, the capital. His proposal was accepted, and with a small force he succeeded in capturing it. This bold action had the effect he desired, and the siege of Trichinopoly

Clive
and the
Siege of
Arcot
(1751)

¹ He was, even in early life, of a somewhat pugnacious disposition, and, at the age of six, was described as "out of measure addicted to fighting", whilst, later on, the shopkeepers of Market Drayton, so tradition says, used to pay "a small tribute of apples and halfpence" to Clive and a band of his school-fellows in order to preserve their windows from molestation. Clive, when he reached India, was for some time profoundly unhappy, and tried to commit suicide, but the pistol did not fire.

was raised. But this was by no means all. He had now to defend Arcot until relief came. With two hundred and thirty men he held on for fifty days, though he had to defend two breaches, the one of fifty and the other of ninety feet, against an army of ten thousand men. From the successful defence of Arcot, as Macaulay says, dates the renown of the British arms in the East. We had shown that we were not mere pedlars but fighters as well. Further successes led to the triumph of the British candidate in the Carnatic, and in 1754 Dupleix was recalled. Yet, as in Canada, the struggle was not over; and the Seven Years' War was to prove as important for its effects in India as for those in Canada.

3 THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Outbreak
of Seven
Years' War
(1756)

The Seven Years' War did not begin formally till 1756. But, as we have seen, hostilities between Great Britain and France had occurred in America and in India long before the war broke out in Europe. The capture and defence of Arcot by Clive occurred in 1751, the English attacks on Fort Duquesne began in 1754, whilst in 1755 hostilities spread to the sea, on which the British captured two French men-of-war carrying soldiers to Canada. Finally, in the early months of 1756 the French attacked Minorca; and with this last event war was regularly declared between the two countries.

Rivalry of
Prussia
and
Austria

It was not only, however, the rivalry between France and Great Britain that brought about the war, but also that between Austria and Prussia. Maria Theresa had no intention of allowing Frederick to retain Silesia; she felt its loss so keenly that she could not see a native of that country, it was said, without weeping. The only question was as to the partners which the rival powers would take. In the War of the Austrian Succession the allies on each side had been dissatisfied with one another. For this and for other

reasons the old alliances were reversed in the Seven Years' War. Austria and France — hitherto the great European rivals — for once made alliance together, and subsequently persuaded Russia to join them; and Great Britain bound itself to Austria's rival, Prussia.

The Seven Years' War, so far as Great Britain is concerned, may be divided into two periods. The first two years (1756-57) were years of almost unrelieved failure. The *Duke of Newcastle* (see p. 608) for the greater part of the time was chief minister. Procrastinating and ignorant, timid and undecided, he was "unfit", said George II, "to be Chamberlain to the smallest Court in Germany"; and it would certainly be difficult to find anyone less fitted to carry on a great war. He was a man of vast incompetence, always in a hurry and bustle and never doing anything. He has been described as a "hubble-bubble" man, his manner and speech resembling the bubbling of a Turkish pipe.¹ But his personal influence over various "pocket" boroughs returning members to the House of Commons, and his vast fortune spent in securing others, gave him a position which enabled him to be in high office almost continuously for over forty years. He and his ministry were so incapable that they could not survive the beginning of the Seven Years' War (1756).

The Duke of Newcastle (1754-56)

Commanders, both on land and sea, uninspired by the Government at home, planned their strategy without thought, and fought their battles by obsolete and formal methods. Consequently, at the beginning of the war, Great Britain was in terror of invasion, and to her disgrace

British failures in the war (1756-57)

¹ Newcastle was for a long time responsible for the administration of the American colonies, and two stories are told of his ignorance in that capacity. After being minister for many years someone told him that Cape Breton was an island and was not on the mainland, and he exclaimed delightedly: "Cape Breton an island! Wonderful! — show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island." On another occasion a general suggested that some defence was necessary for Annapolis, on which Newcastle, with his "evasive lisping hurry", replied: "Annapolis, Annapolis! Oh! yes, Annapolis must be defended; to be sure, Annapolis should be defended — pray, where is Annapolis?"

Hessians and Hanoverians were brought over to defend her own shores.

Meantime, *Byng* was dispatched with a fleet badly provisioned and poorly equipped to relieve *Minorca*, which *Byng and Minorca* had been attacked by the French. Off that island he fought an indecisive action with the French fleet when he ought to have avoided a battle and confined his attention to harassing the French communications. He then, supported by the advice of a council of war, returned home, leaving *Minorca* to be taken by the French. The nation was furious. *Byng* was tried for neglect of duty, found guilty, and shot on the quarterdeck of his own ship in Portsmouth Harbour—a scapegoat for the incompetence of the British Government and the want of seamanship on the part of the British navy.¹

America In America, the British lost *Oswego* and *Fort William Henry*, and an intended attack on *Louisburg* came to nothing. In *Germany* Germany, the Duke of Cumberland, George II's son, who had been sent to protect Hanover and to cover the western frontier of Prussia from a French invasion, was defeated at *Hastenbeck*, and forced to sign the *Convention of Kloster-seven*, by which he agreed to evacuate the country (1757).² Only two wonderful victories won by our ally, King Frederick of Prussia, over the French at *Rosbach* and over the Austrians at *Leuthen* saved the situation.

The last five years of the war (1758–63) are, on the other hand, years of almost untarnished glory. Midway in the year 1757 *William Pitt* formed a coalition ministry with the *Pitt and Newcastle (1757–61)* Duke of Newcastle, Newcastle managing the patronage and

¹ *Byng*, who was the son of the admiral who had won the battle off Cape Passaro in 1720, was unfortunate in being the first victim of a new rule. Officers could previously be shot for "cowardice" or "disaffection", but "negligence" had recently been added as a capital offence, and *Byng* came under this charge because he was found guilty of not having done his utmost to save *Minorca*. Voltaire's *mot* on this execution is well known; it was done, he said, "pour encourager les autres".

² George II was very angry as a consequence, and on Cumberland's return to London only gave him an interview of four minutes, telling him that "he had ruined his country and spoiled everything". At cards that evening, when the Duke entered the room, the King said openly. "Here is my son who has ruined me and disgraced himself!"

business details whilst Pitt was left to conduct the great war with which his name will be for ever connected (*Note 97*).

Pitt, after an education at Eton, went into the cavalry. He entered Parliament in 1735. He became an opponent, Pitt first as leader of "the Boys", of Walpole's corruption, and second, of Carteret's continental foreign policy; and the violent expression of his views was so congenial to the old Duchess of Marlborough that she left him a legacy of £10,000. Subsequently he had become paymaster of the forces in Pelham's administration, but had refused to take the enormous perquisites which had hitherto been connected with that office. From 1757 to 1761 Pitt was the real ruler of Great Britain. No doubt he was inconsistent, and in youth when in opposition attacked measures which he subsequently supported when in power. He has been described, and not without truth, as something of a charlatan. He loved ostentation and lacked simplicity. He was always something of an actor, and even for the most unimportant interviews his crutch and his sling (for he was a martyr to gout) were most carefully arranged.¹ And it must be admitted that his conduct to other ministers was overbearing and at times almost intolerable.

But Pitt was a great man. As an orator he was superb. "His words", wrote one contemporary, "have sometimes frozen my young blood into stagnation and sometimes made it pace in such a hurry through my veins that I could scarce support it." Another said that you might as soon expect a "No" from an old maid as from the House of Commons when Pitt was in the height of his power.² Absolutely

¹ Pitt was very fond of reading aloud the tragedies of Shakespeare to his family, but, whenever he came to any light or comic parts, he used to give the book to someone else to read. "This anecdote", says a distinguished historian, "is characteristic of his whole life. He never unbent. He was always acting a part, always self-conscious, always aiming at a false and unreal dignity."

² Many stories illustrate the extraordinary power Pitt possessed over the House of Commons. On one occasion a member who was attempting to answer Pitt was overcome either by Pitt's glance or a few words which he spoke, and sat down in fear and confusion. Someone afterwards asked a person who was present "whether the House did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor

incorruptible himself, he and his son, the younger Pitt, did more than any other two men to raise the standard of English public life. Quite fearless, he had the courage to stand up for unpopular causes — as in the case of Byng — when he saw an injustice was being done. It was of course as a war minister that he was greatest. But Pitt was one of those rare statesmen who had great views on all things. Unfortunately for Great Britain he held high office only from 1757 to 1761, and again for a brief period from 1766 to 1767. If he could have stayed in office longer, Ireland might have been pacified, America might not have been lost, our Indian Empire might have been at an earlier date organized, and parliamentary reform sooner accomplished. For not only had he great views himself, but like a prophet of old he could inspire a nation to noble deeds and high thoughts.

Pitt had all the qualities necessary for a great war minister. He combined supreme self-confidence with the power of inspiring others. "I believe," he said of himself, "I can save this country and that no one else can." "No one," said an officer, "can enter his closet without coming out of it a braver man." He had the capacity for selecting good men; no doubt he appointed some bad officers, but Hawke and Wolfe and Ferdinand of Brunswick are great names which attest his judgment. Above all, he had not only the genius of conceiving great and sound strategical designs, but also the capacity, with infinite patience and thoroughness, to plan their execution. No doubt he was arrogant and overbearing. He threatened to impeach one colleague who opposed him, and another complained that his language was of a kind seldom heard west of Constantinople. But

Success
of Great
Britain,
and Pitt's
influence

member". "No, sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh." On another occasion Pitt began a speech with the words "Sugar, Mr Speaker". The combination of Pitt's somewhat theatrical gestures and appearance with such simple words as these caused some members to laugh. Pitt turned round on these members, repeated the word "sugar" three times, and then said, "Who will now dare to laugh at sugar?" And the members sank, we are told, into abashed silence.

these very qualities enabled him to become the only genuine war minister Great Britain has had since the development of cabinet government, a minister possessing the almost undisputed control of the army and the navy as well as of the diplomacy of the country. For his ally Pitt had Frederick, King of Prussia, and it was through the combination of these great men that the foundations of the modern Empire of Great Britain and of the modern Kingdom of Prussia were securely laid.

Pitt's strategy was briefly as follows. Assistance must be given to the King of Prussia. Even the generalship of Frederick the Great would not have enabled Prussia to with- Strategy
of Pitt stand alone the combined forces of Austria, France, and Russia. Moreover, it was part of Pitt's policy to absorb French energies as far as possible in Europe. "We shall win Canada," Pitt said, "on the banks of the Elbe." Consequently he not only paid subsidies to Frederick of Prussia, but also maintained in Germany an army partly British and partly Hanoverian under *Ferdinand of Brunswick* to protect Hanover and the western flank of Prussia from the French. In addition he attacked various places on the French coast. These attacks, though not very successful,¹ kept the French nation in a continual state of alarm, and led, according to Pitt's information, to some thirty thousand French troops being employed in defensive work at home instead of in aggressive operations elsewhere. In the West Indies and in the East Pitt's object was, at first, to protect British commerce, and later, to extend British possessions. His chief energies, however, were concentrated on the conquest of Canada; it was there we were to make the first bid for victory whilst the French wasted their efforts on the Continent.

In 1758 the initial successes began. In America, three separate armies advanced; the first, it is true, failed to take Ticonderoga, but of the others, one, with the aid of the The
campaign
of 1758

¹ An opponent of Pitt's spoke of them sneeringly as "breaking windows with guineas", and they were undoubtedly expensive

fleet, captured Louisburg, and the other Fort Duquesne. Two raids were made on the French coast. The first went to St. Malo and destroyed a great deal of French shipping; but the second, after doing much damage at Cherbourg, revisited St. Malo, and on this occasion had to make a disastrously precipitate retreat. In Germany, Ferdinand of Brunswick was able to reach the Rhine, though he had to retreat later on. And just before the end of the year an expedition which had been dispatched to West Africa captured the French settlement of Goree.

With 1759 came a year more fruitful of successes than any other in our history. Upon Canada Pitt planned a two-fold advance. Amherst was to take Ticonderoga, which he did, and to reach Quebec — which he was unable to accomplish. Wolfe, one of Pitt's favourite officers, was selected to command the soldiers and Saunders to command the sailors of another expedition which should go up the river St. Lawrence to attack Quebec. Saunders, in spite of fog and contrary winds, took the fleet and the transports up the St. Lawrence without mishap.

Quebec stands upon a rocky promontory at the junction of the river St. Charles and the river St. Lawrence. Montcalm, the French commander, had fortified the bank of the river St. Lawrence from the point where the river St. Charles joins it to a point some eight miles down stream where another river, the Montmorency, flows into it. Wolfe had, with inferior forces, to fight an enemy who was strictly on the defensive. He at once seized the Isle of Orleans, which lay below Quebec. But he could not succeed in tempting Montcalm from his entrenchments, and an attack made upon the French from across the river Montmorency was a failure. The summer wore on and matters looked hopeless.

Meantime, however, some of the British ships had succeeded in passing the Quebec batteries, and in getting above the city. It was this achievement which enabled

Wolfe to make his master-stroke. The cliffs on the north bank of the St. Lawrence above Quebec are steep and precipitous, but about a mile and a half beyond that fortress Wolfe had discovered a zigzag path which led to their summit. He determined to attempt a night attack at this place, and accordingly made arrangements, with great skill, to divert the enemy's attention from that quarter. Below Quebec, Montcalm's attention was occupied by a bombardment from the main body of the fleet under Saunders, whilst the garrison in the city itself had an energetic attack directed upon it from the opposite bank. Meanwhile Wolfe himself and a large part of his troops had embarked in the ships which were above Quebec. On the night of the attack the ships were some six miles above the intended landing-place so as to distract the attention of Bougainville, who with a large force was watching these ships, from Wolfe's real objective.

Brilliantly conceived, the plan was no less brilliantly executed. About 2 a.m. on the morning of 13th September, the ships' boats, laden with soldiers, started on their journey. They deceived two sentinels on the bank by pretending to be some expected French provision boats, and then a small landing-party got on shore, climbed up the path, surprised the small guard at the top of the cliff, and covered the landing of the rest of Wolfe's forces.

The news of this exploit was, of course, conveyed to Montcalm and Bougainville. The latter waited for the news to be confirmed, and was any way too far off to be of service; but Montcalm, after some hesitation, through being uncertain of Saunders's intentions, hurried up and marshalled his men on the *Heights of Abraham*. Towards ten o'clock the French advanced. The British waited till they came within thirty-five yards, gave two murderous volleys, and then charged, the newly-enlisted Highlanders especially distinguishing themselves. In twenty minutes the battle was over, and was followed by the capture of Quebec. The

The
Heights of
Abraham
(13th
Sept.)

heroes of each side, Montcalm and Wolfe, were mortally wounded.¹

Elsewhere almost as great successes occurred. An expedition sent to the West Indies failed, indeed, to take Martinique, but took *Guadeloupe* instead. In Germany, Ferdinand, with an army composed of various nationalities, had to retire before two other armies and leave Hanover unprotected. By a brilliant counterstroke he suddenly attacked one French army at *Minden*. Nine battalions of British infantry, though exposed to a cross fire of artillery, charged through three successive lines of hostile cavalry and tumbled them to ruin; and but for the failure of Lord George Sackville to follow up so magnificent a charge with the cavalry, the victory might have been an overwhelming one.

Battle of
Minden
(1st Aug.)

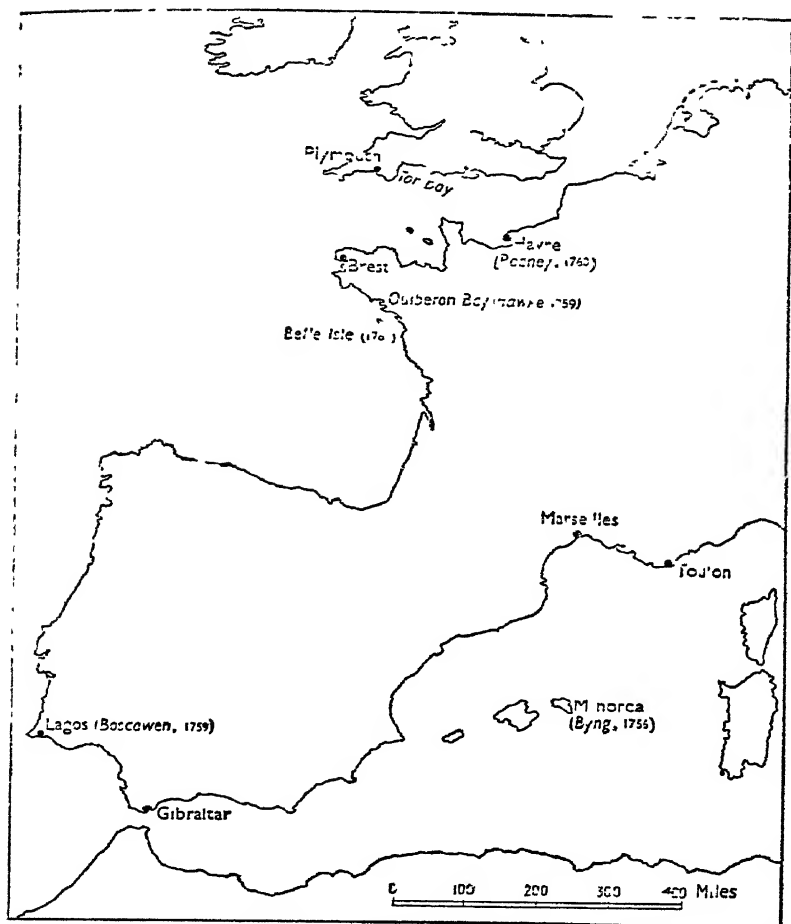
Meanwhile the French had been planning the invasion of England. The fleets at Toulon and at Brest were to unite and to convoy the troops across. The Toulon fleet left harbour; but it was discovered going through the Straits of Gibraltar, and Boscawen, the British admiral, started in pursuit in under three hours — a wonderful performance.

Battles of
Lagos
(18th
Aug.) and
Quiberon
Bay (20th
Nov.)

By the end of the next day the greater number of the French ships had been dispersed or destroyed off *Lagos*, on the south coast of Portugal, and the remnant had retired to Cadiz (18th August). The Brest fleet took advantage of the absence of Hawke's blockading fleet, which had been driven away by a fierce storm, to escape, and sailed south.²

¹ Wolfe, at the age of sixteen, fought in the battle of Dettingen, and had to act as adjutant of his battalion. At the age of twenty-two he was given command of a regiment, and proved himself an admirable commander. He was a person of literary tastes. As his boat was going down the St. Lawrence on the night of the attack, he is said to have quoted some lines of Gray's *Elegy*, exclaiming, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather have written that poem than take Quebec!" George II had a high opinion of Wolfe's capacity. On one occasion someone said to him that Wolfe was mad. "Mad, is he?" was the King's answer, "then I wish he would bite some of my other generals."

² Hawke had entered the navy in 1720 at the age of fourteen. To Hawke is due what has been called a veritable revolution in naval strategy, for he instituted in 1759 the system of a blockade over the French port of Brest. He did this effectually for a period of six months from May to November, 1759. The French fleet finally escaped only because a very bad storm forced Hawke to take refuge at Tor Bay.



THE NAVAL WAR IN EUROPEAN WATERS, 1756-1763

But Hawke pursued it to *Quiberon Bay*, and on a lee shore during a November gale, in a bay full of reefs and shoals, fought it, captured two of its number, and destroyed two others. The remainder of the French fleet was dispersed, seven ships taking refuge up a river, from which they only escaped some fifteen months later. The French plan

of invasion therefore absolutely failed. The fight in Quiberon Bay makes a wonderful ending to a wonderful year.

The later years of the war saw further successes. In 1760 — the year of George III's accession — *Montreal* was captured, and the conquest of Canada was completed. In 1761 the British captured Belleisle, — off the west coast of France. In the same year Spain joined France. Pitt had secret intelligence of this alliance, and had wanted to declare war on Spain before it declared war on us, and to capture the annual treasure fleet that came from Spanish America. The cabinet would not consent, and consequently Pitt resigned and Bute became head of the ministry. Spain, when the treasure fleet safely reached her harbours, declared war. But she was only to lose from her intervention. For in 1762 Great Britain captured Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands; whilst, to her other captures from France, Great Britain added Martinique and St. Lucia. Meantime negotiations had been begun to end the war, and in 1763 the peace came.

Before giving the terms of peace, we must turn to the course of the war in India. There also it opened gloomily. In the north, in 1756, a new Nabob of Bengal, *Surajah Dowlah*, had, within two months of his accession, quarrelled with the British. He seized Calcutta, and there was perpetrated the ghastly tragedy of the "Black Hole", when one hundred and forty-six people — of whom only twenty-three survived — were shut up in a hot Indian night in a prison barely twenty feet square, and with only two small barred windows. Clive came up from Madras and retook Calcutta. In 1757 — in the very same month that Pitt took office — he won on the field of *Plassey* with three thousand men, and with only eight guns, a victory over an army of fifty thousand men with forty guns. Clive was materially helped by the treachery of Meer Jaffier, one of the nabob's generals, and by the fact that a thunderstorm wetted the enemy's gunpowder, whilst tarpaulins protected

The war
in Bengal

Battle of
Plassey
(1757)

his own; but even so, it was superb audacity on the part of Clive to risk a battle. That victory marks the beginning of the political ascendancy of the East India Company in Bengal; the Company put Meer Jaffier on the throne, and was given in return a substantial amount of land round Calcutta.

In the south matters had begun badly, as in the north, and the French took Fort St. David and besieged Madras; but they were quickly driven away. Brilliant success was to follow. In the year of victories — in 1759 — the capture of *Masulipatam* gave the English East India Company not only some eighty miles of coast line in the Circars, but substituted English for French influence at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad; whilst in the following year, at *Wandewash*, Eyre Coote won a victory over the French which led to the capture of Pondicherry and the other French settlements.

The war
in
Southern
India

Battle of
Wandewash
(1760)

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Note 96) ended the war which had been so glorious to our arms. In America, Great Britain received Canada, the French territory on the east of the Mississippi, Cape Breton Island, and all other islands in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, besides Florida, which she received from Spain in exchange for Havana (Cuba). In the West Indies, she received Dominica, Tobago, and Grenada; in the Mediterranean, Minorca; and in Africa, the settlements on the river Senegal. But Great Britain gave back a good deal. To Spain she returned rich Havana and Manila — the news of the capture of the latter was not received till negotiations were practically completed. France recovered Belleisle and Goree, strong Martinique and wealthy St. Lucia; and her settlements in India were restored to her on condition that she should not fortify them. To France also was ceded the right to fish off the Newfoundland coast, and two small islands were given to her for the use of her fishermen. No doubt if Pitt had been in office the terms would have been better; but, even as it is, the peace marks a great stage

The
Treaty
of Paris
(1763)

forward in the advance of our empire. With regard to Germany, France agreed to give up all the territories which she had occupied in that country. Frederick the Great held, however, that the British by negotiating a peace separately with the French had basely deserted him; and though the charge was not true, it affected Prussian sentiment towards Great Britain for a considerable period.

CHAPTER 47

JOHN WESLEY AND THE RISE OF METHODISM

In the early Hanoverian period, the nation, it has been said, had sunk into a condition of moral apathy rarely paralleled in our history. It was due, above all others, to John Wesley, that Great Britain, towards the middle of the century, was roused from her spiritual torpor, and of this man and his influence something must now be said (*Note 98*).

John Wesley's influence on the religious life of the nation was similar to that exercised by Pitt on the political life. Wesley had been educated at Charterhouse and Oxford. After taking orders, he returned to Oxford as a Fellow in 1729, and for the next six years was the leader of a small society for mutual improvement, the members of which, including his brother Charles, the famous hymn writer, and George Whitefield, were known in the University by the nickname of *Methodists*. Subsequently Wesley was a minister for two years in Georgia, the newly founded colony in America. On his return to England he began the work which has made him so famous. In 1739 he built the first of his chapels at Bristol, and formed the first of his regular Methodist societies in London. Above all, the year 1739 saw the system of open-air preaching adopted which was

John
Wesley
and the
Methodist
movement

to carry the message of the gospel to hundreds of thousands of people.

The activity shown by John Wesley and his colleagues, Charles Wesley and Whitefield, was astonishing. Of the three, Whitefield was probably the greatest preacher, and he, during the thirty-four years of his ministry, is said to have preached on the average ten sermons a week to audiences numbering sometimes as many as thirty thousand.¹ His record, however, is surpassed by that of John Wesley, who, in the half century preceding his death in 1791, is estimated to have delivered forty thousand sermons, and to have travelled a quarter of a million miles, the greater part of it on horseback. Their preaching affected all classes — the miners of Cornwall, the soldiers in the army, the negroes in Georgia, as well as a section of fashionable society in London. Nor was the activity of the three confined to England and Wales, for the whole world was their parish. Whitefield made over twelve journeys across the Atlantic, and Wesley had a missionary tour in Scotland when over eighty years of age.

George
Whitefield

Activity
of the
Methodists

Throughout his life Wesley remained a member of the Church of England. But gradually the movement which he initiated became independent of that Church. His doctrines concerning sin and conversion were disliked by many in the Anglican Church. The chapels which he built were designed to be supplemental to the parish churches; before long they became rivals. Quite early in his career, in 1737, Wesley had instituted "lay" preachers, and in 1784 he even began to ordain ministers; and after his

Metho-
dism and
the
Church of
England

¹ No popular preacher has probably ever had such influence as Whitefield. He had a voice which could be heard by thirty thousand people in the open air, but which was managed with such skill that he could pronounce, a contemporary said, an unpromising word like Mesopotamia in a way to produce tears from his audience. Of his powers of vivid description many stories are related. Even such a pattern of propriety and aristocratic conduct as Lord Chesterfield, when Whitefield was relating the story of a blind man deserted by his dog and losing his way on a dangerous moor lost all self-control, and bounded out of his seat as the blind man neared a precipice, exclaiming, "Good God! he's gone!" One of Whitefield's admirers held that a sermon of his would only reach its highest perfection at the fortieth repetition.

death the Wesleyans formed themselves into definite and separate organizations.¹

Influence of Wesley on the English nation Yet John Wesley is not to be remembered only as the founder of a new religious organization. He was a great social reformer as well as a great religious leader, and to him, perhaps in a greater degree than to any other man, is due the increased kindness and humaneness which was exhibited in the later part of the eighteenth century, and the development of practical efforts to deal with the problems of poverty, inadequate though those efforts still were. But above all else we may put his influence on the religious life of the whole British people. A great French thinker, who visited the country soon after the accession of George I, was of opinion that there was no such thing as religion in England; and there is no doubt that the early period of the Hanoverian rule was singularly lacking in religious activities and enthusiasms. It is the imperishable glory of John Wesley that he restored Christianity, as has been said, to its place as a living force in the personal creed of men and in the life of the nation.

CHAPTER 48

GEORGE III (1760-1820)

The very long reign of George III saw many important developments. We have to study first the King's attempt to revive the power of the Crown; then the loss of the American colonies; developments in India; the outbreak of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; and lastly the troubled history of Ireland.

¹ How much the various Methodist societies have grown may be realized by statistics. On Wesley's death, in 1791, the members of his societies numbered seventy-six thousand, and the preachers three hundred; at the present time, throughout the world, there are over fifty thousand ministers, nearly ninety thousand lay preachers, and between twenty and thirty million adherents belonging to the Wesleyan communities.

1. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS TO 1782 AND THE ATTEMPTS OF GEORGE III TO REVIVE THE POWER OF THE CROWN

George III, the grandson of *George II*, was throughout his reign a popular monarch. And in many ways he deserved his popularity. He was a devoted husband, and except when his sons were at fault — and they often were — an affectionate father. He was simple in all his tastes, sincere in his religion, and imperturbably brave.¹ He was not without interests in art and literature; his library was a magnificent one, and most of the drawings at Windsor were purchased by him, whilst he had a fine collection of miniatures and gems. Moreover, having been born and educated in Great Britain, he could glory, as he said, in the name of “Briton”, whilst his fondness for the public schools, his devotion to hunting,² and his keenness as a farmer showed that he shared the interests of the Englishmen of his day. But his education had been inadequate, and he could hardly be considered a learned monarch; his English was ungrammatical, his spelling inaccurate, and his stock of general knowledge somewhat slender, whilst he is said to have expressed an opinion that Shakespeare wrote “much sad stuff”.³ Moreover, he had been brought up in great seclusion by his German mother, and suffered from an inability to see anybody’s point of view but his own. Consequently he was sometimes ignorant and bigoted in his opinions, and self-confident and obstinate in upholding them; and it is melancholy to think that a monarch in many ways so estimable should have spent so much of his life, as has been said, in

Character
of
George III

¹ Not even a shot fired at him as he was entering his box at a theatre prevented him from enjoying his usual nap during the interval between the play and the afterpiece.

² He was so fond of riding that even when he was blind he used to take long rides in Windsor Park, accompanied by a groom with a leading-rein.

³ It is worth remembering, however, that *George III*, when recovering from his first attack of insanity, asked for *King Lear*. That same evening, on seeing his three eldest daughters, he said of the play: “It is very beautiful, very affecting, very awful. I am like poor Lear, but, thank God, I have no Regan, no Goneril, only three Cordelias.”

obstinately resisting measures which are now almost universally admitted to be good, and in supporting measures which are as universally admitted to be bad. To him, perhaps more than to anyone else, does Great Britain owe the loss of her American colonies, the failure to pacify Ireland, the delay of parliamentary reform, and the long continuance of the slave trade. Yet it must be remembered in his defence that the views which he held were those of the average Englishman of that day, and that the blame, where there is blame, must be shared by the King and his subjects alike.

His desire
for power

George came to the throne determined to govern as well as to reign. "George, be a king", were the words which his German mother, so it is said, constantly repeated to him. And a real king George was determined to be. For such an attempt the time was opportune. Some distinguished men, such as Bolingbroke, had advocated during the reign of his predecessor that the monarchy should recover its lost power. The King could rely on the devoted support of the Tories, who were by this time completely reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty. And through places and pensions and secret service money — though the amount of this has been exaggerated — he could influence many votes, whilst a body of men known as the "King's Friends" were prepared in the House of Commons to act according to his wishes. George meant to choose his ministers from any party or group that he liked — and also to dismiss them; and this, of course, he could do so long as these ministers could command a majority in the House of Commons.

His policy was quite clear — he aimed not at taking away from Parliament its control over taxation, but at choosing his own policy, and, above all, at choosing his own ministers. He aimed at gaining control of Parliament through a "King's Party". It was the Crown's policy in this second direction which brought it into open conflict with those who wished to uphold liberty (*Note 102*).

The first use George made of his position was to exercise

his choice of ministers. The great Whig party were divided by quarrels, and the King could play off one section against the other.

The King
and his
Ministers

Thus within a year of his accession Pitt quarrelled with his colleagues and resigned. He wished to continue the French war, but the country wished for peace, and the majority of the Cabinet shared that view. So in 1761 Pitt left office, and much to the misfortune of the nation went into opposition.

Pitt

His place was first taken by the *Earl of Bute*, formerly the King's tutor. Bute was extremely unpopular in England, partly because he was a Scot, partly because he was considered a favourite of the queen-mother. So violent was the feeling against him that he had to employ a body-guard of boxers while he was in London. There were better reasons for the universal distrust felt of him. He used bribery most extensively to secure power, and here we have the appearance, on a large scale, of the weapon George was to use so disastrously both for himself and the nation.¹

Bute's
ministry
(1762-63)

Bute fell from office in 1763, and he was succeeded by *George Grenville*, who was a lawyer, and who used his special qualifications in a most unfortunate way. In the first place he took a "legal" view of the quarrel with the American colonies (see p. 627). In the second, he tried to stifle the criticisms which were being aroused by the King's government. Thus he began an attack on the liberty of the press. No. 45 of a paper called the *North Briton* contained a somewhat stringent criticism on the King's Speech at the opening of the Parliamentary session, a speech which as usual was only read and not composed by the King. The writer of the criticism was *John Wilkes*, the editor of the paper and a Member of Parliament. The Government decided that the article constituted a criminal libel and

Gren-
ville's
ministry
(1763-65)

John
Wilkes
and the
"North
Briton",
No. 45

¹ Bute's ministry was notorious for its bribery, on one morning, it is said, no less than £25,000 was expended in purchasing votes

issued a "general warrant" (i.e. one in which no names are mentioned) for the arrest of the "authors, printers, and publishers" of the *North Briton*. The arrests (forty-nine in all) were carried out, but Wilkes claimed that, as a member of Parliament, he could not be arrested for libel. This claim was upheld by the Lord Chief Justice and Wilkes was accordingly released.

The House of Commons (or rather the Government) was not satisfied, however, declared that Parliamentary privilege did not extend to libel, and expelled Wilkes from membership of the House. Before the libel action came up for trial, Wilkes fled to France. We shall hear of him again.

The Wilkes case added to the unpopularity of the Government; public opinion supported Wilkes and considered general warrants illegal. Grenville, too, by his pertinacious and tiresome loquacity,¹ had made himself disliked by the King; and consequently he had to resign in 1765. "I would sooner meet Mr. Grenville," the King is reported to have said a little later, "at the point of my sword than let him into my cabinet." And Grenville never held office again.

Grenville was succeeded by *Lord Rockingham*, who tried to conciliate the colonies and repealed the Stamp Act. He also declared general warrants illegal, thus trying to undo the harm Grenville had done. Unluckily Pitt would not serve under him, and in 1766 George III dismissed Rockingham and called on Pitt to form a ministry and Pitt agreed.

George III hoped much from this, for Pitt was not only honoured by the whole nation, but had declared that he would govern in accordance with the King's wishes, and this was more likely since he had quarrelled with all other parties. But actually Chatham's day was done. He had long suffered terribly from gout, and he had become so eccentric that he would withdraw for weeks and shut him-

¹ "When he has wearied me for two hours," the King complained, "he looks at his watch to see if he may not tire me for one hour more."

self up, refusing to see anyone or to answer letters or messages. Thus the actual conduct of affairs fell into the hands of his incapable subordinates. Finally in 1768 Chatham gave up office altogether. His successor was the somewhat idle *Duke of Grafton*, who resumed the attack on the press. Grafton's ministry (1768-70)

In 1768 Wilkes returned to England and was elected Member of Parliament for Middlesex. Parliament declared, however, that because of his expulsion he could not sit. He refused to acquiesce in this, and when fresh elections were ordered in the county of Middlesex, he stood again, and was triumphantly re-elected, to the cry of "Wilkes and liberty". An extraordinary struggle followed. Three times he was "expelled" from the Commons, and then Middlesex proceeded to re-elect him. After another election in which Wilkes was successful the House simply declared his opponent elected, though Wilkes had received 1143 votes and his opponent only 296. Such unconstitutional action was bitterly resented, and now there appeared the famous *Letters of Junius*, attacking the Government with a violence which was extraordinarily effective.¹ Grafton resigned in 1770. Wilkes and liberty The Letters of Junius

At last George obtained the minister he wanted, and for the next twelve years, from 1770 to 1782, he was largely his own prime minister. The nominal head of the Government was *Lord North*, a good-humoured, easy-going, tactful person, who was quite content to leave the initiative in policy and even the details of administration to the King.² The chief interest of this Government lies in its policy towards the American colonies and to this we must now turn. The King and Lord North (1770-82)

¹ No writer, it has been said, ever surpassed "Junius" in condensed and virulent invective. Amongst others, Lord George Sackville, Grattan, Burke, Gibbon, Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, the brother of George Grenville, and Sir Philip Francis have been credited with the authorship of the letters, the two last-named seem to be the least unlikely.

² On two occasions the King actually summoned and presided over a cabinet meeting, delivering on the first occasion a "discourse" which "took up near an hour in delivering".

2. GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA (1763-1783)

Influence
of Seven
Years'
War on
American
colonies We have to deal in this section with the causes and course of one of the most important crises in our history — the War of American Independence. Our very success in the Seven Years' War made our position in North America one of peculiar difficulty. "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham", it is said, "began the history of the United States". The conquest of Canada freed the American colonies from danger of absorption by the French; and by so doing enabled them to stand by themselves and to become independent of the mother country. Moreover, the great expenses that fell, as a consequence of the war, upon the mother country led to an attempt to tax the colonies, which caused the Puritan democrats of the North and the Anglican, aristocratic, and slave-owning planters of the South to unite for the first time in a common opposition.

Trade
restrictions Up till the end of the Seven Years' War, no other colonies in the world had been so well treated as those in British America. In matters of government, indeed, many of the colonies had in the course of the eighteenth century attained a large measure of self-government. The governor of each colony was generally appointed by the Crown; but the Colonial Assemblies had acquired the right to initiate legislation, and by their control of the finances — and in some colonies of the governor's salary as well — could bend the governors to their will. Great Britain, however, regulated the trade of the colonies — sometimes to her own advantage. Thus the manufacture in America of steel or woollen goods, or even of hats, was limited or forbidden, so as not to compete with British imports. All goods from Europe had first to be landed in Great Britain, and the colonies were also subject to the Navigation Act. Some of the chief colonial products, such as tobacco and cotton, could be exported only to Great Britain. But the colonies had compensations. Many of their products, such as grain and

fish and rum, they could export where they liked. They got the protection of the British Fleet and Army. The colonies in the North were able, owing to the Navigation Acts, to develop their shipping. The inhabitants of Great Britain were allowed to smoke only American tobacco. And the restrictions on American trade were largely evaded by systematic smuggling.

In 1763 *George Grenville* became the chief minister in Great Britain. Four things then occurred which began the trouble. First, he found that the revenue from the American customs was only about £2000 a year, and not unnaturally he tried to put some check on the vast amount of smuggling which these small figures indicated — a step strongly resented by the colonists. Secondly, in order to protect the British West Indies, a law had been passed in 1733 putting very heavy duties on molasses or liquid sugar coming to the British North American colonies from the French West Indies. molasses being required, especially in Boston, for the making of rum, and being cheaper in the French than in the British West Indies. Smuggling had made this law ineffective. But now Grenville, though halving the duty on foreign molasses, saw that it was levied, and this increased the colonial irritation. Thirdly, the British Government, anxious to prevent the frauds and abuses which had been formerly committed in obtaining lands from the Indians, issued a Proclamation forming large parts of the land of the colonies into a reserve for the Indians, and forbidding all fresh grants of land by the Red Indians except through the colonial superintendents appointed by the Crown. This seemed to the colonists to be doing away with their rights of independent and indefinite expansion, and caused great suspicion and resentment. Then, fourthly, Grenville decided that it was necessary for the defence of the American colonies, not only against the French but against the Indian tribes, to keep a small standing army in America.¹ Grenville

Grenville's policy (1763-65)

(a) Customs revenue

(b) Duty on molasses

(c) Indian reserves

(d) Standing army in America

¹ A Red Indian, called Pontiac, had invaded the colonies in 1763, and only with great difficulty, and mainly by British troops, was the invasion repelled. This showed the necessity of keeping a standing army in America.

was not unreasonable in thinking that the colonies themselves should contribute something towards the cost of the army. For the resources of Great Britain were being subjected to a severe test. The Seven Years' War had nearly doubled the National Debt. Taxation was heavy and included even taxes on wheels and window panes. Moreover, Britain was threatened by a coalition of France and Spain, countries which were preparing for an attack in the near future.

Nor was Grenville's particular proposal unreasonable. He suggested that the colonies should pay only one-third of the expense of this army by means of an Act under which all legal documents should bear stamps. But he allowed a year's delay for its discussion, and told the agents of the colonies that, if the colonies would raise the money in any other way, he would be quite content; and only when they failed to suggest any alternative scheme was the *Stamp Act* passed through the British Parliament (1765). Moreover, legally the British Parliament had undoubtedly the right to pass the Stamp Act imposing this taxation on the colonies. But it was natural that a liberty-loving people should object to being taxed by a Parliament in which they were unrepresented, and which belonged to a country three thousand miles away that would lessen its own burdens by the amount of money it could raise from them. "No taxation without representation" has been the watchword of English liberty; and it proved a cry which it was difficult for Englishmen to resist. Moreover, the thin-end-of-the-wedge argument was a strong one; if the colonies acquiesced in this tax, would others not be imposed? Consequently the colonies, already irritated by Grenville's other measures, used the year which he had allowed them not for discussion but for agitation. When the Act was finally passed and came into operation, there were riots, a governor's house was sacked, and collectors were burnt in effigy. No one used the stamps; and — most ominous of all — delegates from nine

The
Stamp
Act
(1765)

out of the thirteen colonies met together to protest, thus showing an unprecedented unity of purpose.

The opinions of British statesmen differed when news of these proceedings reached England. Grenville stood out for Great Britain's legal rights, and others, like Burke, thought the Act inexpedient, and were not concerned with its legality. Chatham thought that the British Parliament had no right to impose an internal tax on the colonies, and proclaimed that the Americans would be slaves if they had not resisted. Meanwhile, on Grenville's retirement from office, *Rockingham* succeeded as Prime Minister. Adopting a conciliatory policy, he repealed the Stamp Act, though an Act was passed at the same time declaring that Great Britain had a right to tax the colonies. The Americans were delighted; and all danger of serious trouble seemed to be at an end (*Note 99*).

But then came another dispute, due to a brilliant and unreliable man, *Charles Townshend*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in *Lord Chatham's* ministry. In 1767, at a time when Chatham was totally incapacitated by illness, Townshend imposed duties on tea, glass, and paper imported into the American colonies. He contended that as these were external taxes levied at the ports, and not internal taxes, the colonists could not object. The money derived from these taxes — estimated to bring in some £40,000 a year — was to go to pay the governors and officials whose salaries had hitherto been paid by the Assemblies. This was to cut at the root of colonial self-government and aroused the strongest opposition. Accordingly, in 1770, *Lord North's* ministry — which had come into office in that year, and was to remain in power for the next twelve years — abolished the duties on glass and paper. But, with incredible folly, the duty on tea was retained, in order to assert the right of taxing.

Small incidents are exaggerated when two peoples are irritated with one another, and at this time various occurrences exasperated feeling on both sides. We can only

Repeal of
Stamp
Act
(1766)

Townshend's
new
duties
(1767),
and their
partial
abolition
(1770)

Unfor-
tunate
incidents
(1770-73) refer to two of them. British regiments had been subjected to various kinds of insult from the townspeople in Boston. Finally a mob surrounded some soldiers, and after calling them "Rascals, lobsters, and bloody backs" (because they were liable to be flogged), proceeded to snowball them. In the confusion a volley was fired, and four people were killed. The affair was magnified into a massacre, even into "the massacre", by the colonists, and great indignation was aroused (1770). The other incident inflamed feeling in Great Britain. One of the King's ships, the *Gaspee*, engaged in repressing smuggling, was boarded one night by some American colonists and burnt (1772), and the perpetrators of this outrage were never punished.

The
Boston
"mas-
sacre"

The
Boston
Tea-
party
(1773)

Other events soon afterwards finally brought about war. The East India Company — at that time in great financial difficulties — was allowed to export its tea direct to America without going to Great Britain first; consequently the Company would only have to pay the threepenny duty per pound levied on tea imported into America. The more extreme of the colonists, however, thought this was only a trick of the Government to reconcile the colonists to the tax by cheapening the cost of tea, and consequently when the ships of the Company arrived in *Boston* a number of men disguised as Mohawks boarded them, and threw their three hundred and forty chests of tea into the sea (1773).

The British Parliament now acted with severity. An Act was passed modifying the Constitution of Massachusetts, transferring to the Crown the appointment of many of the officials, and prohibiting public meetings except by leave of the Governor; the port of Boston was closed, and thousands were thrown out of work. *Gage*, a soldier, was made Governor of Massachusetts, and additional troops were sent out. The other colonies, however, supported Massachusetts, and a Congress representing all the colonies except Georgia was held at Philadelphia. This Congress drew up a Declaration of Rights, demanded the

Outbreak
of war
(1775)

The
American
Congress

repeal of thirteen Acts of Parliament, and initiated a boycott — to use a modern word — of British goods. Lord North then tried conciliation, but it was too late, for the war had already begun with a skirmish at *Lexington* (1775).

In the next year, on 4th July, 1776, came the famous *Declaration of Independence* in which the thirteen colonies finally broke their allegiance to Great Britain, though many people in the colonies did not approve of this step (*Note 100*). With that Declaration began the independent history of the United States. Whether that independence could have been prevented is doubtful. No doubt the British Government was partly to blame; it was, it might be urged, ignorant and unsympathetic, and its policy was vacillating. No doubt, also, the character of the colonists in the North was, in Pitt's phrase, "umbrageous" (i.e. they took umbrage easily) and quarrelsome, whilst there were extremists amongst the colonists who wished to reduce British control to a vanishing point, and who, to use Burke's phrase, "were ready to snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze". But the circumstances were extraordinarily difficult and perhaps no statesmanship at that time could have overcome them. Two points may be noted in conclusion. First, it was only because the colonists were Englishmen with an Englishman's idea of liberty and self-government that they rebelled — no other colonists would have done so. "No one but Englishmen," says an American historian, "established American independence, and this they did on the basis of English history." Secondly, the colonies, by the time of the accession of George III, had grown up, but the mother country had failed to realize it, and that was perhaps the chief cause of the difficulties.¹

Declara-
tion of
Independence
(1776)

¹ "Is there not something extremely fallacious", said an American contemporary, "in the commonplace image of the mother country and children colonies? Are we children of Great Britain any more than the cities of London, Exeter, or Bath? Are we not brethren and fellow-subjects with those in Britain?"

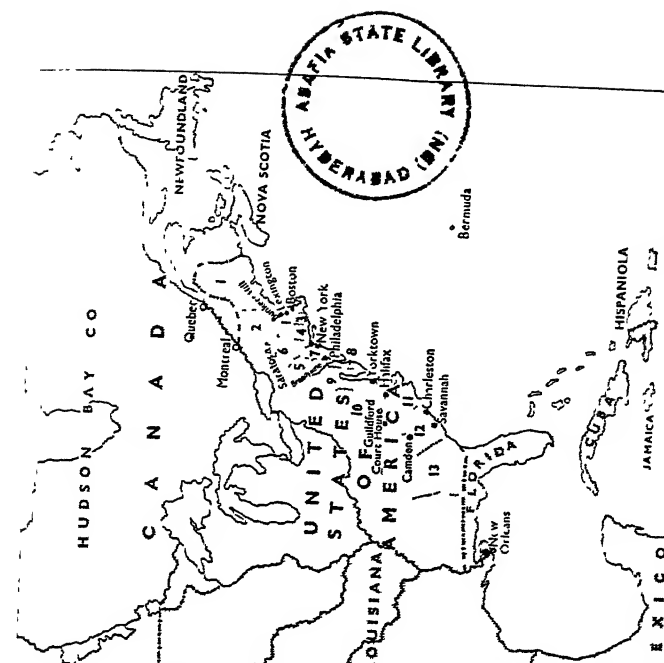
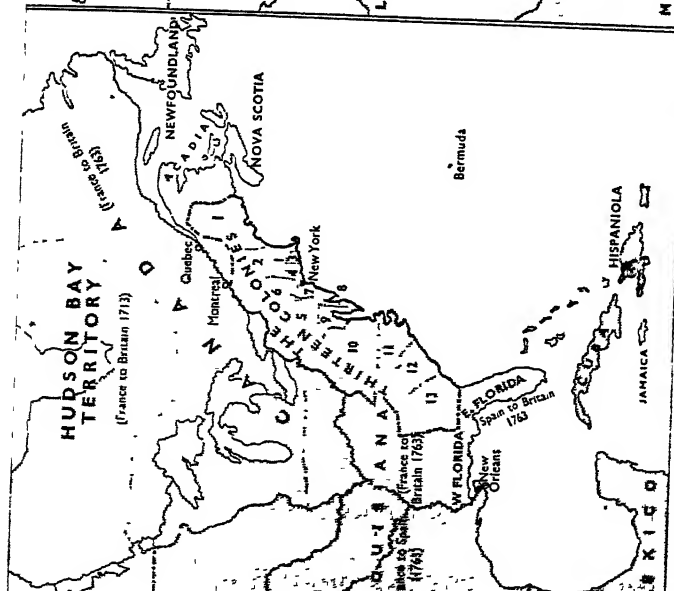
"The British Empire was doomed to be broken asunder," says an American historian, "but it was brought to that disaster by the insistent demand of Englishmen in America for the full enjoyment of those liberties which England had fostered beyond any other country of the world."

The War
of Ameri-
can Inde-
pendence
(1775-83)

To conduct a campaign ¹ three thousand miles away, in a country a thousand miles long and covered with forest, was, for Great Britain, a difficult task. We may compare the British failure in the War of Independence with the successes won in the Seven Years' War, and may wonder at the very different outcome of that war. Yet the answer is that in the Seven Years' War we were really fighting France in North America, and both combatants were then equally far from their bases. In the War of Independence we were fighting the Americans themselves, who, of course, were fighting in their own territory, while we were fighting from our distant base. Moreover, when France joined in the American war, she for a time deprived us of that essential factor, command of the sea. Yet, at the outset the task should not have been insuperable, considering the circumstances of her opponents. The American colonist did not like moving far from his home. Moreover, he only enlisted for short periods, and therefore might leave, and not infrequently did leave, his fellow-colonists in the crisis of a campaign. He was, besides, inclined to be insubordinate, "regarding", said one general, "his officer as no more than a broom-

¹ The following summary of the war will make it more intelligible:—

Political History		Military Operations	
		(v) British victory, (D) British defeat	
1775. Congress assumes sovereign authority.	Lexington; Boston blockaded, Bunker's Hill. American expedition to Canada.		
1776. July 4. Declaration of Independence	Evacuation of Boston; Brooklyn (v), capture of New York; occupation of New Jersey, Trenton (D).		
1777. "	Brandywine (v); Saratoga (D).		
	(a) <i>America</i>	(b) <i>Maritime and India</i>	
1778. France declares war; death of Chatham.	Evacuation of Philadelphia.		
1779. Spain declares war.	Savannah captured (v).	Siege of Gibraltar begins.	
1780. Holland declares war. Armed Neutrality.	Charlestown captured (v); Camden (v).	Hyder Ali invades Carnatic.	
1781.	Guildford (v); Yorktown (D).	Porto Novo (v).	
1782. Lord North resigns; negotiations for peace.		Loss of Minorca (D); battle of Saints off St. Lucia (v); Siege of Gibraltar raised (v).	
1783. Peace of Versailles			



TO THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AND ORIGINAL STATES OF THE U.S.A.

7 New Jersey 8 Delaware 9 Maryland 10 Virginia 11 N Carolina 12 S Carolina 13 Georgia

1 Massachusetts 2 New Hampshire 3 Rhode Island 4 Connecticut 5 Pennsylvania 6 New York

53 ☐ British ☒ French ☐ Spanish ☐ USA

1783

NORTH AMERICA IN 1763 AND IN 1783

", especially if serving under the command of officers any other colony but his own. The Congress, which visited the generals, was loquacious and incompetent, its "speculation and speculation", in the words of the commander-in-chief, were rife amongst the contractors. Finally, a large number of the colonists were either to the mother country or indifferent to the cause of combatants.

The British made the mistake of underestimating their enemy; one expert, for instance, declared that four regiments would be sufficient to conquer America. They made inadequate preparations for the dispatch of reinforcements to an army in America when they saw that war was inevitable; and they began the war in a half-hearted way, with ideas of conciliation and compromise, forgetting that it is impossible to wage war on the principles of "moderation". The British, also, not only failed to produce a great general, and fought largely with hired German troops, as witnessed in *Lord George Germaine* — the Lord George Germaine who refused to charge at Minden — a minister of state who was to exhibit conspicuous incapacity. The colonists, on the other hand, had in a Virginian planter, *George Washington*, a man as commander-in-chief who, without perhaps a great general, was untiring in organization, persistently courageous and steadfast even in the darkest days of the war.¹

The war lasted for eight years, and is the story of missed opportunities (*Note 101*). During the earlier period the British might have won victory on land but bungled too. During the latter part of the war, they had lost command of the sea, and that enabled their enemies, France and Spain, to intervene decisively on the side of the colonies.

¹ Washington, a country gentleman of wealth and position, fought against the Indians before and during the Seven Years' War, having been made captain of the Virginian forces at the age of nineteen and commander-in-chief of twenty-three, in Braddock's expedition of 1754 he showed great courage and had four shot-holes in his coat.

Lexington and Bunker's Hill (1775) In the first campaign, in 1775, the war centred round Boston. The British and Colonists came into conflict at *Lexington*, and though the British seized the stores at which they aimed, yet the attacks on them showed how well the colonists could fight. The British Commander was Gage, and he entirely under-estimated his opponents, with the result that he was involved in the costly fight of *Bunker's Hill*. Here Gage sent his tired troops up a hill on a very hot day, to make a frontal attack on an entrenched position. Though the British took the hill after three attempts, they lost two fifths of their numbers. Gage then did nothing more, and allowed Washington, who had hardly any ammunition, to attack Boston.

American attack on Canada (1775) The colonists then carried the war into Canada. They sent an expedition to capture Quebec, which, however, held out successfully against them. The British Government had already foreseen danger in this direction and had given concessions (in the Quebec Act, 1774) to the Roman Catholics who now rallied to Britain (see p. 637) and the American expedition met with no support.

British successes (1776) The failure of this plan seemed, indeed, to be a prelude to American defeat. Gage was replaced by *Lord Howe*, who defeated Washington at *Brooklyn* (1776), took New York, drove Washington away, and over-ran New Jersey. Despite a successful attack by Washington on a German detachment at *Trenton* on Christmas Day, the year closed with prospects looking bad for the colonists, who had hardly any troops left, and bright for Great Britain.

British disaster (1777) All was altered by the disaster which was now to overtake Great Britain. A plan was made for a final joint attack on Washington.¹ *Burgoyne*, one of the commanders of the British army in Canada, was to cross the frontier and move down southwards. Howe, commanding the British troops

¹ So great was the muddle that to this day it is not clear from the official papers what exactly was contemplated, or which of two plans was decided upon. Lord George Germaine is said never to have opened his official letters, and Howe is said never to have received his orders.

in New York, was to move northwards and join him. Howe rushed first to attack Philadelphia, and he did so, and also defeated Washington at the battle of *Brandywine*. But then all went wrong. Burgoyne, who had never expected Howe to delay, had taken *Ticonderoga*, and then struggled on through thickly wooded country, where his supplies began to run out. He was surrounded, and with his whole army of 4000 men surrendered at *Saratoga* (October, 1777). This disaster was later seen to have been the turning-point of the war, and emboldened by the British reverse first France, and then Spain, now declared war upon us.

Brandy-
wine
(1777)

Ticonde-
roga
(1777)

Saratoga
(1777)

France
and
Spain
declare
war

Moreover, disputes arose over the rights of neutrals at sea. Great Britain declared that enemy goods on board neutral ships could be captured (i.e. she denied the doctrine put forward by the neutrals of "free ships, free goods"), and this led to disputes with other powers. As a result, Holland joined the ranks of Britain's enemies and war was declared between the two powers, while Russia, Denmark, and Sweden formed an *Armed Neutrality* which was hostile to Great Britain.

Sea
power

Holland
declares
war

Armed
Neutrality
(1780)

Thus, not only was the number of Britain's enemies most formidably increased, but the importance of sea-power became overwhelming. Spain attacked Gibraltar, the route to India was menaced, and attacks were made on the West Indies.

The British fleet had been allowed to deteriorate since the Seven Years' War, while the French fleet had grown stronger. The French navy was now almost equal in numbers to the British fleet, and it had adopted new tactics, which were to become extremely successful, of firing at masts, sails, and rigging.¹ This inferiority of the British at sea was to become decisive, for it reacted on the position of the troops in America.

Weakness
of the
British
navy

In 1780 the British (now under *Clinton*) were in New

¹ Modern critics think that the British should therefore have confined themselves to blockading the enemy ports.

The
Surrender
of York-
town
(1781)

York, and decided to co-operate with the many "loyalists" in the southern States. *General Cornwallis* was therefore dispatched to Carolina where he captured Charlestown, and won an engagement at *Camden*, and another at *Guildford Court House*. He then moved to the coast to wait at *Yorktown*, in Virginia, for the British fleet to bring him reinforcements. But instead of the British, the French fleet arrived, and blockaded him while Washington appeared with a large army and cut him off on land. His position seemed quite hopeless, for the French fleet could bombard him from the sea, and Washington from the land. He was obliged to surrender.

Meanwhile French troops had been landed in the north, and soon Britain was left with nothing in her hands but New York itself.

Elated by this series of events, France and Spain now attacked Great Britain with vigour. In the West Indies all her islands were captured except Barbados and Jamaica. In the Mediterranean Minorca was taken, and the siege of Gibraltar (which had already lasted for three years) was pressed on.

Attacks
by France
and
Spain

Loss of
Minorca
(1782)

So threatening was the outlook that public feeling in England forced the King to dismiss Lord North. It became clear that peace must be made. Two successes came most opportunely to give Great Britain better bargaining power. *Admiral Rodney* had been sent to deal with the French fleet which had worked such havoc in the West Indies. He met them off Dominica, and in the *Battle of the Saints* (a group of tiny islands) won a decisive victory ¹ (1782).

Battle of
the Saints
(1782)

In the same year *Gibraltar* was saved. The French and Spaniards made a great combined attack by sea with 49

¹ When war broke out between France and Great Britain, Rodney was at Paris in an impecunious condition, and his creditors refused to let him go home. A French nobleman, however, chivalrously came to his rescue with a loan, and Rodney returned. During his two and a half years of command in the American War, Rodney captured a French, a Spanish, and a Dutch admiral, and added twelve line-of-battle ships, all taken from the enemy, to the British navy, including the *Ville de Paris*, the great ship which the city of Paris had given to the French King.

ships, and by land with 40,000 men. The attack was beaten off by Elliott, the governor, and his garrison of 7000 men. A British fleet appeared, drove off the enemy, and raised the siege, which had lasted for three years and seven months.

The two events made Britain's enemies ready to negotiate, and preliminaries of peace were begun. In 1763 treaties were concluded at *Versailles*. The independence of the United States was recognized, and, in spite of their efforts to save them, the British had to leave such of the loyalists who did not emigrate to Canada to the mercy or rather to the vengeance of their fellow-colonists. Great Britain gave up to Spain, Minorca and Florida; and to France, Tobago, Senegal, and Goree, besides restoring to her St. Lucia and the Indian settlements which had been taken from France during the war.

The American War of Independence deprived Great Britain of one empire; but it strengthened the foundations of another.

In 1774, as has been already noted, the British Parliament had passed the Quebec Act for Canada. This Act had extended the boundaries of Canada, had set up a form of government by a Governor and a nominated Council, made French law the law of the land, and had in effect recognized and supported the Roman Catholic Church as the national church of Canada. This Act was very unpopular with the English colonists in the thirteen American colonies, and was one of the contributory causes of the war; they especially disliked the clause extending the boundaries of Quebec at the expense, as they thought, of their further expansion, and the clause recognizing the Roman Catholic Church. But by the French colonists of Canada it came to be regarded as the *Magna Carta* of their history, and it did much to reconcile them to their conquerors.

Great Britain
50000 men.

The
Treaties
of Ver-
sailles
(1763)

The
Quebec
Act
(1774)

CHAPTER 49

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA (1763-1823)

Condition of India (1763) We must now turn back from the West to the East, from America to India, where these years from 1763 to 1783 are hardly less important. Two things must be borne in mind. First, India was still in a state of anarchy. The boundaries of States were constantly shifting; there was no such thing, it was said at the time, as a frontier in India. Adventurers sprang up who carved out new States for themselves, or usurped the thrones of old ones; and the Great Mogul Emperor was under the tutelage now of one potentate and then of another. In the second place, the East India Company was in a very undefined and uncertain position after the Seven Years' War was over. The Nabob of the Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad were its allies. It possessed some territory, but not much, on the east coast, and round Bombay and Madras. In Bengal, however, its position was peculiar. Except for Calcutta and some districts near it, the Nabob still governed that province. But he was the Company's nominee, and — put briefly — it may be said that his object was to extract as much money as possible from the country, whilst the Company's officials collected from the Nabob what money and privileges they could obtain, collectively for the Company and individually for themselves.

Such a position in Bengal was bound to lead to difficulties, and it very quickly did. The Nabob who had succeeded Meer Jaffier quarrelled with the Company, massacred some Europeans at Patna, and fled to his neighbour, the Nabob of Oudh. Both Nabobs, however, were Battle of Buxar (1764) defeated at the decisive battle of *Buxar*. It was necessary then to regulate our position. Fortunately *Clive* became Governor of Bengal six months after the battle, and in the

short space of twenty-two months made great changes (1765-67). In the first place, he obtained from the Mogul Emperor the financial administration of Bengal and Bihar; and thus the East India Company became practically the governors of a country three-quarters the size of France. Secondly, he made an alliance with the Nabob of Oudh, his idea being that the Nabob's territory might be a useful buffer against aggressions from the west, either on the part of the Marathas or the Afghans. Thirdly, and above all, he supplemented the inadequate salaries of the officials, and forbade them to take part in private trading — thus initiating the series of reforms which was eventually to make the British rule in India, so far as British officials at all events were concerned, perhaps the purest in the world. It is sad to think that Clive should have come home to be attacked in Parliament for corruption,¹ and soon afterwards, under stress of disease and anxiety, to commit suicide (1774).

Clive's
reforms
(1765-67)

Trade and not conquest had in the past been the object of the East India Company, good dividends rather than warlike distinctions. Consequently the British Government had not interfered with the Company, beyond renewing its charter from time to time. But now that the Company had become the owner of a vast territory, the British Government was bound to assume some portion of the responsibility, more especially as after Clive's departure matters fell into great confusion (*Note 103*). Consequently, in 1773, a *Regulating Act* was passed by Lord North. A governor-general and council of four members were appointed, with control over all the Company's possessions in India. Hence some unity of control was secured. But the Act was in other respects unsatisfactory. The governor-general was liable to be much hampered by the council, all of whose members had equal votes, and both were exposed to some interference

The
Regulat-
ing Act
(1773)

¹ It was in the course of his examination before a parliamentary committee that Clive, describing the temptations to which he was subjected, exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

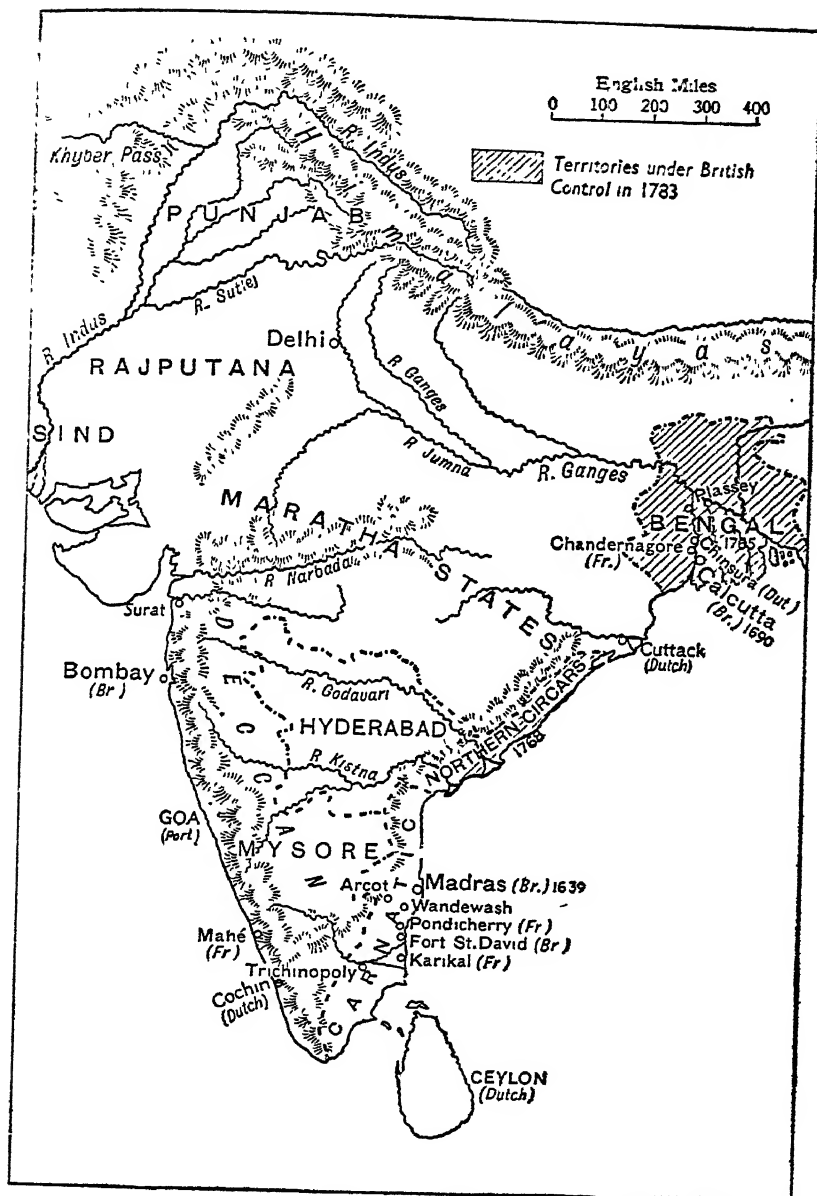
from the judges who were appointed under the same Act.

The first governor-general was *Warren Hastings*.¹ He found himself from the first terribly hampered by the Council, since one of the members sent from England was Sir Philip Francis, who came out with the preconceived idea that Hastings was both oppressive and corrupt. Francis won over two of the Council to his side, and thus Hastings was outvoted and could not carry any of his measures. This lasted for two years until one of his opponents died. Thwarted now by the Council, now by the incompetent governments of Bombay or Madras, with a temper, as he said, "almost fermented into vinegar by the weight of affairs and by everlasting teasing", he yet managed to do a vast amount. He divided Bengal into districts for purposes of government, arranged its land revenue, and organized its civil service.

Above all, Warren Hastings by his resourcefulness and courage saved our position in India at a critical time. The disaster at Saratoga and the consequent alliance of the French with the American colonists had its effect upon affairs in the East no less than in the West. French agents intrigued with the Marathas, and Warren Hastings found himself involved in a war with fighting tribes who were almost a match for our arms. Moreover, in Southern India the French secured in Suffren an admiral, and in *Hyder Ali* an ally who brought our Indian Empire to the verge of ruin. Hyder Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore, was, though ignorant of the alphabet, a very remarkable man. In alliance with the French, he suddenly invaded the plains of the Carnatic, and in three weeks had wellnigh extinguished our power (1780).² But Hastings was equal to the occasion. Within twenty-four hours of hearing the news at Calcutta

¹ He was a Westminster boy, and had been sent to India at an early age. to the great grief of his head master, who thought his classical attainments would be wasted in that arid and commercial atmosphere.

² There is a celebrated description of this invasion, and of the havoc it wrought, in Burke's speech on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot.



he had made his plan of campaign. Every available man and munition of war was hurried south, and the veteran Eyre Coote — the victor of Wandewash — was appointed to direct the operations. After arduous campaigns, Coote, in 1781, won at *Porto Novo*, though outnumbered by ten to one, a decisive battle, and in the following year Hyder Ali died. At sea, meanwhile, Suffren had found in Hughes as tough a fighter as himself, though a weaker tactician, and, whilst his own captains were jealous and insubordinate, those of Hughes were unselfish and devoted. Five sea-battles were fought in little more than a year, but Suffren was unable to claim a decided advantage.¹ Our position in India was saved, and treaties were finally made both with the Marathas and with Tippoo Sahib, Hyder Ali's successor, the one shortly before and the other shortly after the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.

Porto
Novo
(1781)

Treaties
of Settle-
ment
(1783)

Charges
against
Warren
Hastings
and his
trial
(1788-95)

Warren Hastings had, however, not only to fight and to organize, but also to secure dividends for the shareholders of the East India Company. His expenses, indeed, were so great that he committed actions for which he was impeached soon after his return home. Into the details of his famous trial, which lasted for a hundred and forty-five days and lingered over seven years (1788-95), we have no space to enter. He was finally acquitted, but Burke, the great orator of Warren Hastings' time, and Macaulay, the great historian of a subsequent generation, unsparingly condemned him. Of some charges, however, modern investigations show that he was quite innocent. He did not, for instance, connive at the hanging of a famous Hindu, Nuncomar by name, on an unjust charge of forgery because Nuncomar was on the point of exposing Hastings' own acts of corruption.² Nor did he extort money very unjustly

¹ After the war was over, the French and part of the British fleet met at the Cape of Good Hope, and the captains of the British ships at once hastened in a body to pay their respects to the great French commander

² Nuncomar was hanged for forgery, but there is no reason for believing that the decision was an unjust one, or that Warren Hastings had anything to do with it.

from the blameless mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oudh, cruelly torturing their blameless ministers; the truth being that the Begums — as the mother and grandmother were called — had departed from Oudh with a large sum of money which really belonged to the State, and that probably only slight coercion was needed to induce the ministers to return it.

In other matters Warren Hastings may have acted unwisely, as, for instance, when he let troops out on hire to the Nabob of Oudh for the suppression of the *Rohillas*, a turbulent tribe of Afghans; or inflicted upon the Rajah of Benares an enormous fine because he refused to pay a sum of money for the expenses of the war. But though it is impossible to justify everything that Clive or Hastings did, we must remember that to the former is due the beginning of our Empire in India, and that the latter not only succeeded in retaining, in the darkest days of our Imperial existence, every acre of land that we then possessed in India, but in leaving our dominions strengthened and organized. Warren Hastings is a not unworthy beginner of that long line of governors-general and viceroys of whom it has been said that they represent a higher level of ruling qualities than has been attained by any line of hereditary sovereigns, or by any line of elected presidents.

It may be convenient at this stage to proceed with the history of India during the forty years after Warren Hastings' retirement from India. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 had proved a failure. Consequently, just previously to the retirement of Warren Hastings, the younger Pitt passed, in 1784, an Act reorganizing the government of our possessions in India. The governor-general was given greater powers, and henceforth, subject to a *Board of Control* sitting in London, directed the politics and the diplomacy of our Indian Empire. In future the governor-general was, as a rule, a person of high birth and connections sent out from Great Britain; and as both the governor-general

India.
Pitt's
India Act
(1784)

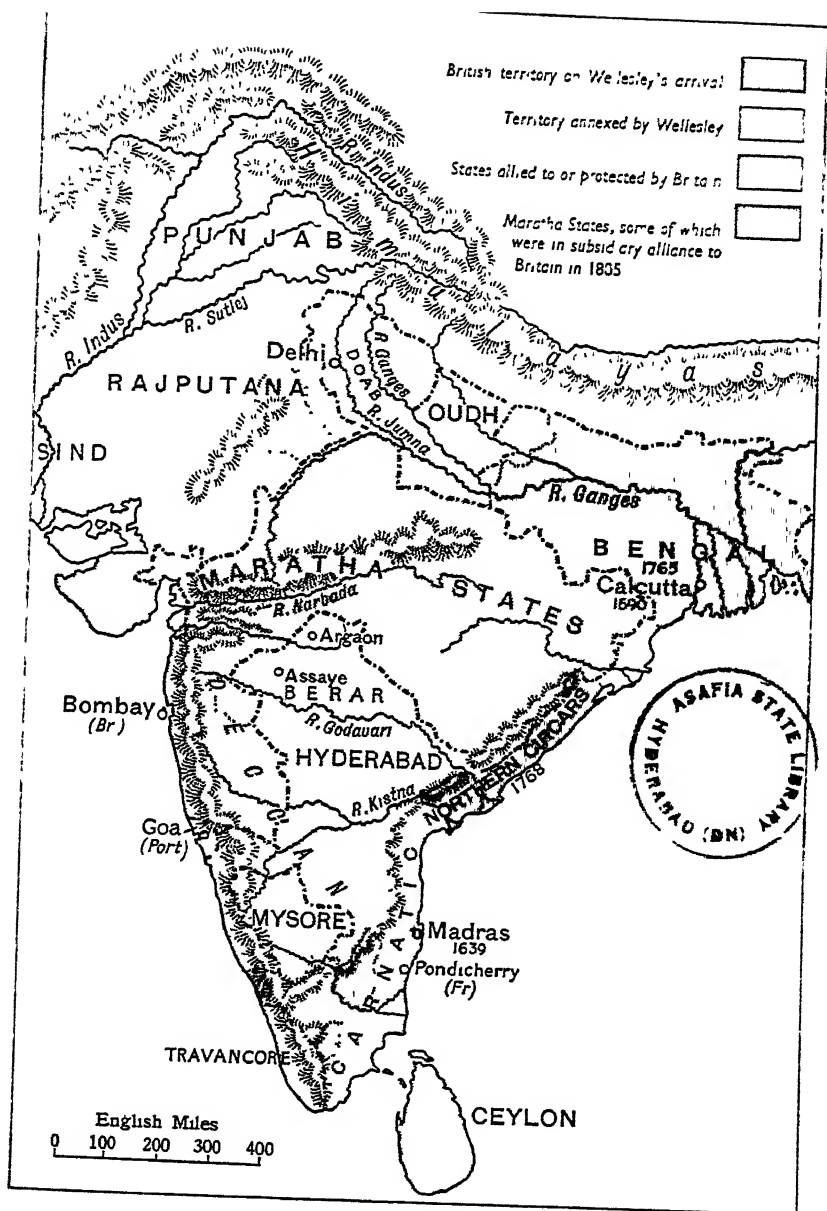
The
Board of
Control

and the Board of Control were appointed by the King acting on the advice of his ministers, the British Government became directly responsible for our Indian policy. In the appointment of other officials, however, and in matters of trade the East India Company was left supreme, though the Government had to confirm the higher appointments.

The first governor-general under the new system was the *Marquis Cornwallis* (1786-93), the defender of Yorktown. In his administration three points deserve notice. In the first place, by his own personal example and by his measures he still further purified the administration. Secondly, he made in Bengal a permanent settlement of the land revenue, by which the tax-collectors in that province — *zemindars* as they were called — were practically converted into landlords paying a fixed rent to the government, a policy the expediency of which has been much debated. Thirdly, though he left Great Britain with the intention of pursuing a peaceful policy, he found himself obliged to make war on Tippoo Sahib of Mysore. After a skilful campaign he was successful, and forced his adversary to make peace and to lose half his territories.¹

After an interval, Richard Wellesley, better known as the *Marquis Wellesley*, the elder brother of the great soldier who eventually became Duke of Wellington, was made governor-general. A brilliant scholar at Eton, he obtained this office at the age of thirty-five. He found on his arrival in India, in 1798, a situation which required the exercise of all his abilities. French ambitions were reviving. French officers, by drilling and organizing the troops of native rulers, had not only improved those troops immensely but had obtained very great influence for themselves — one of them was deified after his death and is still worshipped in Southern India. Tippoo Sahib, who proved himself a hard-

¹ Cornwallis found, like subsequent viceroys, that his work was very laborious and harassing. "I have a great deal more business every day", he wrote to his son, "than you have in a whole school-day, and I never get a whole holiday."



INDIA, 1784-1805

working ruler as well as a brave and resourceful soldier, had made an alliance with the French in order to realize his prime object — the downfall of the British. Above all, three weeks after Wellesley reached Madras, Napoleon himself started on the Egyptian expedition, and, if successful, might have proceeded to India (p. 679).

Into the details of Wellesley's great proconsulship limits space forbid us to enter, and we must only allude to its chief results. First, Wellesley persuaded the Nizam of Hyderabad to expel the French officers in his service, and arranged that, in return for the Nizam giving up part of territory, the East India Company should maintain an army for his defence. Then he turned against Tippoo Sultan, and the brilliant capture of *Seringapatam* by Baird resulted in Tippoo's death.¹ A large part of Mysore was annexed by the Company, a small part was given to the Nizam, and the remainder was handed over to the representative of the old Hindu dynasty which had ruled there before its expulsion by Hyder Ali. Other annexations in southern India followed, the result of which was that most of the Carnatic came under direct British control. Hence territories in the south were enormously extended.

Wellesley's policy in the south

Capture of Seringapatam (1799)

In the north, Wellesley's operations were no less important. He made a treaty with the Nabob of Oudh similar to that made with the Nizam, the Company in exchange for territory, including Rohilcund, maintaining an army for the Nabob's defence. War subsequently followed with a number of the Maratha leaders, of whom the most formidable was Scindia, whose troops had been trained by French officers. Arthur Wellesley — the future Duke of Wellington — won the battles of *Assaye* and *Argaum* in 1803,² the

Wellesley's policy in the north

Battle of Assaye and Argaum (1803)

Wellesley was buried with military honours under an escort of British grenadiers, and his family was taken under British protection. The last of his sons, whom Queen Victoria was much interested in seeing in 1854, died in Calcutta in 1877. See Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington":

"This is he who far away
Against the myriads at Assaye
Fought with his fiery few and won."

former by an attack of superb audacity against an army twice his strength. Lake won the battle of *Laswarri* and captured Delhi, and with its capture the Mogul emperor came under British control. Later on came a war with Holkar, another Maratha leader, whose irregular horse were famous throughout India. Against him our army met with a disaster, and the East India Company and the British Government, already frightened by the immensity of the recent annexations, and the cost of the military operations, recalled Wellesley in 1805. Under Wellesley important reforms had been made in administration. But it is chiefly for his extension of our empire that he is remembered; for in the space of seven years he had made our territories continuous from Delhi to Calcutta and from Calcutta to Cape Comorin; he had destroyed or weakened our most dangerous foes; he had closed India to the French, and had exalted Great Britain to be the suzerain power in India.

Battle of
Laswarri
and cap-
ture of
Delhi
(1803)

Extension
of Empire
under
Wellesley

For nearly ten years after Wellesley's departure little occurred in India. It was a period of inaction and of non-intervention. But the anarchy in various parts of India soon necessitated British action. Enormous bands of brigands, "human jackals", roamed over Central India, burning and killing and robbing wherever they went. Sometimes these *Pindaris*, as they were called, crossed into British territory and did immense damage. Such a state of things could not continue, and on *Lord Hastings'* arrival as governor-general (1814-23) our policy was changed into one of action. Lord Hastings first had a war with *Nepal* — the home of the brave Gurkhas — which led to some annexation of territory and to a satisfactory settlement of our relations with that country. In 1817 came the struggle with the Pindaris, which led also to a war with the Marathas. The result was that both Pindaris and Marathas submitted; a good deal of territory was annexed, including the territories of the Peshwa of Poona. whilst the boundaries of the

Lord
Hastings
Govern-
or-
general
(1814-23)

War with
Nepal

arious native states in the centre of India were delimited. Here for the present we may leave Indian affairs. Thanks chiefly to Wellesley and Hastings, the British power had been substituted in India for that of the Great Mogul. That eastern empire which had been the dream of Napoleon's ambition had become an accomplished fact with his greatest enemies.

Nor is India the only part of our empire which was developed in the later part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The discoveries of *captain Cook* between 1768 and 1779 had given to Great Britain the opportunity of developing a third great continent in Australia. How the opportunity was utilized will be told later.

CHAPTER 50

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS—FOX AND BURKE

We must now go back to see how matters had developed at home while such great deeds were on foot abroad. While

war with America had dragged along its disastrous course, the dissatisfaction aroused in Great Britain at the mismanagement and blunders was very great. People blamed the ministers, and they blamed the King for choosing them. In addition the growing power of George III was regarded with alarm, and in 1770 a motion was carried in the House of Commons that the "influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished". In the same year came a formidable ultra-Protestant riot, owing to an

effort of Parliament repealing some of the laws against the Roman Catholics: its leader was *Lord George Gordon*, and the London east of Charing Cross was at the mercy of a mob, till George III himself ordered the troops to disperse

Party
Struggles:
Fox and
Burke

The
Gordon
Riot
(1770)

the people without waiting to read the Riot Act.¹ The proposal of a similar Bill for Scotland, granting concessions to the Roman Catholics, aroused such an uproar in that country that it had to be abandoned. Finally, in 1782, after the capitulation of Yorktown and the loss of Minorca, Lord North insisted upon resigning — to the great disgust of the King, who never forgave him for his “desertion”, as he called it; “remember, my Lord,” said the King, on parting from him, “that it is you who desert me, not I you.”

The King had now to recall the Whigs, and Rockingham once more became Prime Minister. This ministry was made celebrated by the outstanding individuals who now gave the party unequalled brilliance. The chief of these were Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke.

Charles James Fox (Note 105) was a strange mixture of Fox virtues and vices. He has been described as the most genial of all associates and the most beloved of all friends. He was a great lover of literature, and read through his Homer, it was said, every year. He was energetic in all that he did, whether in taking writing lessons when secretary of state to improve his handwriting, or in swimming and cricket, and he became, through constant practice, an incomparable debater.² Yet, before he was twenty-four he ran through a fortune by gambling, and was the leader of every sort of extravagant fashion — including red-heeled shoes and blue hair-powder. His political life was varied. Beginning as a Tory and a member of Lord North's ministry, he became a Whig during the American War, and developed into a Radical as a supporter of the French Revolution. He might be called the founder of the Liberal Party, as he bridged the

¹ For four days London was in the hands of the mob; Newgate prison was destroyed and its 300 prisoners released, Roman Catholic chapels were burnt and a distillery was attacked, with the result that immense casks of spirits were broken, and many of the mob died as a result of drinking too much. The leader, Lord George Gordon, eventually became a Jew and died a madman (see Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*)

² In one session he spoke at every sitting except one, and he always regretted that he had abstained from speaking on that occasion.

up between the old Whig Party and the new Whigs who pressed for Parliamentary Reform. Whatever views he held he supported passionately. As a statesman, however, he failed to gain the confidence of the King or of the nation, and from the time he left the Tory ministry in 1774 till the time of his death in 1806, he was only in office for twenty months.

Of *Edmund Burke* (Note 106) it has been said that, "Bacon alone excepted, he was the greatest political thinker that has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics". Burke

Irishman by birth, and educated at Dublin University, he became, when thirty-six years of age, secretary to Lord Rockingham, and a Whig member of Parliament (1765).

He was a keen Whig and a great writer and talker. His speeches had enormous influence; for all politicians read them, though members of Parliament did not always listen to them, as they were long and awkwardly delivered.¹ Possessed of wonderful knowledge, he formed opinions which posterity has agreed were generally right. Thus he was in favour of a policy of conciliation with the American colonies; he supported the claims of the Roman Catholics for emancipation, and of the Dissenters for complete toleration; he wished to reform the penal code and the debtors' laws; and he attacked the slave trade. But though he failed to diminish the corruption of Parliament, he was a great admirer of the British constitution as it then existed, and he was opposed to any extension of the franchise or redistribution of the constituencies. Moreover, he had a great horror of any violent reforms, and hence became an ardent and passionate opponent of the French Revolution, as was shown in his "Reflections" upon it.

Samuel Johnson once said that Burke and Chatham were only two men he knew who had risen considerably above

¹ Burke spoke with a strong Irish accent, his gestures were clumsy, and his style was described as execrable. Yet of one of his speeches in the Warren Hastings impeachment a contemporary wrote "Burke did not, I believe, leave any man in the whole assembly".

the common standard, and it is an extraordinary thing that Burke should never have had a seat in any cabinet. He did not, however, belong to one of the governing families, and his Irish extraction made Englishmen inclined to distrust him. Moreover, his judgment was occasionally warped to such an extent by his imagination, as in the charges which he brought against Warren Hastings, that it became entirely unreliable. But of his writings one of the greatest English historians has said, "The time may come when they may no longer be read; the time will never come in which men will not grow the wiser by reading them."

The Whigs hoped to check the corrupt power which the Crown had acquired, and for this purpose they now brought in (through Burke's influence) an *Economical Reform Bill*.

This reduced the number of offices and pensions and disfranchised all "revenue officers". Up to this time these "officers", who were appointed by the Crown, were so numerous that they actually formed one-tenth of the voters of the country. Other measures included the grant of an independent Parliament to Ireland (see p. 711).

When Rockingham died, the King chose as Prime Minister Lord Shelburne, a very able but unpopular man who was so much distrusted and disliked by Fox and Burke that both resigned office rather than serve under him.

To Shelburne fell the unenviable task of making the peace, and when the terms of the Treaty of Versailles became known (see p. 637) his enemies made capital out of it. Fox and Burke united with Lord North and Shelburne was out-voted in the House and driven from office.

For a brief while these incongruous allies held power. The Duke of Portland acted as head of the new ministry, but Fox was its chief figure. He could count on North's stolid placidity¹ and he hoped he himself could accomplish

¹ There is a story that, during the War of American Independence, after Fox had denounced a member of Lord North's ministry in most scathing terms, Lord North came up to Fox and said laughingly, "I am glad you did not fail on me, Charles, for you were in high feather to-day."

much. Yet brilliant as were Fox's talents, he could not get either the nation or the King to accept this ministry. Many people were disgusted at an alliance between such opponents, Fox the advanced Whig, and North the extreme Tory. Clearly such an alliance had no solid base. When Fox brought in his *India Bill*, his enemies saw their chance. This Bill proposed to take over the powers of the East India Company and to govern the Indian provinces through Commissioners and officials, all of whom would naturally be appointed by Fox's government. The King acted. He could no longer control the Commons, but he had absolute control of the Lords. He sent messages stating that "whoever voted for the bill would be considered his enemy", and as a result the measure was thrown out, and the Coalition ministry resigned.¹

Their place was taken (December, 1783) by a young man of twenty-four, William Pitt the second son of the great Earl of Chatham, and with his appearance a new period began.

¹ Fox had "sold his birthright for a mess of pottage", for after these few weeks in power, he was out of office for twenty years.

NOTES ON PERIOD EIGHT (1714-1783)

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS

GEORGE I (1714-1727)

GEORGE II (1727-1760)

GEORGE III (1760-1820)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: LOUIS XV (1715-1774)

LOUIS XVI (1774-1793)

EMPIRE: CHARLES VI (1711-1740)

AUSTRIA: MARIA THERESA (1740-1780)

PRUSSIA: FREDERICK WILLIAM I (1713-1740)

FREDERICK II — "The Great" (1740-1786)

RUSSIA: PETER I — "The Great" (1689-1725)

ELIZABETH (1741-1762)

CATHERINE II — "The Great" (1762-1796)

MINISTRIES IN GREAT BRITAIN (1714-1783)

STANHOPE-TOWNSHEND: (1714-1717)

STANHOPE: (1717-1721)

WALPOLE: (1721-1742)

CARTERET: (1742-1744)

PELHAM: (1744-1754)

NEWCASTLE: (1754-1756)

DEVONSHIRE-PITT: (1756-1757)

NEWCASTLE-PITT: (1757-1761)

BUTE: (1761-1763)

GRENVILLE: (1763-1765)

ROCKINGHAM: (1765-1766)

CHATHAM: (1766-1768)

GRAFTON: (1768-1770)

NORTH: (1770-1782)

ROCKINGHAM: (1782)

SHELburne: (1782-1783)

FOX-NORTH: (1783)

PITT: (1783-1801)

NOTE 23. — THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD

1. Effects of the Hanoverian Succession.

- (a) George I was a foreigner, and could not speak English. Hence his *Prime Minister* acquired great power and influence. Cabinet system developed, with *Cabinet of one party* and head acting as link with the Crown.
- (b) *The Whigs* were supreme, and carried measures for toleration and Septennial Act (Parliament to sit for 7 years) to keep themselves longer in office (1716).
- (c) *Oligarchy* in power; a band of great Whig noble families, but the bulk of the people had very little power or influence.
 - (i) This led to corruption, for the party in power could give away places and pensions and so secured votes in the house.
 - (ii) In the elections to Parliament, the bad representative system enabled wealthy men to buy up seats (rotten and pocket boroughs).

2. Revolts against the Hanoverians

(a) *The First Jacobite Rebellion, 1715*

- (i) Led by Earl of Mar in the Highlands, by Forster in Cumberland; and Irish were to land in the west. Mar fought at *Sheriffmuir*, but battle indecisive one, and a Spanish force later defeated when it landed in Scotland.
- (ii) No French help came; Louis XIV died, and Regency did not want war with England.
- (iii) The "Old Pretender", James Francis Edward, did not land in Scotland till after *Sheriffmuir*, Jan., 1716, came without troops and was so uninspiring he thoroughly damped down his supporters. Left after one month.
- (iv) English government acted promptly and with success.

(b) *Second Jacobite Rebellion, 1745-46* Charles Edward the "Young Pretender" landed

- (i) Took Edinburgh. Won Battle of *Prestonpans*.
- (ii) Invaded England, via Carlisle (English army was guarding the other, eastern route), and marched by Manchester to *Derby*. Turned back, because English had one army guarding London, another in the north ready to cut him off and a third in the Midlands.
- (iii) Retreated to Scotland and won Battle of *Falkirk*. Retreated to Highlands and defeated at *Culloden* (1746).

Initial successes won because Great Britain was occupied in war abroad. Failed because English did not join Prince Charles Edward. Hanoverians firmly established, partly owing to Walpole's prosperous ministry and Great Britain would not accept a Roman Catholic sovereign.

NOTE 94. — WALPOLE (1676—1745)

1 Financial Measures.

- (a) Very successful financier Rose to power through his skill over the *South Sea Bubble* Restored credit after the panic (1720).
- (b) Reformed the tariff, reducing duties on articles
- (c) Set up the "Sinking Fund" to pay off the capital of the National Debt by setting aside one million a year from taxation and using the interest on that to repay loans to Government (1729)
- (d) *Excise Bill* (1733) To make wines and spirits pay duty only when taken out of bonded warehouses for consumption. Would have stopped smuggling into England Fiercely opposed, on ground that inspectors would "pry" into men's private affairs so *dropped by Walpole*

2 Cabinet Rule.

Walpole acted as Prime Minister, and head of his *Cabinet* If a minister disagreed, he dismissed him from office.

3 Reasons for his Fall.

- (a) Unpopular over Excise Bill
- (b) Unpopular over *Porteous Riots* (1736). A Scottish smuggler was to be executed, the crowd rescued him and Captain Porteous fired on the crowd. Tried for deaths of persons in mob, reprieved, was lynched by mob Walpole highly unpopular for Government's part
- (c) Death of *Queen Caroline*, his ardent supporter (1737)
- (d) Opposition stamped country into war with Spain over "*Jenkins's Ear*" Walpole utterly against the war, conducted it so tepidly, forced to resign (1742).

4 Results of Walpole's Ministry.

Britain had 20 years of peace and prosperity, Hanoverians settled down, and country grew rich.

NOTE 95. — WARS WITH SPAIN AND AUSTRIA

- 1 Britain anxious to trade with Spanish America, but Spaniards dreaded this War of "*Jenkins's Ear*" over this trade (1739).
- 2. War of Austrian Succession (1740-48).

Maria Theresa of Austria, was to succeed her father the Emperor by the set of treaties called "Pragmatic Sanctions". Frederick the Great of Prussia attacked her, and France joined him *Great Britain supported Maria Theresa*, because she did not want France to get the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and King George as "Elector of Hanover" was ally of Maria Theresa

British won battle of *Dettingen* (1743) and drove French out of Germany (1743).

British defeated at *Fontenoy*, in the Netherlands (1745).

As ' Young Pretender ' landed this year in Scotland, Britain was ready for peace by *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*

- (a) Britain got Madras, which French had captured in the war.
- (b) French regained Louisburg, which we had captured in war
- (c) Maria Theresa kept Austria but Frederick the Great got Silesia.

NOTE 96. — THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756—1763)

Was fought in Europe, in India, and in America.

1. In India.

- (a) The East India Company traded under Charter in India, and had French company to contend with (Clive was originally simply a clerk employed by the company) The Mogul empire had broken up and the French under Dupleix had tried to secure *Madras*. Before the war broke out in 1756, *Robert Clive* had already been extending the Company's territory. Clive attacked the capital *Arcot*, took it and held it against the French (1751) *Madras* given to Britain at *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*.
- (b) In 1756 Surajah Dowlah of Bengal put British into the *Black Hole of Calcutta*. Clive marched from Madras, and won the battle of *Plassey* — led to annexation of *Bengal*
- (c) In the south, English took *Masulipatam* and Eyre Coote won battle of *Wandewash*, which led to capture of *Pondicherry* (1761)
- (d) By *Treaty of Paris* (1763) British kept all her territory except *Pondicherry*. After 1765 Clive returned as Governor of Bengal, and a system set up whereby East India Company ruled, together with the Nawab. Clive checked corruption and organized the State.

2. In America.

The French settlements lay inland, along the rivers, while the British held the sea-board. The French received a good deal of help from the French government, the English colonists having been largely people who broke away from England, had much less encouragement.

- (a) French held Canada, and down in the south held Louisiana. Wished to join these possessions by a line of forts, and so hem the British into an enclosed space. Built these forts by 1754 (Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Oswego, and Duquesne). British tried to take *Duquesne* and failed. When war broke out, attacks on *Oswego* and *Louisiana* failed (1757).
- (b) *Pitt* planned double attack. Amherst to advance from Ticonderoga and Wolfe to go up River St. Lawrence, and both to meet and attack *Quebec*. *Wolfe* took *Quebec* (1759).

3. Europe.

- (a) Early disasters Byng failed to save *Minorca* in 1757; British defeated in Germany at *Klosterseven*.
- (b) Pitt revolutionized the war. Subsidies sent to Frederick the Great, and army sent to Germany, won battle of *Minden*, 1759.
- (c) French had planned invasion of Britain, but our naval victories at *Lagos* and *Quiberon Bay* (1759) destroyed the French fleet entirely.
- (1759, the *Year of Victories*, saw British victorious at *Quebec*, *Minden*, *Lagos*, *Quiberon Bay*, *Masulipatam*).

4. Treaty of Paris (1763), ended Seven Years' War.

Great gains for Britain:

- (a) In America got Canada; all French territory east of Mississippi; Cape Breton Island (which commanded river St. Lawrence); Florida
- (b) In West Indies got Dominica, Tobago, Grenada.
- (c) In India kept control of Madras and Bengal.
- (d) In Africa got Senegal.
- (e) In Mediterranean got Minorca
- France* recovered Pondicherry; right to fish off Newfoundland; Bellisle, Martinique, and St Lucia
- Spain* recovered Havana and Manila.

NOTE 97 — PITT THE ELDER; LATER LORD CHATHAM
(1708-1778)

A great war-minister, just as Walpole had been great peace minister

- 1 Chose good commanders and backed them up Supported Clive, though he was not actually his employer (1759).
- 2 Understood sea-power Saw it was vital to war in America and India, but that French fleets must be blockaded in French harbours and destroyed if they came out.
3. Understood importance of keeping France occupied in Europe, so poured out lavish subsidies to Frederick the Great of Prussia Thus France could not keep up war in India and America, and Pitt said he "won Canada on the banks of the Elbe".

Could not work with George III (1760), who wished to revive power of Crown.

4. Did not approve war with the American colonies, and declared we should not tax them without their consent (1775)

Was extremely honest, fought against corruption, raised the level of public life, was a great orator, and was universally respected by all parties. Greatest achievement the extension of British Empire in India and America.

NOTE 98 — WESLEY AND RISE OF METHODISM

- 1 John Wesley (1703–91), originally member of Church of England. With his brother Charles and friends, tried to start movement of reform, at Oxford (1729)
- 2 After a visit to America, returned to England and began his "mission" (1738). Aimed at reaching the poor, who did not attend church, and would not have been specially welcomed by the Tory clergy
 Preached to such various peoples as negroes of Georgia, miners of Cornwall, soldiers in army, and rich in London, often preached in open-air
- 3 Chapels meant to be additional to Churches, but clergy distrusted his methods and his views on "conversion" from sinful ways
 Gradually began to set up "lay preachers" and later "ministers". This led to split off from Church of England
4. Very wishful to improve conditions of the poor, amongst whom his missions were held. Wesley is largely responsible for start of movement to improve conditions of life amongst the working-classes.

NOTE 99. — THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES (1775–1783)

1. Causes of the Quarrel.

(a) *Economic*. The colonies could not trade direct with other countries, and could not manufacture in competition with British goods. The Navigation Acts forced them to send goods to Great Britain for re-export

But colonies had protection of British fleet, could develop shipping in which to send their goods to Britain, and had steady market for their products

(b) *Political*. British government objected to colonists obtaining land from Indians, often by fraud, and forbade acquisition of Indian lands. Britain had to keep a large army to defend colonists from Indians and French, and now thought colonists should contribute one-third of cost.

(c) *Financial*

(i) British proposed to tax colonists (Stamp Act) (1765) to pay for contribution to army, *but* said colonists could raise the money in any other way they liked. Many in Great Britain, including Chatham, agreed with the views of the colonists, that they could not be taxed internally by a Parliament in which they were not represented.

(ii) Townshend then imposed *duties* to pay for colonial officials (1767). This held to hinder self-government, and led directly to revolt.

(Tea duty was protest, for East India Company now allowed to export tea direct to America, instead of via Britain, so duty was actually reduced to 3d per lb Boston Tea-party, 1773)

NOTE 100 — THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. 4TH JULY, 1776

This is one of the most important documents in the study of history, for it puts into words the doctrines which underlie all democratic rule

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with one another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all *men are created equal*, that they are endowed by their Creator with *certain unalienable rights*; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed*; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness

"Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world."

Then follows a list of alleged acts of tyranny committed by the Government against the colonists

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are and ought to be, Free and Independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved . . ."

NOTE 101 — STAGES IN THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

1. (a) Just before Declaration of Independence (1776) war centred round Boston British lost *Bunker's Hill* (1775), and Americans invaded Canada, but were repulsed.

- (b) Howe defeated George Washington at *Brooklyn*, and took New Jersey (1776)
- (c) Joint British attack on Washington failed, and Burgoyne surrendered at *Saratoga* (1777)
- 2 Holland, France, and Spain now declared war on Great Britain, while Russia, Denmark, and Sweden formed the *hostis Armatus Neutralitatis* against her (1778-79)
 - Importance of sea-power now shown.* Great Britain fighting 3600 miles from her base.
 - (a) For Spain attacked Gibraltar, and the West Indies and Minorca
 - (b) Britain lost command of the sea to the French and could not send reinforcements (1778)
 - (c) Cornwallis reached *Yorktown*, and expected to be helped by British fleet, but French fleet arrived instead, and he had to surrender (1781).
 - (d) French troops landed.
- 3 Desperate Position of Great Britain.
 - Peace, with loss of colonies inevitable
 - Slightly better terms obtained by the naval victory off *Dominique* called "Battle of the Saints" (1782), and the relief of Gibraltar (1782), though these partly offset by loss of Minorca (1782)
- 4 Treaty of Versailles (1783).
 - (a) Thirteen colonies obtained their independence.
 - (b) Great Britain gave up to Spain Florida and Minorca To France, gave up Tobago and Senegal and St. Lucia.
 - But, note effect on Canada where, by *Quebec Act* (1774), the Canadians were granted a Governor and nominated council, and thousands of "loyal" Americans crossed into Canada

NOTE 102. — GEORGE III: ATTEMPT TO REVIVE PERSONAL POWER OF THE CROWN

Interest of George III (1760-1820) lies in the fact that he meant to rule as King He was British born and bred, and understood British politics He never meant to work without Parliament, but aimed (a) at control of Parliament; (b) at destroying all opposition in the country.

- 1 Formed *King's party* by offering pensions and places to those who would vote in accordance with his wishes Collected large body pledged to vote for him.
- 2 Desired *Prime Minister* who would be subservient to him Bute (1761), Grenville (1763), and North (1770)
3. Objected to opposition, hence the attacks on *Whigs*. Grenville issued the "general warrants" (1765) (these did not name the per-

sons to be arrested). Parliament led by the King's friends also refused to recognize the *Middlesex elections*, when Wilkes was repeatedly elected (1768-69).

4. During American war, power of the King's party so great that motion carried condemning its increase (1780)

When peace necessary, and North resigned, Whigs returned to power and passed the *Economical Reform Bill*, reducing greatly the number of offices to be filled by the Crown, and thus checking corruption (1783)

Rise of Pitt, King's helplessness after the disaster of the American war, ended George's attempts (1783)

NOTE 103. — INDIA UNDER GEORGE III

After Clive's conquests, the East India Company became a great ruling power. Thus *North's Regulating Act* (1773) to set up a Governor and Council of 4 to administer it, English judges to administer English laws

- 1 Warren Hastings (1732-1818) the first Governor-General (1773), *War*. (a) Had to hold India while the war raged in America, and France attacked Britain in India.

French allied with *Hyder Ali* of Mysore (1780) Defeated through Hastings and Eyre Coote at *Porto Novo* (1781). Hastings sent troops to Madras and Bombay French admiral Suffren defeated at sea

- (b) Deposed the Begums of Oudh (1781), who were governing the country disgracefully. Then hired out troops to the new Nabob of Oudh to enable him to crush the *Rohillas*.

Peace. (c) He tried to reorganize the land system, with new assessments for taxation.

- (d) Codified the laws, and set up new commercial dues.

On his return to England (1785), Hastings was accused of corruption, and after a trial lasting seven years (which ruined him) was acquitted (1795). He saved India from the French, he introduced many reforms and gave efficient and honest administration. But he was thwarted by having always to act with his Council of four, some of whom opposed him (notably Francis, said to be the author of *Letters of Junius*). Hence Pitt saw need for reform

2. Pitt. In 1784 passed the *India Act*. This gave the Governor-General greater power, made him responsible to a Board in London, Governor and Board appointed by the Government, no longer by East India Company, and thus Government became responsible for India, though Company still carried on administration.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD EIGHT (1711-1783)

Sovereign.	Prime Minister.	Great Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
George I (1714-1727)	1721-42 SIR ROBERT WALPOLE (Whig)	Whig Ministry. Septennial Act. Alliance of Britain, France, Holland. Battle of Cape Passaro. South Sea Bubble	1714 1715 1716 1717 1718 1720	Accession of Louis XV. Death of Charles XII of Sweden.	1715 . . 1718 . . .
		Indemnity Act for Dissenters	1727 . . .	Death of Peter the Great. Spain attacks Gibraltar	1725 1727 .
		Excise Scheme.	1733 .	WAR OF POLISH SUCCESSION.	.
		Porteous Riots. Death of Queen Caroline.	1730 1737	.	.
		Anson's Voyage Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry Battle of Dettingen.	1739 1740 1741	SPAIN. Accession of Maria Theresa to Austria and of Frederick the Great to Prussia.	1740 .
		Fontenoy Battle of Culloden. French take Madras	1743 1746	ALSTRIAN SUCCESSION.	.
		Defence of Arcot by Clive.	1751 . .	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.	1718 . .
George II (1727-1760)	1742-44 WILMINGTON.	WAR OF JENKINS' EAR. CHARLES EDWARD'S RISING.	1749 1756		
	1744-54 HENRY PITTM (Whig).				

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD EIGHT (1714-1783) — Continued

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great Britain.	Dates	Other Powers.	Dates
George II (1727-1760)	NEWCASTLE, DEVONSHIRE	Braddock's Expedition. Black Hole of Calcutta; Loss of Minorca. Battle of Plassey.	1755 1756 1757		.
	NEWCASTLE (WITH PITT).	Year of Victories. Battle of Wandewash; Capture of Montreal. Bridgewater Canal, Pitt resigns.	1759 1760 1761		.
George III (1760-1820)	BUTE, GRENVILLE	Treaty of Paris Battle of Burar, Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny. Stamp Act; Watt's Steam Engine	1763 1764 1765	Years' War.	1761 1762
	ROCKINGHAM, CHATHAM, GRAFTON.	Stamp Act repealed; Declaratory Act. Townshend's duties. Cook's First Voyage to Australia; Chatham resigns. Boston Massacre.	1766 1767 1768	Family Compact (France and Spain) Catherine II reigns in Russia	
	1770-82	Burning of the <i>Gaspee</i> Boston tea-party; North's India Act, Warren Hastings Governor-General of India (till 1785)	1770 1772	Dauphin Louis marries Marie Antoinette. First Partition of Poland.	1770 1772
	LORD NORTH.	Quebec Act Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill American Colonies declare Independence. Surrender of Saratoga. Death of Chatham. Crompton's "Mule". Siege of Gibraltar by Spaniards and French (1779-1783)	1773 1774 1775 1776 1777 1778 1779	Accession of Louis XVI.	1774
		AMERICAN WAR OF		INDEPENDENCE France joins America Spain joins France Holland joins France.	1778 1779 1780
	ROCKINGHAM, SHELBURNE, PORTLAND.	Minorca, which had been regained by Britain in Treaty of Paris, now lost Surrender of Yorktown North resigns. Independence of Irish Parliament Treaty of Versailles	1781 1782 1783	Death of Maria Theresa	

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD EIGHT (1714-1783)

- 1 Describe the rising of the Young Pretender in 1745 and account for his failure (LGS 1937)
- 2 Trace the events which led up to the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800 (LGS 1937)
- 3 State (a) the merits, and (b) the defects of Walpole's work (NUJB 1935)
- 4 Show how Walpole (a) obtained and (b) lost power (LGS 1936)
- 5 What circumstances led to the rise and what to the fall of Walpole? (LM 1923, OC 1930)
- 6 Show how Cabinet government developed under George I and George II. (NUJB 1930)
- 7 How was the British Empire affected by control of the sea during the period 1756-83? (NUJB 1935)
- 8 "Peace and retrenchment" How far were these the inspiration of Walpole's administration? (OC 1937)
- 9 Describe the work of Clive and Warren Hastings in India (LGS 1937)
- 10 Compare the services of Clive and Warren Hastings to the expansion of British rule in India. (OC 1937)
11. Sketch the career of Warren Hastings in India Why and with what justice was he impeached? (LGS 1936)
12. Describe *either* the development of communications in the Industrial Revolution *or* the rise of the Lancashire cotton industry in this period (LGS 1936)
13. Account for the failure of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. (LM 1931; OC 1931; D 1931)
14. Give an account of the Methodist movement and indicate its results. (CL 1930)
15. "The task of John Wesley and the elder Pitt was to counteract the bad effects of Walpole's ministry". Comment. (CL 1932)

16. How did William Pitt influence the conduct of the Seven Years' War?
(OC 1933)
17. Give an account of the work of the elder Pitt (Chatham).
(NUJB 1938)
18. Give an account of the part played by Britain in *either* the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-8) *or* the Seven Years' War (1756-63).
(NUJB 1937)
19. Were the American Colonists justified in rebelling against the English Government? Give reasons for your answer. (NUJB 1937)
20. Why did we lose the American colonies?
(OC 1935)
21. "Be a King". Did George III succeed in breaking down the limits of constitutional Kingship?
(OC 1937)
22. How do you explain (a) the English success in the Seven Years' War, and (b) the English failure in the American War of Independence?
(LGS 1936)
23. Describe the career of Charles James Fox. What were his chief aims and how far was he successful in fulfilling them? (LGS 1935)
24. Describe and account for the attitude towards the French Revolution of (a) Pitt, (b) Burke, and (c) Fox.
(OL 1927; NUJB 1932)

PERIOD NINE

THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE; REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

1783-1815

CHAPTER 51

PITT, THE YOUNGER: HIS FIRST MINISTRY

William Pitt the younger had been born in 1759, the great "year of victories". He had shown great promise as a child¹ and young man, and when he entered Parliament in 1780 he at once made his mark. Shelburne had surprised everyone by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now, when only twenty-four years of age, he was Prime Minister (*Note 107*).

His government was looked on at first almost as a joke, and having been formed on 19th December, 1783, was called the "mince-pie administration" as likely to end when Christmas festivities were over. Fox and North, however, had completely misjudged both the nation and the man with whom they had to deal. Pitt, despite various defeats in the House, held on. His courage and resourcefulness, coupled with the extreme violence of the opposition,

Pitt's
first
ministry
(1783-
1801)

¹ William Pitt as a child was very precocious. At the age of seven, when told that his father had been raised to the peerage, he said "that he was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa". At the age of twelve he wrote his first poem, and when a year older his first play — with a political plot. At the age of fourteen and a half, when he did not weigh much more than six stone, he went to Cambridge — the story, however, that his nurse brought him there in a carriage and stayed to look after him lacks confirmation.

won him increased support; and when in April he dissolved Parliament he came back amidst great popular excitement with a decisive majority, no less than one hundred and sixty of Fox's supporters — Fox's martyrs they were called — losing their seats.¹ For the next seventeen years Pitt, trusted alike by the King and the nation, reigned supreme.

Pitt and the King able to exercise at times very great influence, his system of personal government came to an end. For one thing, the King had a minister whom he trusted; and for another, he could not afford to quarrel with Pitt, for if so he would have been thrown back on the Whig opposition. Moreover, the King's health began to decline. Brain troubles incapacitated him for a time in 1788. Increasing blindness, which became serious in 1805, made him retire more and more from public business. After 1811 the madness which had so long threatened led to his complete withdrawal, the Prince of Wales for the remainder of the reign acting as regent, under conditions, however, which left the chief power with the ministers.

Pitt's home policy: finance As a financier Pitt began well. The country was prosperous, but the national finances were not in a satisfactory condition. Pitt was a personal friend of Adam Smith, whose famous book *The Wealth of Nations* had been published in 1776, and he was convinced by this book that trade should be freer from restraints; for as international trade consists in one nation exchanging its goods for those produced by other countries, duties which prevented foreign goods from coming into Britain, checked our goods from going out in exchange. Pitt therefore lowered many duties on imports, and abolished others. His new "Book of Rates"

Customs duties revised

¹ The most exciting election was at Westminster where Fox was a successful candidate. The poll was open for forty days, and there were continual conflicts between a body of seamen whom Fox's naval opponent, Lord Hood, had brought up to London, and the hackney chairmen, who supported Fox. The King, of course, favoured Hood, whilst the Prince of Wales was an active ally of Fox. But Fox's most successful canvasser was the beautiful Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who really won the election.

made duties in many instances so light that it ceased to be worth while to smuggle.

He went on to make a commercial treaty with France, under which each country lowered the duties on goods produced by the other; the effect was that more British goods, such as cotton and cutlery, were exchanged for French wine and silk. As the Industrial Revolution progressed (see p. 739) production became cheaper and Great Britain had more goods to exchange for those of other countries.

Commer-
cial Treaty
with
France

Pitt would have liked to extend "free trade" to Ireland, but unfortunately he failed to carry this measure (see p. 715) (Note 110).

In India the "Regulating Act" of Lord North had proved a failure, and Pitt's *India Act* was now passed in 1784. This Act left administration to the East India Company, but gave all control over political matters to the Board of Control appointed by the British Government (p. 643).

Pitt's
India
Act
(1784)

In other parts of the world Pitt undertook reforms. In Canada Lord North's *Quebec Act* (1774) had been made to conciliate the Canadians, especially the French Roman Catholics, and keep them loyal during the American War of Independence. Thus it set up a government-nominated Council, extended the boundaries of Quebec, and recognized the Roman Catholic Church as the national Church of Canada. Since then streams of "loyalists" had left the independent United States of America, and poured across the frontiers into the parts of Canada which lay to the east and to the west of the French frontiers. There they multiplied and prospered. But differences of race and religion caused friction with the older French settlers, and the two sections quarrelled bitterly.

Pitt and
Canada

In an attempt to remedy this, Pitt, in 1791, passed his *Canada Act*, which divided Canada into two, an eastern province called *Lower Canada* or *Quebec* and a western

Canada
Act
(1791)

province called *Upper Canada* or Ontario. Each had its own governor and a certain amount of self-government. In this way Pitt hoped to satisfy both parties, and he trusted that in time the French province would acquire the taste and aptitude for self-government which the English settlers possessed so strongly.

Australia Under Pitt's rule too, began the first settlement in Australia. Captain Cook had discovered the continent, and in 1786 it was decided to use it for the transportation of convicts who, owing to the loss of the American colonies, could no longer be sent out, as formerly, to the plantations of Virginia or Carolina. The Home Secretary of that year was *Lord Sydney*, and since he was responsible for all prisoners, the spot chosen for the first convict settlement in the new land was called after him.

Pitt and Parliamentary reform Though Pitt owed his position in the first place to the King's support, he was aware of the faults of the Parliamentary system, and he was prepared to do something for reform. Accordingly he brought in a Bill to disfranchise thirty-six "rotten boroughs", each of which returned two members to Parliament. These boroughs were entirely in the hands of "patrons" who owned them, and Pitt proposed to buy these men out and give them compensation (one million pounds was the sum proposed). The seats were to be redistributed and given to the large new towns which were now springing up all over the country. His measure did not pass the Commons and Pitt was soon diverted from all reforms by the crisis which arose in foreign affairs.

Europe was now on the verge of one of the greatest upheavals in history, the French Revolution. While all Europe was affected, England suffered through the effects which the revolution produced upon Pitt; it meant his abandonment of all reform, and the eventual adoption of a policy of repression which was sometimes harsh and even cruel.

CHAPTER 52

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE
GREAT WAR (1789-1802)

1. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Throughout the eighteenth century France had suffered from a government which was often incompetent and arbitrary, a court which was extravagant and at times frivolous, and an aristocracy which clung to its privileges — above all that of not contributing to the chief taxes — whilst it was apt to neglect its duties. She endured a system of taxation which had every possible fault and which left to the poor peasant only one-fifth of his earnings for himself. Moreover, the people had no share in the government, and the States-General — which had in the Middle Ages corresponded in some measure to the English Parliament — had not met since 1614.

The
French
Revolu-
tion, 1789,
its causes

The close of the eighteenth century, however, found people's minds prepared for change. A brilliant writer, *Voltaire*, had attacked various abuses, particularly those connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and had created, it is not too much to say, the critical atmosphere of his generation. A seductive philosopher, *Rousseau*, had taught people to look back to an imaginary golden age when there was no oppression and no poverty because there were no kings, no nobles, and no priests. In the same year that these two writers died, in 1778, the French monarchy had appealed to its subjects, as we have seen, to support liberty in America; it is not surprising that the French people should seek liberty for themselves when financial difficulties at last forced the King to summon the States-General in May, 1789.

France was at heart loyal, and a great king might have

Course of Revolution (1789) made reforms which would have staved off a revolution. But Louis XVI, the King, though well-meaning and amiable was vacillating and undecided, whilst his Queen, Mari Antoinette, though beautiful, was unpopular and indiscreet. The King had no scheme of reforms and no scheme of coercion — he merely let things drift. Consequently events moved quickly after the meeting of the States-General at Versailles. On previous occasions, the States-General had sat and voted in three estates, representing the nobles, clergy, and people respectively. But on this occasion the representatives of the people insisted on all the orders sitting and voting in one house, and by their pertinacity achieved their object. Then, on 14th July, the men of Paris took the Bastille, the great fortress dominating eastern Paris — and its fall was regarded throughout Europe as the sign of the downfall of absolute monarchy in France.¹ In October, the women of Paris, impelled by fear of famine, marched to Versailles, and brought the King, the royal family, and the States-General to Paris, thinking that they would thus be sure of supplies of bread; and, as a consequence, the government and the assembly became, as time went on, increasingly subject to the influence of the Parisian populace.

The year 1790 was taken up with the task of reorganizing France — with removing abuses in Church and State, in taxation and in the law, in the army and navy. The King's attitude was uncertain, and sometimes he sided with the reformers and at other times he opposed them. Finally, however, in June, 1791, he escaped from Paris and fled towards the eastern frontier of France. But he was captured at Varennes and was henceforth regarded by many as a traitor because he had fled towards the foreigner.

¹ To the popular imagination the Bastille was impregnable, and its dungeons were full of untried prisoners. As a matter of fact, the Bastille was only defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, most of them old, and by fifteen cannon, only one of which was fired; and there were only seven prisoners, of whom four were forgers, two were madmen, and the other had been put there by the request of his family.

In 1792 Austria and Prussia declared war and invaded France. In August of that year the Paris mob stormed the Tuileries palace, where Louis XVI lived. Then the Prussians attacked Verdun, "the gateway of France", and during the panic caused by the news of its imminent fall occurred the awful September massacres in Paris, when hundreds of people who had been imprisoned because of their suspected hostility to the Revolution were barbarously murdered. The Convention (1792)

A new assembly, called the Convention, met towards the close of September. This assembly declared France to be a Republic, and a few months later the King was put to death (January, 1793).¹ The King beheaded (1793)

The French Revolution affected profoundly every state in Europe. Its ideas of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were popular with European peoples, whilst they aroused the apprehensions of European monarchs. In Great Britain, at first, the Revolution was regarded with sympathy. Pitt watched it with no unkindly eye "as a spectator", to use his own words, and saw no reason why it should affect British policy. Poets such as Wordsworth and Coleridge saw in it the dawn of a new era of happiness and freedom; whilst Radical clergymen preached in its favour, and Radical politicians corresponded with its leaders and formed revolutionary societies. The Whigs thought it bore a resemblance to their own "glorious" Revolution of 1688; and Fox, the chief Whig leader, in particular gave the Revolu-

British opinion and the Revolution

¹ Marie Antoinette was guillotined in October. Louis XVI's son, the Dauphin, died in 1795, at the age of fifteen. For six months in the year previous to his death he was in a ground-floor room, without light, and often in winter without a fire, and in solitary confinement, his meals being passed to him through a grating.

After the execution of the King the extreme section in the Convention, the Jacobin or Mountain party, overthrew the more moderate section, and the "Reign of Terror" ensued (June, 1793-July, 1794), in the last seven weeks of which nearly fourteen hundred people were sent to the guillotine in Paris alone. The extremists then lost their power, and a more moderate government followed. At the end of 1795 the Convention Assembly was dissolved, and the government was put under the control of two Assemblies and of a committee called the *Directory* (1795-99). Finally, in October, 1799, Napoleon, after his return from Egypt, overthrew the Directory, and became supreme as *First Consul* (The Consulate, 1799-1804), and in 1804 he was elected *Emperor*.

tion his enthusiastic approval, exclaiming of the capture of the Bastille, "How much the greatest event that has happened in the world, and how much the best!"

Many individuals warmly sympathized with it, because they believed it would redress wrongs, and help the poor.¹ But, as the Revolution became more violent, opinion altered. Causes of change in opinion Burke, the greatest of all Whigs, who from the first, unlike others of his party, had regarded it with suspicion, published in November, 1790, his "Reflections on the French Revolution", in which he expressed his detestation of it "in its act, consequences, and most of all in its example", and prophesied that its ultimate result would be anarchy; the book made a profound impression not only in Great Britain but in all European courts. Moreover, atrocities such as the September massacres horrified public feeling. Above all, the French revolutionaries were not content to leave other countries alone. They intrigued with revolutionaries in this country, and riots in Dundee, Sheffield, and elsewhere showed the dangers of their exhortations. In the autumn of 1792 other events occurred which hastened on war. The French proclaimed that they would give Aggression of France assistance to any nation that rose for its liberty — which was equivalent to a declaration of war against the monarchies of Europe. They occupied the Austrian Netherlands (they had begun war with Austria in the previous spring), and declared the river Scheldt open to commerce; this river, in order to develop the trade of Holland and Great Britain, had been for a long time, under European treaty, closed to all vessels by the Dutch government, and in declaring it thus open the French government showed a flagrant disregard of all treaty rights.² Moreover, France threatened to invade Holland. Once again, as on other

¹ Diaries of such different persons as the poet Cowper, and the governess, Miss Weedon, express these views.

² The estuary of the Scheldt was in Dutch territory; ever since 1648 the Dutch had been recognized as having control of it and had excluded all foreigners from it, thereby ruining Antwerp and developing the prosperity of their own port of Amsterdam.

occasions, Great Britain felt that her own independence was bound up with that of Holland. Then followed the execution of Louis XVI in the beginning of 1793; and war was declared in February. Pitt had striven to maintain peace as long as he could; but the extremists in France had made peace impossible (*Note 108*).

2. THE WAR WITH REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE

The war which began in 1793 was waged at first against revolutionary France. Britain joined with those powers which were already at war — Austria and Prussia — and at the same time Holland, Spain, and Sardinia joined in. This great group of allies formed what is called the *First Coalition*. Great Britain sent vast sums of money, as subsidies, to the allies whose armies were already on the French frontiers. Indeed, from their great camps in Belgium, Paris could have been reached in twelve marches.

The First
Coalition
(1793-96)

Pitt was to be the guiding force in Great Britain during the great struggle, and it is generally admitted that, unlike his father Lord Chatham, he was not successful as a war minister. This was in part caused by the mistaken policy he adopted, which wasted British resources, and in part by Pitt's own character.

Pitt, in his relations with his colleagues and the members of his party, seems to have been cold and reserved; a good deal of marble, they complained, entered into his composition, and it required much effort on the part of an interviewer to produce even a momentary thaw.

Character
of the
younger
Pitt

It has been urged against Pitt that he was jealous of able men, and preferred to be the one man of genius in a cabinet of commonplace men; indeed, his second ministry was composed of such feeble elements that the wits said it consisted merely of "William and Pitt". He showed no signs whatever of his father's gift for choosing good men to carry out his ideas, and this weakened all his operations.

Pitt, however, if not perfect, must be reckoned a great prime minister. Honest and incorruptible himself, he, like his father, did much to raise the standard of morality in public life. Above all, it was his indomitable courage and self-confidence that enabled Great Britain to weather the storm that was caused by the French Revolution and by Napoleon. To the French, Pitt was always the arch-enemy who had to be subdued, the real centre of opposition to their designs. That the French Assembly should in 1793 have solemnly declared Pitt to be "the enemy of the human race" is the greatest compliment they could have paid him. "England has saved herself", he said in his last speech, "by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." That she had done the one and was to accomplish the other was perhaps as much because of William Pitt with all his shortcomings in the conduct of the war, as it was of Nelson or of Wellington.¹

^{a Pitt's mistakes} Apart from the difficulties raised by his character, Pitt's policy shows serious mistakes. The chief faults urged against him are that he misused sea-power and that he frittered away Britain's strength in futile expeditions, and so wasted his resources. Certainly the early years of the war proved very inglorious.

^{The Coalition against France and its failure} The first attack on Revolutionary France was made by the Coalition in the summer of 1793. Surrounded on all sides, and attacked by the trained armies of Europe, Revolutionary France could only oppose them by her untrained mobs. Moreover, she had to deal with Royalist risings within her borders and with the struggle between different parties even amongst the Revolutionaries. All the world shared Pitt's belief that she could not hold out against such a combination. It was owing to this mistaken belief that the war would be a short one, that Pitt based all his financial measures on wrong conceptions. He was so confident that

¹ Canning's comment on Pitt is worth quoting: "Whether Pitt will save us, I do not know, but surely he is the only man that *can*."

the struggle would be very short, that he decided to pay for the war by loans, and made no sufficient effort to raise money by taxation. This error had the gravest results when the struggle dragged out far beyond Pitt's expectations.

Coalitions of European powers have seldom worked harmoniously. The allies, as a contemporary said, wanted to hunt the sheep before killing the dog; instead of a joint advance upon the capital, each was intent upon securing the frontier fortresses which it could claim at the peace. Moreover, they were jealous of each other and had no commander to direct the whole operations. Meantime, the armies of France, with their country threatened, exhibited a patriotism and an enthusiasm which carried all before them. The generals represented literally the survival of the fittest, for those that failed were nearly always dismissed and sometimes guillotined. Above all, the new Government that France had evolved left the control of the war to one man, and that a man of genius, Carnot.

Consequently, though in the summer of 1793 there were eight foreign armies on French soil, and Lyons, Toulon, and Brittany had risen against the Revolution, before the end of the year these risings had been put down and all the foreign armies but one had been expelled. In the following year, 1794, the French drove the allies not only from Belgium but from Holland as well, and secured the Rhine frontier that they had been striving for so many centuries to obtain.¹ Holland therefore dropped out of the Coalition, and in 1795 both Prussia and Spain withdrew from it. With 1796 came Napoleon's famous campaign in Italy, in which, after invading Piedmont and forcing its ruler, the King of Sardinia, to withdraw from the war, he defeated the Austrians in a succession of battles, then marched to within ninety

¹ In 1794 the French won sixteen pitched battles, took one hundred and sixteen towns and two hundred and thirty forts, and captured ninety thousand prisoners and three thousand eight hundred cannon; and they opened the next year with capturing the Dutch fleet, which was embedded in the ice, by a cavalry raid.

miles of Vienna and obliged the Austrians at the beginning of 1797 to make peace.

The British army and the Government must be confessed that Great Britain played a somewhat inglorious part in the military operations from 1793 to 1796. No doubt her allies were largely to blame — Great Britain was heading a crusade, it has been said, with an army of camp followers. But her statesmen had done nothing in the years after the American war to profit by its lessons. As a consequence, at the beginning of the French war, both officers and men, whether cavalry or infantry, were untrained, whilst the artillery was worse than at any other previous period of its history. In the course of the war, the Government, at its wits' end to get recruits, adopted the pernicious system of promoting those officers who succeeded in enlisting a certain number of recruits, and sent out regiments of boys instead of men to tropical climates — which, in the case of most of them, meant certain death. In equipment, the Government was scandalously negligent. It failed to send out greatcoats to soldiers campaigning in the Netherlands during the winter, or boots for those fighting in tropical districts infested with dangerous insects. Troops were sometimes sent out who had never fired a shot, or with wholly insufficient supplies of ammunition; and the arrangements for transport and hospitals were inconceivably bad.

Next among the causes of failure was the fact that our small army was frittered away on a variety of objects. In the first year of the war (1793) the royalists of *Toulon*, the great naval port of France, called in the English, but the expedition sent out under Hood proved a total failure and had to withdraw. Another little force was sent to help the Royalists who had risen in *Brittany*, but that too failed. A third expedition sent to *Dunkirk* was also obliged to withdraw partly owing to the incompetence of its commander, the King's second son, the Duke of York. Farther afield a very large force was sent to the *West Indies*, but the

greater part died of disease. The net results of a five years' campaign were the capture of Martinique and St. Lucia, and a treaty with the "Black Emperor", the negro Toussaint l'Ouverture, who had made himself master of the greater part of San Domingo. (b) In the West Indies

At sea Pitt entirely failed to realize the importance of preventing the French from using their sea power. At first their navy was greatly affected by the Revolution and the royalist rising at Toulon was very threatening. But Pitt made no effort to blockade the French ports, and thus their fleet was reorganized and put to sea. It was able to carry troops to the West Indies, it was able to send an army to Ireland, and it was able to convoy grain across the Atlantic. *Lord Howe* was sent, in 1794, to cut off the grain fleet, and he defeated the French in the Battle of the *Glorious First of June*, fought off Ushant, but though technically he was victorious, the corn ships slipped through during the engagement and reached Brest safely. Finally, by failing to command the coast road to Genoa, as it possibly might have done, the fleet did not check the French campaign in Italy which in 1796 gave Napoleon his wonderful successes and forced us to evacuate the Mediterranean. (c) At sea
The Glorious First of June (1794)

In this same year of 1796, too, the French were able to send a fleet to attack us in Ireland. Their ships put out of Brest, with fifteen thousand troops on board, and set sail for Bantry Bay. Their commanders, however, were in a ship which lost touch with the fleet¹ and the winds proved persistently contrary, so that the French had finally to retire without landing in Ireland at all. French attempt on Ireland (1796)

¹ The French fleet left Brest just as night was coming on, and Pellew, the commander of a British frigate which was watching the port, attached himself to the French fleet, just out of gunshot, and by making false signals, burning blue lights, and sending up rockets, played havoc with the commander-in-chief's orders, and got the fleet into hopeless confusion.

3 ISOLATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

The chance of crushing France had been lost in 1793, and in 1797 Great Britain found herself in a desperate position. France had conquered the Netherlands, and controlled the Dutch fleet. She had made an alliance with Spain, and practically controlled the Spanish fleet too. Great Britain had been deserted by her allies, Prussia and Austria and Russia, who had been engaged on the eastern side of Europe in carving up Poland. She was left alone to deal with her enemy¹ (*Note III*).

In 1797 the French and Spanish fleets wished to join together. Had they done so, they would have formed a most dangerous combination. Admiral *Jervis* was sent to prevent this, and met the Spanish fleet off *Cape St. Vincent*. Nelson distinguished himself at this battle, which was a complete victory for Great Britain.

At this point occurred the great mutiny of the fleet. The ships at Spithead protested against their grievances, which were many and great; very poor pay and part of that embezzled by paymasters, wretched food, very severe discipline, and very little leave. Lord Howe whom they loved and trusted was sent to investigate, and he promised them redress. But what "Black Dick", as the sailors lovingly called Howe, could promise did not satisfy the more extreme element at the other station, the North Sea station of the *Nore*. Here the leader, Parker, was definitely republican. He wanted officers to be elected by seamen, and he flew the red flag of the "floating Republic". The Government did not attempt compromise here, and the mutiny was suppressed and the leaders hanged. Yet, in spite of their action, the men never wished to refuse to fight the enemy.²

¹ In 1797, a week after the Battle of Camperdown (see p. 679), Napoleon forced the emperor to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio.

² During the mutiny the British had kept up their blockade of the Dutch fleet with only two ships, as all the others mutinied. Duncan, the admiral, kept making signals as though the mutinous ships were still under his command, and the Dutch fleet consequently did not stir.

No sooner was the mutiny ended than the ships put to sea to meet the Dutch. The hostility of that country to Great Britain made her willing to side with Napoleon, and again had the French and Dutch been able to join forces they would have made a most powerful combination. Admiral Duncan, with the fleet of the Nore to reinforce him, dealt with the Dutch, and in a terrific battle off *Camperdown*, in the mouth of the Texel, he defeated them entirely.

Victory
over the
Dutch at
*Camper-
down*
(1797)

Danger then shifted to the Mediterranean. Napoleon in 1798 began to plan his invasion of Egypt. He took Malta from the Knights of St. John, and set sail for Alexandria. Nelson who was in command in the Mediterranean did not know what Napoleon's plan was, and a storm prevented the frigates bringing him information. But he guessed that Napoleon's destination was Egypt. Nelson's fleet reached Alexandria first, but found no one there, and turned back to Sicily. Napoleon who had gone round by Crete reached Alexandria, disembarked, and won the *Battle of the Pyramids*, against the Mamelukes, who then governed the country, and took Cairo.

The
Mediterranean

Nelson heard of Napoleon's arrival in Egypt, sailed back to Alexandria, and upon 1st August sighted Napoleon's fleet at anchor in *Aboukir Bay* close to the mouths of the Nile. The French fleet had made the two great omissions of not anchoring their fleet as close to the shore as possible and of not joining their vessels by chains. Nelson could trust his captains, as he said, "to find a hole somewhere", and they quickly realized that they were able to pass on both sides of the French ships as well as between them, and to concentrate their forces first on the van and then on the centre and rear of the French fleet. Beginning at six o'clock in the evening, the battle lasted far into the night and continued the next morning. The French flagship, *L'Orient*, blew up at 10 p.m., and before the battle was over eleven out of the thirteen French ships had been captured or sunk. It was a brilliant victory, in which all the captains,

The
Battle
of the
Nile (1st
Aug.,
1798)

fighting, as Nelson said, "like a band of brothers", had distinguished themselves.

4. THE SECOND COALITION AND ITS FAILURE (1798-1800)

The Battle of the Nile had great consequences. Not only were the French unable to help their Indian ally, Tippoo Sahib (*Note 117*), but the British obtained control of the Mediterranean, and their former allies now prepared to join them once more. Russia first took the lead, Austria and Turkey followed, and what is known as the *Second Coalition* was formed (*Note 111*).

At first things went well for the allies. The British took Minorca and blockaded Malta and Brest.¹ Napoleon, who was marooned in Egypt by the destruction of his fleet, tried to move north through Syria and attacked *Acre*. But *Sir Sydney Smith* held out bravely, and was helped in the defence by the great guns which Napoleon had tried to send by sea and which had been captured by the British. Napoleon had to retreat back to Egypt, and in his continued absence the troops of the Coalition won successes in Germany and in Italy. Sydney Smith sent newspapers giving an account of these to Napoleon, doubtless meaning to annoy him. Napoleon, however, was thereby stirred on to a desperate act. He abandoned his army, and in a small sailing ship managed to dodge the British fleet and reached France, safely. There he overthrew the revolutionary government of the Directory, and gave himself the post of First Consul. He was in fact now the dictator of France (Christmas Day, 1799).

The
Second
Coalition
(1798)

Siege of
Acre
(1799)

Napoleon
returns to
France:
the coup
d'état of
1799

¹ St. Vincent's maxim was to be "close in with Ushant (the island outside Brest) in an easterly wind", which was the favourable wind for the escape of the French fleet; and only once during St. Vincent's command (which lasted 121 days) did the main fleet off Ushant fail, owing to fog, to communicate with the in-shore squadron stationed between Brest and Ushant. St. Vincent made himself very unpopular by ordering that when vessels went home to refit or take in stores, their officers were not to sleep on shore or go farther inland than three miles.

The Russians and Austrians had quarrelled, and Russia now left the coalition. Napoleon, after restoring order in France, determined to attack the Austrians, who were fighting in Italy. He crossed the Alps, took the Austrians in the rear, and won the great victory of *Marengo* (1800). This gave him north Italy, and the victory of another French army over the Austrian force at *Hohenlinden* (1800), compelled the Austrians to make peace (1801).

Great Britain had thus lost all her allies, and the second coalition had failed. France was stronger than ever. At this juncture Britain was involved in serious difficulties with Ireland (see p. 716), as a result of which Pitt resigned, and his place was taken by the incompetent Addington.

5. RENEWED ISOLATION OF GREAT BRITAIN: PEACE OF AMIENS

Worse misfortunes were now to come, for Britain's former allies turned against her. They were alienated by the difficulties created by their position as neutrals which conflicted with Britain's theories of *contraband*. No country denied that a neutral ship carrying contraband, or attempting to enter a blockaded port, was liable to seizure. The quarrel arose over what constituted contraband. The British included food and stores, such as hemp which Russia exported. They seized goods belonging to the enemy, even when carried on neutral ships under control of their own country's warships. They also held that a vessel could be seized even if the port to which it was bound was only blockaded "on paper", not effectively — that is to say, there might be no adequate force present.

Contra-
band and
blockade

Napoleon stirred up the discontented neutrals and at the end of 1800 Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia formed the *Second Armed Neutrality* which threatened Britain with war. This closed the whole Baltic to us, and deprived our fleet of materials it badly needed, such as

The
Second
Armed
Neu-
trality
(1800)

timber and hemp. Against this Britain was resolved to act.

The British fleet under the command of *Sir Hyde Parker* was dispatched to attack the Danes. He sailed for Copen-
The
battle of
Copen-
hagen
(1801) *hagen*, and there sent Nelson in to force his way up the straits in front of the capital. Nelson succeeded brilliantly, silenced the Danish batteries on shore, and sank the Danish fleet.¹ The Danes abandoned the Armed Neutrality, and so opened the Baltic once more to the British.

Almost at the same time (1801) the British won successes at sea in the West Indies, and at Alexandria *Abercromby* entirely defeated the French army which had been left behind by Napoleon in Egypt. The assassination of the Czar Paul placed on the throne of Russia Alexander I who favoured Great Britain. He at once left the Armed Neutrality and made a treaty with Britain.

Both sides were now exhausted, and at this juncture efforts were made towards peace. Great Britain was ready
The
Treaty
of Amiens
(1802) for it, burdened as she was by a gigantic debt and governed by a pacific minister; and so was Napoleon. Before the end of the year the preliminaries were signed, and developed into the *Treaty of Amiens* in 1802. "It was a peace," said a contemporary, "of which everyone was glad and nobody proud." Great Britain gave up all her conquests save Ceylon and Trinidad, whilst France retained the country which is now called Belgium, and the Rhine frontier.

For nearly the whole of its course, the war had been conducted by Pitt and his lieutenant Dundas. In Macaulay's opinion, Pitt's war policy was that of a driveller; and it has been said of Dundas that he was so profoundly ignorant of war as to be unconscious even of his ignorance. The judgments are somewhat harsh. But it is impossible to read
Reflec-
tions on
the con-
duct of
the war

¹ Parker, the British commander-in-chief, allowed Nelson to make this attack with part of the fleet whilst he remained outside with the remainder of the ships. When, after three hours' fighting, the Danes seemed to be holding their own, Parker hoisted the signal to "discontinue the action". But Nelson exclaimed to an officer, "You know, I have only one eye — I have a right to be blind sometimes," and then putting the telescope to his blind eye exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal!"

the details of the war without realizing that our statesmen not infrequently failed to take sufficient advantage of the opportunities offered them, had no clear or consistent idea of their objectives, and made the task of the generals always difficult and sometimes impossible by providing them with inadequate or ill-equipped forces. Hence much of the war is disappointing; but in the West Indies, in the Netherlands, and above all in Egypt our soldiers fought bravely, and some of our generals — and more especially Abercromby — exhibited considerable capacity, whilst the navy won for itself immortal glory.

CHAPTER 53

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR (1803-1815)

1. ATTACK ON ENGLAND: TRAFALGAR

The Peace of Amiens was merely a truce, for the reorganization of France failed to satisfy Napoleon's ambitions, and his aggressive policy made the renewal of war inevitable (*Note 112*). The First Consul annexed Piedmont and Elba. As a mediator he intervened in Germany and reconstructed the boundaries of its States so as to suit French interests; he sent thirty thousand soldiers to Switzerland and gave that country a new constitution. Above all, he virtually annexed Holland, and thus once again British supremacy was threatened in the North Sea. But Napoleon's ambitions were not limited to Europe. The official report of a French colonel who had been sent to Egypt aroused great indignation in Great Britain, for the colonel expressed the opinion that six thousand French troops would be sufficient to recapture that country; and the fact that this report was published in the official French newspaper showed that Napoleon had not renounced French ambitions in that quarter. We now

Causes
of the
renewal
of war in
1803

know also — though Great Britain did not realize it at the time — that Napoleon had designs upon the Cape of Good Hope, upon India, and upon Australia. Napoleon on his side made bitter complaints because Great Britain, contrary to the terms of peace, still retained Malta in her hands, and because the British newspapers made attacks upon him. War eventually broke out in 1803. It was fortunate, perhaps, that it came as quickly as it did. Napoleon was building a very large fleet, which might have successfully challenged our maritime supremacy if time had been given for its completion.

When we wonder why the peace did not last, we can see, looking to what Napoleon was to become, that his ambitions would not let him be content with what he had achieved. But at the time people hoped for a lasting peace, and many English took advantage of it to visit the Continent, especially France, which had been closed to them since the Revolution of 1789.¹

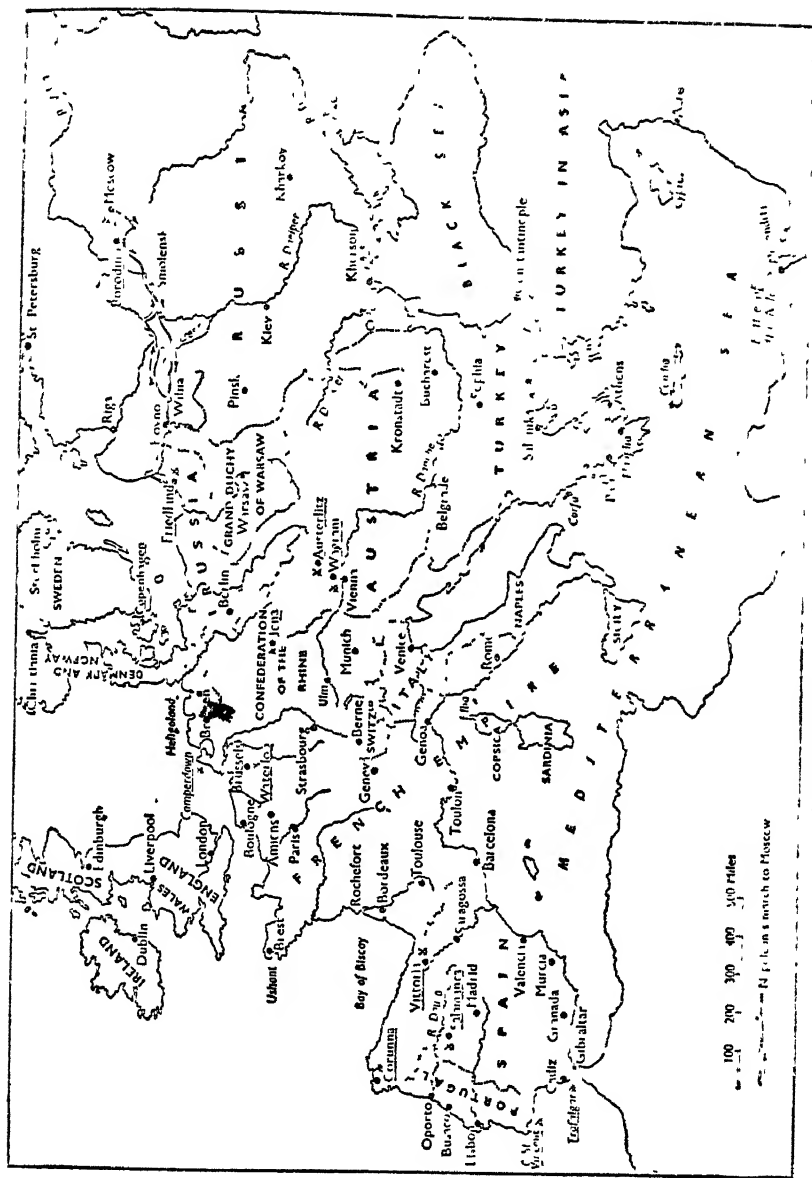
The war which now broke out into fresh fury, is called the Napoleonic War, for it was waged against the Empire of Napoleon and no longer against the France of the First Republic. In its first phase, which lasted from May, 1803, until October, 1805, the main interest centres in Napoleon's plans for the invasion of England. To carry out his great scheme, Napoleon stationed at and near Boulogne nearly a hundred thousand soldiers² — the soldiers who were afterwards to win such a wonderful series of victories on the Continent; and for the transport of this army he built over 2000 flat-bottomed boats, specially suited for transport and beaching. But the British held command of the Channel, and here Napoleon's plans broke down.

His battle fleet was concentrated in four places, the great

The
attempted
invasion
of
England
(1803-5)

¹ Haydon the painter was one, and he gave a very interesting account of his experience in his autobiography, describing amongst other things the pleasure many of the French felt when Sunday was restored as a day of rest.

² Napoleon hoped to have 150,000 men; as a matter of fact, during the critical months of 1805, he had only 93,000 men.



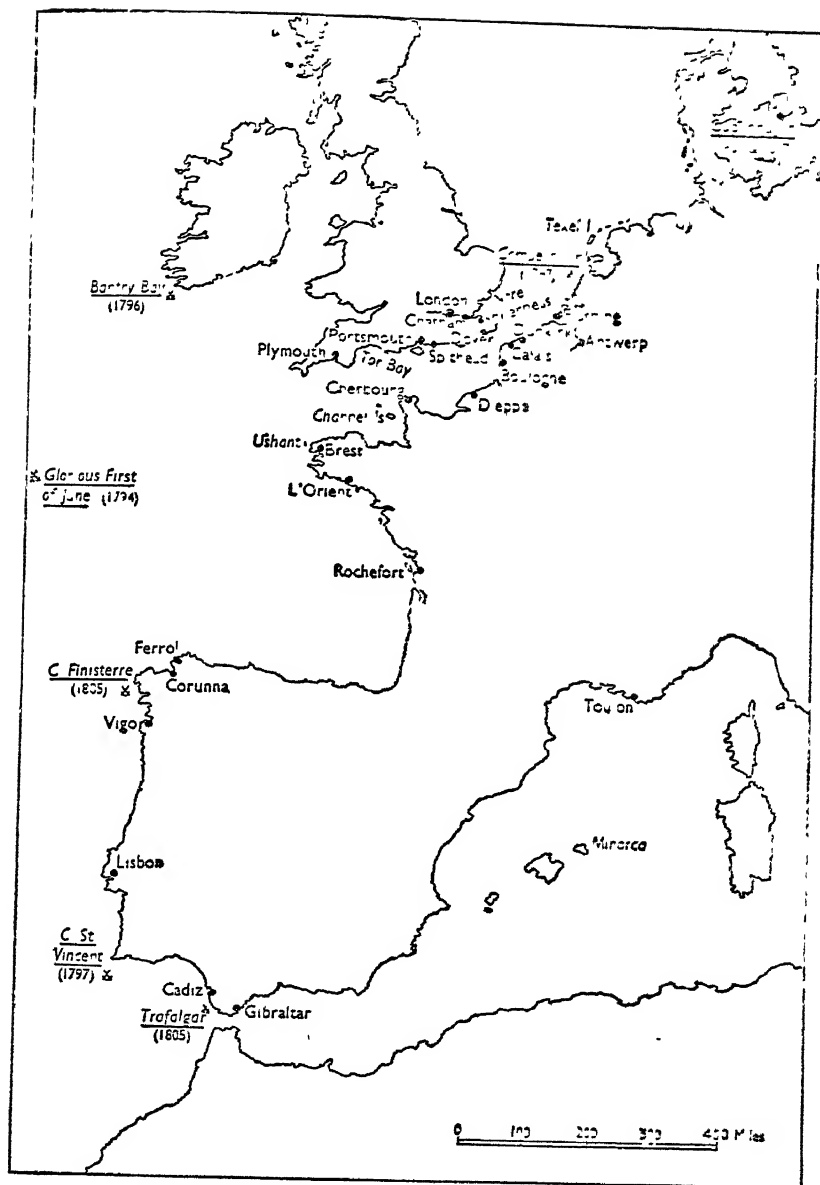
harbours of *Brest* (Brittany), and *Toulon* (south) and the smaller ones of *Rochefort* (west), and *Ferrol*, which though it belonged to Spain was seized by Napoleon. The British fleet now blockaded those ports, and the "far-distant storm-beaten British ships" outside the harbour, though never even seen by the great army at Boulogne, yet "stood between it and the dominion of the world".¹

How were the French fleets to elude the blockading British ships and obtain command of the Channel for sufficient time to enable the flotilla to cross to England?² Napoleon's brain spun plan after plan, but they were all foiled by the ability of *Lord Barham*, the First Lord of the Admiralty at Whitehall, and by the vigilant co-operation of the admirals afloat. Limits of space forbid reference except to the last plan of all, a plan devised early in 1805, when Spain had been drawn into an alliance with Napoleon and consequently when her fleet was available for offensive operations against Great Britain. Under this plan, there was to be a general rendezvous of all the French and Spanish fleets in the West Indies, and the combined armada was then to return to Europe and sweep aside all opposition. The Brest fleet, however, was unable to escape. But the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve got away in March, picked up the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and reached Martinique (May, 14). Nelson, who at first thought the Toulon fleet was destined for the East, and who was bound by his orders specially to guard against an attack on Egypt, Naples, or Sicily, watched the sea between Sardinia and the coast of Tunis; and then, hearing of Villeneuve's cruise westward, he went to Gibraltar, reaching it just eight days before Villeneuve reached the

Villeneuve
and
Nelson

¹ Cornwallis blockaded Brest from May, 1803, until after the battle of Trafalgar, 1805 — a blockade unequalled in length; and during the whole of that time no French fleet got out. Nelson for two whole years, wanting ten days, never left the *Victory*.

² Napoleon at one time thought the command of the Channel for twelve hours would be sufficient, at another time three days. The French admiral at Brest thought "at least a fortnight was necessary", as the Channel was too stormy to be always practicable for the transport-boats.



THE FRENCH WARS IN WEST EUROPEAN WATERS

West Indies. Various pieces of information led him to conclude that Villeneuve's destination was the West Indies,¹ and he accordingly followed him there without delay.

But when Nelson had reached Barbados (June 4), and was within a hundred miles of his quarry, inaccurate information given by a British general caused him to go south to Trinidad instead of North to Martinique where Villeneuve was.² The latter, when he heard of Nelson's arrival, wisely decided on an immediate return home. Nelson followed some days later, and sent forward a fast brig to announce the news. The brig passed Villeneuve's fleet on the way home, and brought intelligence to the admiralty in time for a fleet to be concentrated under Calder to meet Villeneuve on his return journey off *Cape Finisterre*.³ Calder, with an inferior force, fought an action in a fog, and captured two of Villeneuve's ships (22nd July). The action, however, was not decisive, and Calder failed to renew it the next day; consequently Villeneuve was enabled to withdraw to Corunna, a port near Ferrol. Meantime Nelson had returned to the South of Spain, and, hearing nothing of Villeneuve, went to join Cornwallis off Brest.⁴

With Villeneuve at Corunna the danger to England was not yet over. In August, however, Villeneuve left that port, and, instead of going north to attempt co-operation with

¹ This was not a brilliant guess on Nelson's part, but the intelligent use of what information he could gather from other ships.

² "But for wrong information," said Nelson, "I should have fought the battle on June 6th, where Rodney fought his."

³ The captain of the brig reached the admiralty one night at eleven o'clock. But Lord Barham, being an old man nearly eighty years of age, had gone to bed, and no one dared to arouse him. Lord Barham was furious next morning when he heard of the delay; but in half an hour he had made up his mind what to do, and without waiting to dress drafted the necessary orders. By nine o'clock in the morning the admiralty messenger was carrying these orders to Portsmouth.

⁴ Even if Villeneuve had not met Calder, it is unlikely that he would have eluded Cornwallis, who was guarding the approaches to the Channel as well as blockading Brest, or that he would have effected a junction with the Brest fleet. As has been pointed out, Napoleon in his scheme ignored two factors—first, that a wind favourable for the relieving force to attack was usually foul for the blockaded force to come out; secondly, that if the blockading force did go away to meet the attack, the blockaded force would not be able to tell under a day or two whether it had gone or not.

the Erest fleet, he went south and entered Cadiz. There he was shortly afterwards blockaded by the British fleet, and Napoleon had to give up all ideas of invasion. By now Great Britain was fully roused to her danger, the country would no longer be content with Addington as its leader, a general demand arose for the recall of Pitt, and accordingly in 1804 he replaced Addington as prime minister. He succeeded in forming another coalition against France — the third that he formed — consisting of Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and Sweden (1805). Accordingly Napoleon marched his army away from Boulogne to attack Austria. Meantime Villeneuve was watched by Nelson, who had, after a short rest in England, returned to his command. Villeneuve, however, could not lie idle while the British assumed the offensive, as they began to do, in the Mediterranean; urged on by Napoleon, and on the point of being superseded, he ventured to leave Cadiz, intending to check the British operations against Naples. But Nelson attacked him and the battle off *Cape Trafalgar* resulted (21st October).

The
Third
Coalition
(1805)

The allied fleet of thirty-three ships of the line, after it left Cadiz, was discovered by Nelson in a slightly curved line some five miles long. Nelson had previously determined to make an attack upon the centre and rear of the allied fleet, with his own twenty-seven ships arranged in two columns. Of one of these columns Collingwood was in command with orders to attack the rear ships, whilst Nelson himself led the other with the object of fighting the centre and keeping off the van ships of the enemy. The action began about noon. Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* outdistanced the ships of his own column,¹ and for a quarter of an hour fought the enemy single-handed. Somewhat later Nelson's column got into action. Nelson's ship, the *Victory*, led, and

Battle of
Trafalgar
(21st Oct.,
1805)

¹ "See how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!" was Nelson's comment, and almost at the same time Collingwood exclaimed, "What would Nelson give to be here!" It was just before Collingwood began his attack that Nelson issued his famous signal, "England expects every man to do his duty."

her first broadside dismounted twenty guns and killed or wounded some four hundred men of the enemy. The fighting was carried on with fierce determination by both sides; but the British gunnery proved its superiority, and eventually, out of thirty-three ships of the enemy, the British captured nineteen. In the course of the battle, however, Nelson was wounded in the spine by a musket ball and died in the hour of victory.¹ "It does not become me to make comparisons," Lord St. Vincent had written previously, "there is but one Nelson." And later generations have endorsed this verdict (*Note 114*).

Death of
Nelson

2. THE ATTACK ON BRITAIN'S TRADE: THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Trafalgar destroyed the naval power of France, but the mere fact that the war was to last for another ten years shows how overwhelmingly great was Napoleon's power on land. Indeed he was on the verge of some of his greatest victories. Just six weeks after Trafalgar, he won the great victory of *Austerlitz* (2nd December, 1805) which crushed Austria, forced her to make peace, and ended the Third Coalition. The news came to Pitt just when his health had finally broken down. His words "Roll up the map of Europe, it will not be wanted these ten years," were extraordinarily prophetic. The shock really killed him, his friends said he had "an Austerlitz look", and in six weeks he was dead.

Auster-
litz (1805)

Death of
Pitt
(1806)

The British Government now had to face a terrible situation. Napoleon went from triumph to triumph. He overwhelmed the Prussians at *Jena* in 1806, he defeated the Russians at *Friedland* in 1807, and the Czar Alexander decided to come to terms. He met Napoleon at *Tilsit*, and there the two made an alliance, dismembering Prussia and

Jena
(1806)

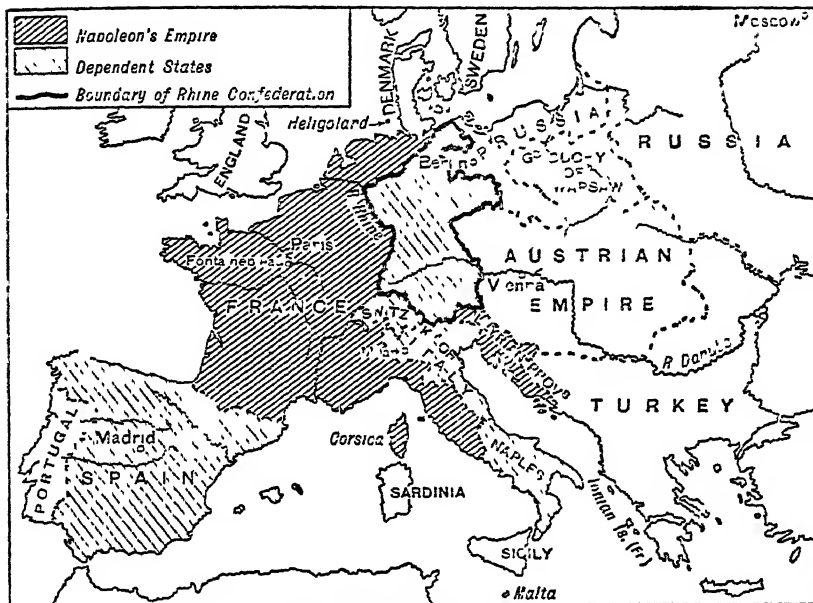
Treaty of
Tilsit
(1807)

¹ Just before his death Nelson was told that 14 or 15 of the enemy ships had surrendered. "That is well," he answered, "but I bargained for 20."

reorganizing the rest of Germany, and making common cause against Great Britain.

This was to prove the climax of Napoleon's power. Only Britain still held out against him, and if he could not defeat her at sea, or invade her on land, he yet hoped to defeat her by the use of another method. He determined to starve

The
Continental
System



THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

her out and to strangle her trade. With this object he had issued, at the end of 1806, the famous *Berlin Decrees* which set up what is called the *Continental System* (Note 116). The British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade, though there was not one French ship within miles of any British port. No ships coming from Great Britain and Ireland or her colonies might enter any port of France or any of her allies; all goods of British origin could be seized. The "system" was to be adopted by Prussia, Austria,

Russia, and all the countries under Napoleon's control, such as Holland, the rest of Germany, and most of Italy.

Britain retaliated by *Orders in Council* which declared all the ports from which Britain was excluded to be themselves blockaded, and forbade any neutral ships to enter them save by licence from Britain. The general result of this economic warfare was to check all trade and bring widespread ruin. But since Britain commanded the sea, her ships could bring her goods, whereas the Continent itself must be at the mercy of Britain's navy.

In order to make her control more absolute, Britain now decided to capture the Danish fleet. George Canning, the Foreign Secretary, knew that Napoleon meant to do so, and he resolved to forestall him. So for the second time Copenhagen was bombarded (1807) and the Danish fleet was captured by Britain.

At the same time an attack was made on France in the West Indies, and Mauritius was taken from the French, while from their subordinate allies the Dutch, we took the Dutch East Indies.

These successes were set off by two failures in 1807. An expedition sent to take Buenos Aires failed, and also an attack on Constantinople. A third effort was the *Walcheren* expedition in 1809. This was to be a raid to destroy the ships and dockyards at Antwerp, but the commanders of the fleet and army refused to work together, and the whole affair was a failure.¹

¹ The Walcheren Expedition gave rise to an epigram, better known perhaps than the expedition itself. The naval leader was Sir Richard Strachan and the army commander, Chatham, Pitt's elder brother:

Great Chatham, with his sabre drawn,
 Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
 Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
 Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham!

8. ATTACK ON SPAIN

From Napoleon's point of view, the success of his blocking plan depended on prohibiting the Continent from trading with Britain. He was therefore led on by this necessity to further aggression. He annexed *Holland* and joined her to France. Then he began the Spanish enterprise which was to prove so fatal (*Note 113*). In 1807 he first attacked and annexed *Portugal*, and in 1808 he forced the King of Spain and his heir to abandon the throne of Spain, which Napoleon at once bestowed on his brother Joseph. His position now seemed supreme. The French empire included *France*, *Belgium*, the land up to the *Rhine*, and *Piedmont* and *Tuscany*. As King of Italy, Napoleon had the direct rule, in addition, of *Lombardy* and *Venetia*. As Protector of the *Confederation of the Rhine*, he controlled the policies and the armies of nearly all the German powers except Austria and Prussia, both of which were, however, quiescent. Russia was his ally. Of his brothers, Louis was King of *Holland*, Jerome King of *Westphalia*, and Joseph King of *Spain*, whilst his brother-in-law, Murat, was King of *Naples*. Yet with all his power, and all these vast resources, he had really already sown the seeds of his own defeat, for his attack on Spain and Portugal gave Britain her opportunity. Portugal was Britain's "oldest ally" and to her an army was dispatched under *Arthur Wellesley*. He defeated the French at *Vimiero*, and by the *Convention of Cintra* (1808) they undertook to evacuate Portugal. The mistake was made, however, of granting the French army leave to return to France and of sending them back in British ships instead of sending them as prisoners to England. This roused the greatest indignation in England¹ and Wellesley was recalled. Meanwhile the Spaniards succeeded in forcing eighteen thousand Frenchmen to surrender at *Baylen*, a notable achievement.

Napoleon's position (1808); further aggression

Vimiero (1808)

¹ Contemporary cartoons show John Bull politely escorting the French army back to France where Napoleon greets them with astonished pleasure.

Napoleon at once decided to go to Spain himself, and at the head of a vast army he marched to Madrid. From there he intended to go to Lisbon, but now *Sir John Moore*, who had been sent to command the small British forces, made a threatening move down from the north. This would have meant that he could get between Napoleon and his base and cut him off from France. Napoleon determined to free himself from any such danger, and with his large force he set off to attack Moore. He intended to thrust westward and get between Moore and the coast, where the British fleet lay, ready to take off the British troops who were much outnumbered. Eventually Napoleon left the pursuit to Soult. It was a race between French and English who should reach *Corunna* first. Moore's army marched over mountainous country, covered with snow, at an average of seventeen miles a day. He reached Corunna, and while the rearguard fought off the French, the main army was taken off safely by the British fleet, though Moore himself was killed in the action (January, 1809).

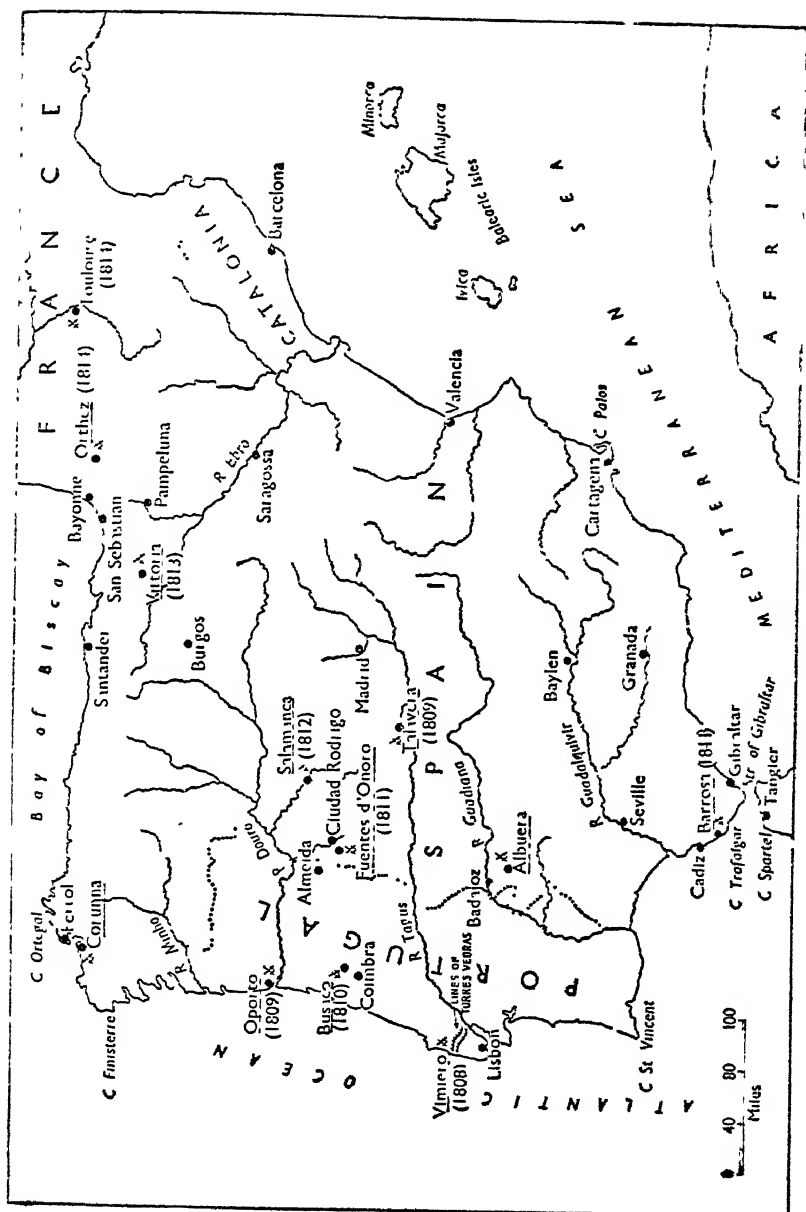
Napoleon
in Spain

The
retreat to
Corunna
(1809)

4. THE PENINSULAR WAR AND THE FALL OF NAPOLEON (1809-1814)

After the embarkation of the British troops, Napoleon thought that the Spanish rising was "nearly at an end". But he was quickly to be undeceived, for in April, 1809, Wellesley arrived in the Peninsula for the second time. With Wellesley's operations the campaigns known in our history as the *Peninsular War* really begin. The difficulties which Wellesley had to overcome were very great. Opinion at home was much divided as to the expediency of the war and the abilities of Wellesley himself; consequently he had to be cautious — "if I lost five hundred men without the clearest necessity", he said, "I should be brought to my knees". The British officers with him were for the most part at first inexperienced; the men were sometimes six

The Pen-
insular
War
(1809-14)



months in arrears of pay, and for four campaigns had to do without tents. Of the British allies, the Portuguese, till trained by the British, were untrustworthy. The Spaniards waged a guerrilla warfare, it is true, so successfully against the French that the latter, though they had as many as three hundred thousand men in the field, were never able to concentrate more than seventy thousand against Wellesley. But the Spaniards were useless in formal battles; even the best of them, in Wellesley's opinion, would only fire a volley whilst the enemy was out of reach and then run away.

It has been said of the Peninsula that it is a country where "large armies starve and small armies get beaten" (*Note 115*). The country was mountainous, and the roads instead of following ran across the river valleys. Thus it was difficult to get food or transport for a large army for any length of time; and the art of war consisted in the ability to concentrate rapidly a large army for a swift and decisive blow. The French generals, however, found greater difficulties from the nature of the country than did Wellington. They had to operate in the main down the ribs of a fan, down the river valleys, and they found it difficult to move across from one valley to another. Their lines of communication, owing to the hostile population, were always precarious, and the farther the French went, the more difficult it was to secure them. The English, on the other hand, had their communications by sea. They could thus avoid lengthening their lines, whilst when strong enough to take the offensive they could strike at the communications of the French and compel — as did Moore in the Corunna campaign and Wellington in the Vittoria campaign — the French to retreat.

Wellesley had as his opponents in the Peninsular War generals trained by Napoleon, who pursued tactics that had been eminently successful when employed by that master of the art of war. Briefly, Napoleon's tactics at this time were

to concentrate his artillery fire upon the point selected for attack; and then to throw at the weak spot either a great mass of cavalry or else a great mass of infantry in columns of nine, eighteen, or, as at Waterloo, twenty-four deep, the columns being preceded by a cloud of nimble skirmishers who occupied the enemy's attention. Wellesley's genius, however, was equal to these tactics. First, in order to preserve his troops from the enemy's fire, he kept his troops till the last possible moment out of sight — behind a wall, for instance, or the crest of a hill. Second, when the French cavalry charged, he relied on the solidity of a British square. But when he was fighting the French infantry column, he had his men in line, two deep. This formation, so long as it remained steady, had great advantages; through its length it could outflank the enemy, and it could pour at a closely massed column a deadly fire to which only the leading files of a column could reply.¹ The British line would fire one or two volleys at short range, so short that the soldiers often waited to see the white of their enemies' eyes before firing. They would follow up this attack with a bayonet charge before the enemy had time to recover, and then retire to await a fresh charge from the forces opposed to them.

Our intervention in the Peninsula was not altogether popular in Britain. Many politicians thought it a waste of men and materials, and as the Continental System began to make itself felt, our dwindling resources made the strain of this distant war very heavy.

In addition, at first Wellesley did not achieve any great success. In 1809 he drove the French out of Portugal and himself made a dash into Spain. He hoped to reach Madrid; but after winning an engagement at *Talavera*, not far from the capital, he could not advance since the Spaniards failed to support him, and Napoleon sent vast reinforcements

The
Talavera
campaign
(1809)

¹ Wellesley took care to prevent his own line being outflanked, and protected it in front by a powerful line of skirmishers, so that the skirmishers of the enemy should not harass it.

under his commander, *Masséna*. In consequence Wellesley not only had to retreat, but the French pursued him into Portugal, and declared that they would drive the English "into the sea".

The news of the French advance filled Britain with gloom. Had Wellesley been driven out, possibly peace would have been made and Napoleon left in possession of his conquests. But Wellesley saved himself and his army. He had retreated right back to Lisbon, which stands on a peninsula. Across the neck of land he had already prepared a great defence work. This consisted of three lines, *the lines of Torres Vedras*, immensely strong, consisting in part of water-works, of barricades, and of fortified gun emplacements. The area in front of these lines had been evacuated and cleared.

Thither the British troops retreated, and when the French pushed on, hoping now for swift victory, they found themselves before an impregnable position, which they could not storm. Nor could they obtain supplies, and after a "siege" of five months, *Masséna* had to withdraw his starving troops and return to Spain.

In the Peninsula itself, matters settled into a period of waiting. Wellesley, who had (1809) been made a peer with the title of Lord Wellington¹ for his success in saving the army, remained in Portugal, and in 1811 only two engagements were fought (one at *Fuentes d'Onoro*, one at *Albuera*). But in 1812 there came a change.

Napoleon had quarrelled with the Czar, largely over the Continental System which hit Russia very hardly. He resolved to invade Russia. For this enterprise he collected the "Grand Army" and withdrew many of his best troops from Spain. History has few greater tragedies to record than the fate of Napoleon's expedition. Before he started, Napoleon received the homage of kings and princes at a brilliant gathering in Dresden. He then entered Russia

¹ He was created a Duke in 1814.

with an army of over six hundred thousand men — a larger and more motley army than any seen since the time of Xerxes. After fighting a most murderous battle at *Borodino*, he entered the capital of Russia, *Moscow* — but only to find it a deserted city, whilst on his arrival large parts of it were set on fire by incendiaries. After a brief stay he decided to retire, and on his return journey had to endure the awful rigours of a Russian winter and the pitiless and persistent attacks of the Russian cavalry. Less than sixty thousand of his troops eventually crossed the Russian frontier in fighting condition. Napoleon himself left his troops before the end and hurried home accompanied by only three companions. He finally returned to Paris in a hackney coach.

The
retreat
from
Moscow
(1812)

This preoccupation of the French with Russia gave Wellington his opportunity. While Napoleon was marching into Russia, Wellington was marching into Spain.

Wellington's
opportunity
(1812)

The two main roads from Portugal were guarded on the Spanish side by two great fortresses, *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajoz*, between which lay the opening to Madrid, and both of which Wellington captured. The main French army lay at *Salamanca*, and a small force was dispatched by the French in an effort to cut Wellington's communications. This force he utterly wiped out "in less than ten minutes", and went on to defeat the whole main body.

Ciudad
Rodrigo
and
Badajoz
(1812)

Salaman-
ca (1812)

The effect of this victorious advance was to drive the French out of southern Spain. Joseph Bonaparte fled from Madrid, and Soult led the retreat of the French troops north to *Burgos*. Wellington pursued, but could not take the city, and lost thousands of lives when he was compelled to fall back. He had to evacuate Madrid and returned once more to *Salamanca* (*Note 115*).

In 1812 an important change occurred in Britain. *Lord Castlereagh* became Foreign Secretary (a position which he held till 1822), and he set to work at once to infuse fresh energy into the struggle against Napoleon. He believed

Castle-
reagh

that the Russian campaign gave Europe a fresh chance to combine more successfully than before against France. He succeeded in inducing Prussia, Sweden, and Austria to join in the attack, and these powers now allied with Great Britain and Russia to form the *Fourth Coalition*, which was at length to secure victory.

The
Fourth
Coalition
(1812)

The allies attacked in 1813, and the great assault was made upon the French in Germany. Napoleon concentrated his troops at *Leipzig*, and there the great four days *Battle of the Nations* was fought. It ended in the total defeat of the French, and the Emperor, after having suffered enormous losses, retreated with only a few troops to France.

The
Battle of
the
Nations
(1813)

Vittoria
(1813)

At the same time, in Spain, Wellington drove the French army, which had been further depleted by Napoleon in order to obtain reinforcements in Germany, away from Salamanca towards the Pyrenees. At *Vittoria* he defeated Joseph's army and cut off its retreat (1813). Joseph himself escaped over the mountains. Wellington pressed on, took San Sebastian and Pampeluna, crossed the Pyrenees, and invaded France.

Now France was attacked from two sides. Napoleon had refused the generous terms offered to him by the allies. In the north-east he fought his great defensive campaign against the allied armies which poured over the frontier.

The
Invasion
of France
(1814)

He was unable to save Paris, though this campaign is reckoned by some to have been one of the greatest efforts of his career. In the south-west Wellington moved forward, won the battle of *Orthez*, and advanced on *Toulouse*. Just before he captured the town, Napoleon had abdicated. The war was over.

Orthez
and
Toulouse
(1814)

The campaigns in the Peninsula had been of inestimable importance. It cost Napoleon, according to Wellington's calculations, not far short of half a million men; Napoleon himself called it a "running sore",—a constant drain of money and men. It re-established the prestige of the British army, and it gave Spain the opportunity of showing that no

The
importance of
the Pen-
insular
War

despot, however powerful, can trample upon the independence of a proud nation.

So after close on twenty years of war France was beaten back to her own borders. The reasons of her first successes and her eventual failure lie deeper than the genius of Napoleon and the counterbalancing dogged accuracy of Wellington — the compensation which Fate gave us¹ — they lie in what is greater than great men, namely great ideas. At the beginning France stood as the champion of *Liberty*. Hence, wherever the invading French went, they were more or less welcomed as liberators by the people. This was so in Italy, and Holland, and Germany. Thus the resistance in these countries was often half-hearted. Briefly, it was the new ideas of the Revolution fighting against kings and princes, representatives of the old despotism — and the kings were beaten. As time went on, however, it was revealed that the French did not practise what they preached. They made “war support war”: they lived at free quarters in the countries they nominally came to set free, and a taste of this soon lost the favour they had at first won. Napoleon made the change plain. A despot himself, his armies rapidly became the oppressors of Europe instead of its liberators, and this soon bred a national hostility to him. It could not work at once, because his armies were so enormously superior. But this feeling of *Patriotism*, which he roused everywhere against him — indeed almost created in Germany — triumphed in the end. So in the contest of the peoples of Europe against one despot, Napoleon was bound to go down. Rightly is the fight of Leipzig (his first great defeat in a pitched battle) called the *Völkerschlacht*, “The Battle of the Nations”. It was national patriotism which crushed him.

Causes of
Napoleon's
downfall

¹ Both generals were born in 1769. “Fate owed us this compensation” was the comment subsequently made. Curiously enough, they were both at school in France at the same time; Wellington at Angers and Napoleon at Brienne. They received their first commissions within a few months of each other in 1785-86, and also their lieutenant-colonelcies. They ended their fighting careers on the same day. But they never met, though it is believed that Wellington caught sight of Napoleon through his glass at Waterloo.

The same fact is revealed in another way. At first all the wars which France had to wage in Europe were short. Austria was the only country which kept up a fairly continuous war, and even she had made peace four times before Leipzig. Shattering defeats at Rivoli, Marengo, and Hohenlinden, Austerlitz and Wagram brought her to the ground. Of the others, Prussia and Russia joined for brief periods; Spain and the German States wavered now to one side, now to the other. Great Britain alone was constant, but at first could find no decisive point of attack. Victories at sea and the capturing of colonies could not end the war. But when she found and fostered a national spirit of resistance in Portugal and Spain, Napoleon's downfall began. The Peninsular War is the first *long* war with which he had to grapple, and he could not end it, partly because of the patriotic, though guerrilla, warfare which Spain fought, and partly because he could not strike at the heart of the sea-power which supported Spain. His troops entered almost every European capital; but they could not reach London. And so the long struggle in Spain gave Europe time to rally.

Meantime, whilst Wellington was fighting in the Peninsula, Great Britain found herself involved in a new war. The "Continental System" and the British retaliatory measures had placed the United States and other neutral countries in an almost intolerable position. A neutral ship, if it was sailing to or from a British port, might be seized by the French; if it was not, it might be seized by the British. Moreover, the British had searched United States merchant vessels, and even on one occasion a United States war vessel, for British seamen who had joined American ships to avoid being impressed into British men-of-war. Disputes led to war being declared in 1812. In the earlier stages of the war, though Captain Broke in the *Shannon* upheld our prestige by causing the American frigate *Chesapeake* to surrender in fifteen minutes, the American frigates — so equipped as to be almost ships of the line — won many

War between
Great Britain
and the United
States
(1812-14)

successes over the lighter-armed British frigates; and United States privateers took some five hundred British merchantmen in seven months. The land operations of the United States across the Canadian frontier were, however, a failure. The Canadians, whether of French or of British descent, combined with the British regulars to resist the invasion, and fought with great courage and persistency. Eventually Great Britain, in 1814, after Napoleon's abdication, was able to send a large fleet and her Peninsular veterans to America. Washington was taken, but an attack upon New Orleans failed, and peace was made at the end of the year.

5. THE "HUNDRED DAYS" (1815)

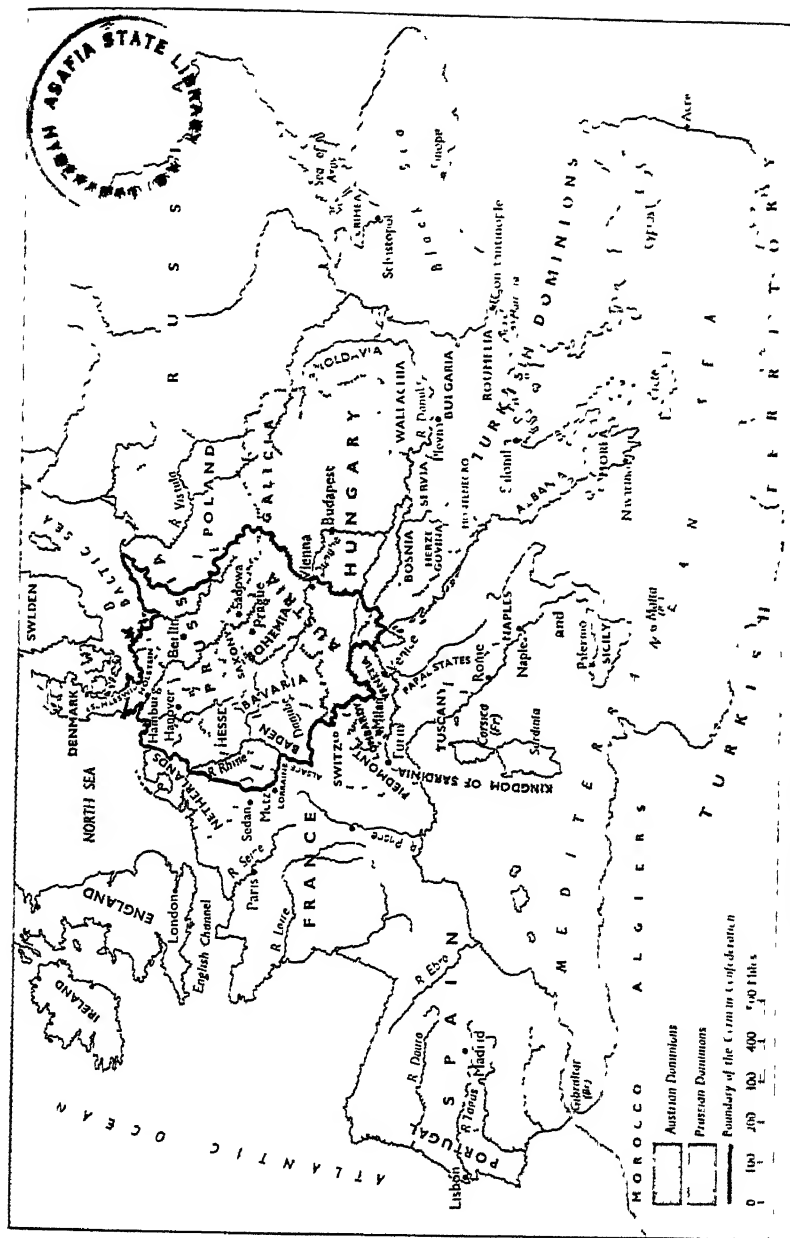
Napoleon, on his abdication, had been given Elba — a small island off Tuscany — to rule as an independent principality. Meanwhile the Bourbon line in the person of Louis XVIII — a brother of Louis XVI — had been restored in France, and a great Congress — in which Lord Castlereagh represented Great Britain — was held at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. The congress had not completed its labours when suddenly it heard of Napoleon's return to France. The temporary absence of the British frigate which watched Elba had enabled Napoleon to escape and to land in France with eight hundred men. He was received in France by his old soldiers with enthusiasm, and reached Paris on 20th March, 1815, without so much as firing a shot. Then begins the period known in history as that of "*the Hundred Days*". Louis XVIII had to fly. Napoleon reconstituted the Government, and announced that he was going to pursue a policy of peace toward other countries and to grant liberal institutions to France. But the allies put no trust in Napoleon's promises. The Congress of Vienna outlawed him, and declared him to be an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world. Each of the big powers — Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia —

The
Congress
of Vienna,
and
Napoleon's
return
from Elba
(1815)

undertook to supply a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, whilst Great Britain as usual was to provide subsidies.

Napoleon's plan of campaign The plan of the allies was to make a joint advance upon Paris. But in June only the British and Prussians were ready. In Belgium, Wellington had about eighty-five thousand men under his command; one-third were British (very few of whom had seen any service before), one-third Germans, and one-third Dutch Belgians. Blücher, the Prussian general, commanded some hundred and twenty-four thousand Germans. Wellington and Blücher were acting in concert, and their combined armies were spread over a very much extended line, not far short of a hundred miles in length, and some miles away from the French frontier. Napoleon's idea was to make a sudden and unexpected attack on the centre of the allied line; this would enable him to push his own forces like a wedge between Wellington and Blücher, and, as their bases lay in opposite directions, the one to the west and the other to the east, to defeat them in detail. Leaving Paris on 12th June, Napoleon marched to the frontier, passed through Charleroi, and by the evening of the 15th he himself was in front of part of the Prussian forces which lay at Ligny, whilst Ney, his chief commander, was some seven miles farther west at Quatre Bras, where some of Wellington's troops were posted.

Ligny and Quatre Bras (16th June 1815) "It was the finest thing ever done," said Wellington of Napoleon's performance, "so rapid was it and so well combined." The allies were surprised and outmanœuvred; but, fortunately for them, both Napoleon and Ney wasted the morning of the 16th, and this delay enabled Blücher and Wellington — the latter of whom had attended the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball at Brussels on the previous evening — to concentrate a large part of their forces. In the afternoon of the 16th came two battles. Napoleon beat the Prussians at Ligny. Ney at first crumpled up Wellington's lines at Quatre Bras, but the stubbornness



EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN 1816

THE "HUNDRED DAYS"

of the British soldiers, and the fact that Napoleon had withdrawn, without Ney's knowledge, part of Ney's right wing to assist in Blücher's downfall, led to his final repulse.¹

The day after these two battles — the 17th of June — was occupied with marches. At dawn the Prussians retreated, not east towards Namur, their base of operations, as Napoleon had expected, but north in order to keep in touch with Wellington. About ten o'clock Wellington began to retreat north. Napoleon himself, worn out with the exertions of the previous few days, again wasted the morning, and not till about 2 p.m. did Grouchy, one of Napoleon's generals, start in pursuit of the Prussians, and Napoleon himself in pursuit of Wellington. Nightfall found Wellington in position near Waterloo and Napoleon's troops beginning to arrive there, whilst the Prussian army was sixteen miles away at Wavre, and Grouchy, who had only just discovered the Prussian line of retreat, was some way to the south of it. During the night Wellington received promise of help from Blücher and determined to hold his ground.²

On the 18th came the battle of Waterloo. The two armies were drawn up facing each other across a shallow valley, at a distance of about a mile apart. For eight hours, from eleven in the morning till seven in the evening, Napoleon hurled his troops against the positions of the British and their allies. His attacks were all repulsed, and the arrival of the Prussians to reinforce Wellington coincided with the failure of the Old Guard sent forward by Napoleon as his last effort. The Emperor drove from the battlefield and his army disintegrated in flight. Four days later (22nd June) he

¹ The Duke of Wellington had a very long day on the 16th. He left Brussels in the morning, and rode out beyond Quatre Bras; then he visited Blücher at Ligny, and warned him of the dangerous position he had taken up. He had therefore ridden over forty miles before the battle of Quatre Bras began, and he remained in the saddle till nightfall. A general officer found him late that night, when his troops were asleep, chuckling over some English newspapers which had just arrived!

² It is said that the Duke of Wellington himself rode over to Wavre during the night of the 17th, and got personal assurance of support from Blücher — but the story lacks confirmation. He received a message anyway before dawn on the 18th.

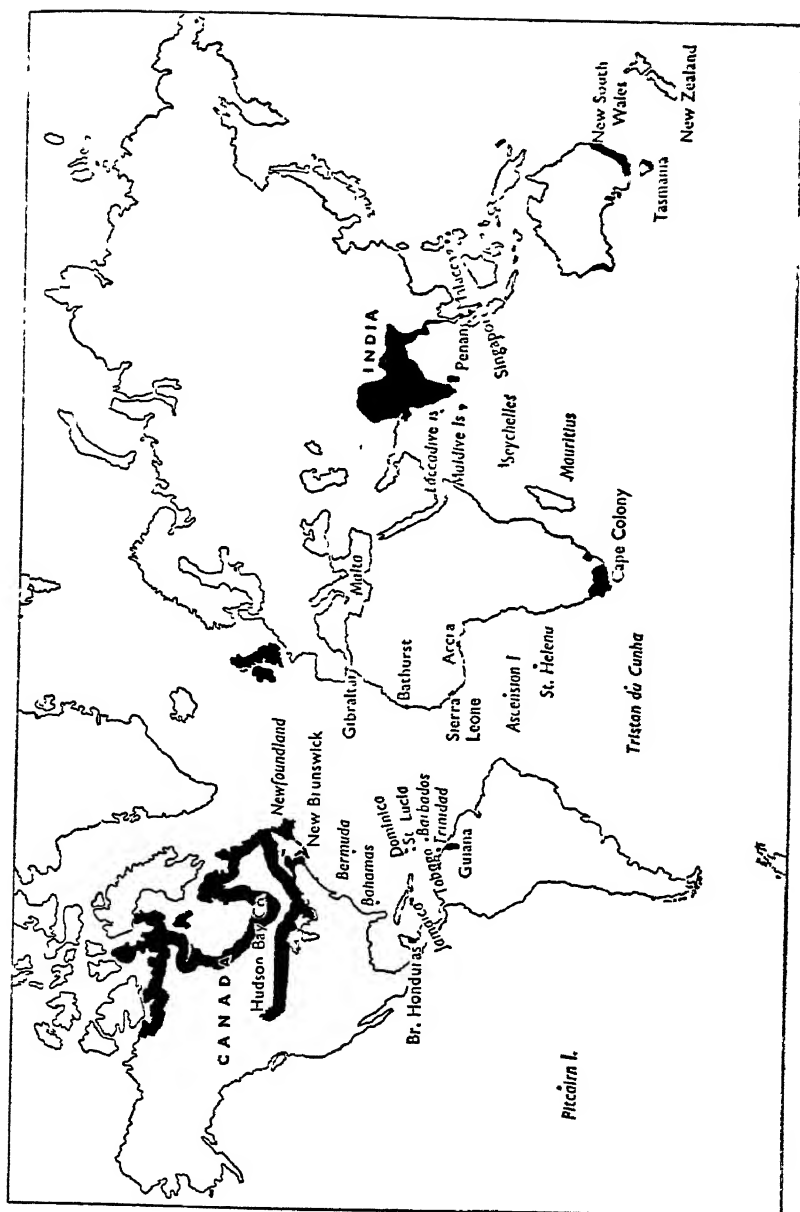
abdicated. He subsequently surrendered to the commander of a British man-of-war, and was sent by the British Government as a prisoner to St. Helena, where he died six years later (1821).

After Waterloo, the *Congress of Vienna*, which had been sitting since before the *Hundred Days*, concluded its work, and peace was finally signed at *Paris*. France obtained better terms than might have been expected. This was partly due to the fact that her representative, Talleyrand, stressed the fact that the allies were making peace with a France ruled over by the restored monarchy of the Bourbons, and not with revolutionary or Napoleonic France. Moreover, Great Britain, represented by Castlereagh and Wellington, did not wish to see the other powers, especially Prussia, given too much, and they wanted to settle thorny problems on a fair basis of compromise.

The
Treaty
of Paris
(1815)

Therefore, France was left with the boundaries she had before the Revolution. Prussia was not allowed to take Alsace-Lorraine. Only the conquests made by the Revolution and by Napoleon were taken from France. Thus Belgium and Holland were now set free from French domination and united into one independent State. In Spain the Bourbons were restored. In Italy, the Bourbons returned to Naples, while, in the north, Venetia and Lombardy were given to Austria. Prussia was given half of Saxony (for Saxony had been the firm ally of Napoleon), and she also acquired the Rhineland. Poland, which had been partitioned during the Revolution, and had been partially restored by Napoleon (in his formation of the Duchy of Warsaw) was again obliterated, Russia receiving the lion's share.

Of her conquests, Great Britain kept Malta, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. She had taken the Cape from the Dutch when they were under Napoleon, and she now paid them compensation. Her gains did not seem extensive, but their importance was only realized later.



THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1810

CHAPTER 54

HISTORY OF IRELAND (1689-1815)

We must now deal with the history of Ireland from the Revolution of 1688 until 1815 (*Note 104*). How James was beaten at the battle of the Boyne in 1690, and how after his departure his Roman Catholic supporters capitulated at Limerick in 1691, has been told on p. 546. The Roman Catholics, under the terms of the *Capitulation of Limerick*, were promised two things. Firstly, those soldiers who chose were to be allowed to go to France, and a very large number left Ireland. Secondly, the Roman Catholics in Ireland were to have the same privileges as they possessed in the reign of Charles II. But this second condition was not observed. On the contrary, between 1697 and 1727 the Irish Parliament, in which by an English Act of Parliament only Protestants were allowed to sit, passed against the Roman Catholics, who composed four-fifths of the population, a series of laws, known as the *Penal Laws*, of the most vindictive character. A Roman Catholic was not allowed to have a vote and was excluded from every imaginable office or profession from that of a lord chancellor to that of a gamekeeper. He could not be educated at a university, and he could not keep a school or be the guardian of a child; he could not marry a Protestant, was not allowed to buy land, and was even forbidden to possess a horse worth more than £5.¹ No Protestant might sell, give, or bequeath land to a Roman Catholic: and when a Roman Catholic died his land must be divided equally amongst his sons unless the eldest was a Protestant, in which case it all went to him. All Roman Catholic bishops and deans were exiled, and all Roman Catholic priests had to be registered. No Roman

¹ A Protestant was at liberty to offer £5 for any horse belonging to a Roman Catholic, who was bound to accept the offer.

Catholic chapel was allowed a bell or a steeple, and pilgrimages to holy wells were forbidden.

Quite apart from the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from any share in the government of their country, the political condition of Ireland stood in great need of reform. All laws passed in the Irish Parliament had still, under Poynings' Act of 1495, to receive the assent of the privy council in England, whilst the Parliament in England, in the reign of George I, arrogated to itself the right of passing laws binding upon Ireland. It must be remembered also that the Irish Parliament had practically no control over the officials who governed Ireland, these being appointed and supervised by the Government in England, and it was an additional grievance that the highest of these officials were almost invariably Englishmen. The viceroys were Englishmen, often spending four-fifths of their time in England; the Protestant bishops were nearly all Englishmen, and some of them never came to Ireland at all;¹ and only one Irishman in the whole course of the eighteenth century was made lord chancellor.

Political
condition
of
Ireland

The Irish Parliament itself needed drastic reformation; half the members of its House of Lords were Protestant bishops, whilst over two-thirds of the members of its House of Commons were nominated by individuals, no less than sixty seats belonging to three families; and, as has already been pointed out, no Roman Catholic could vote at an election or sit in either House of Parliament. Moreover, till past the middle of the eighteenth century, there was no fixed term for the duration of a parliament. Consequently a parliament lasted for an indefinite period, and one existed in the eighteenth century for over thirty years.

The Irish
Parliament

Even worse perhaps than the political was the economic

¹ One divine held the bishopric of Down for twenty years; he never went near it during the whole of that time, but lived at Hammersmith. Of 140 bishops appointed at the same time in the eighteenth century, it is said that one sent down to his diocese twenty-two cart-loads of books and one hogshead of wine; the other, however, was content with one load of books, but dispatched to his palace twenty-two hogsheads of wine.

Economic
condition
of Ireland

condition of Ireland. That island is naturally a great pasturing country; its cattle and its wool were at one time the best in Europe. It might have become a great manufacturing country as well. But the selfishness of English farmers and manufacturers stifled its enterprise. The English Parliament had already, in Charles II's reign, forbidden the importation into England of cattle, sheep, and swine, alive or dead. It proceeded, in William III's reign, to prohibit altogether the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, and to confine the export of Irish unmanufactured wool to England alone, where the wool had to pay heavy import duties.¹ Irish industries were thus ruined. But this does not exhaust the evils from which Ireland suffered. As a consequence of the Irish support to James II, a great deal of land had been confiscated, and it is reckoned that, after the Revolution, three-fourths of it belonged to owners of British descent. A large number of these owners lived in England in the eighteenth century, and let their land to people called "middlemen", who often rackrented and exploited the smaller tenants to whom they sublet. The wretched Irish peasant, paying rent to a middleman, tithes to the Protestant clergyman, and dues to his Roman Catholic priest, had in some cases, it was said, "hardly the skin of a potato to subsist upon".

Irish
landlords

Irish
emigra-
tion

Such were the conditions in Ireland in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and they all combined to degrade and to debase the great mass of the population and to make the country a most unhappy one. The more energetic and ambitious Irishmen, indeed, left their own country to pursue their fortunes elsewhere. Spain, for instance, possessed five Irish regiments, and within a hundred years a quarter of a million Irishmen, it is said, joined the Irish Brigade in France. It was that brigade which took the chief share in defeating the British at Almanza and at Fontenoy, and

¹ It is true that after 1743 the British Government encouraged the flax and linen industry at Belfast; but that was inadequate compensation.

which caused, so tradition says, George II to say at Dettingen, "Curse on the laws which deprive me of such men". To Austria Ireland supplied some of her best generals, and to Russia two field-m Marshals,¹ whilst Coote's opponent at the hard-fought battle of Wandewash was of Irish extraction.

We must now see how the conditions in Ireland were gradually improved during the later portion of the eighteenth century. In the first place, it was found impossible in practice to carry out the laws imposing restrictions on the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and even before the middle of the century these laws were to all intents and purposes obsolete. The American War of Independence brought further relief to the Roman Catholics; for the British Government, anxious to conciliate opinion in Ireland, encouraged the Irish Parliament to repeal the laws prohibiting Roman Catholics from buying land (1778), and before the war was over other concessions followed.

But the American War of Independence had more important effects even than this. It brought up the whole question of the relations of Great Britain to her dependencies — and Ireland might almost be called a dependency, and in some ways was much worse off than the American colonies. Above all, it gave Ireland an opportunity of pressing her claims in a way that could not be resisted. During the later stages of the war, Great Britain, hard pressed by her foes in every part of the world, had to withdraw the bulk of the troops from Ireland. The country was in imminent danger of an invasion from France; and was indeed, at one period, in "daily, almost hourly expectation of it". Quite spontaneously, Irishmen, of all creeds and classes, organized themselves into a body called the Irish Volunteers to protect their country from a French

Relaxation of Penal Laws (1778-82)

Abolition of Commercial Code (1780), repeal of Poynings' Act (1782), and creation of Independent Parliament (1782)

¹ One of these was the famous Peter Lacy. He began his martial career at the age of thirteen, fighting in defence of Limerick. Subsequently he entered the Russian service, fought against Danes, Swedes, and Turks, and finally became Governor of Livonia. He is credited with having converted the Russian troops from the worst troops in Europe to some of the best, and even in modern times a division of the Russian army was still called after him.

invasion. Nearly all the landed gentry became volunteers, the Duke of Leinster, for instance, commanding the Dublin contingent. Volunteer rank was given precedence in society, and great sacrifices were made to supply funds. The movement was entirely independent of the Government, who indeed regarded it, and with reason, with a considerable apprehension. For the volunteers, when they realized their power, began, like Cromwell's Ironsides, to interfere in politics, and demanded an independent Parliament and the abolition of the restrictions upon Irish industries;¹ "England", as an Irish orator said, "had sown her laws in dragons' teeth, and they had sprung up armed men." Moreover, in *Henry Grattan* Ireland had found a parliamentary leader of exceptional ability and force of character, who directed the movement in the Irish Parliament with great distinction. The British Parliament was powerless to resist. In 1780 the restrictions on Irish trade and industries were abolished. Two years later, in 1782, Ireland obtained her legislative independence, Poynings' Act being repealed and the British Parliament giving up the right to pass laws binding upon Ireland.

Grattan's
Parliament
(1782) The Irish Parliament now had a brief period of lively activity. The leader of the reformers was Henry Grattan, whose wonderful gifts as an orator brought him fame. At the time it was said that there was no one but Chatham himself who had such power of inspiration. He was a Protestant, but he now devoted himself to the effort to remove all the disabilities from which the Roman Catholics suffered. He declared: "The Irish Protestant cannot be free until the Irish Catholic ceases to be a slave." He was opposed by the Government officials who ruled in "Dublin Castle" and who were entirely hostile to any reforms. Yet Grattan might in time have won his way, had it not been for the effect on both Britain and Ireland of the events

¹ The uniforms of the volunteers — scarlet, green, blue, and orange — were all manufactured in Ireland so as to encourage home industries.

abroad, which not only stopped efforts at reform, but led to a period of repression.

The effect of the French Revolution on Ireland itself was most important (*Note 118*). Men saw that in France religious disqualifications had been abolished, the equality of man proclaimed, and government on a democratic basis set up. In Ireland the Roman Catholics wanted emancipation, that is, the right to vote and to hold offices; the Protestants wanted Parliamentary reform. Moreover all sections united in wishing for redress of economic grievances.

Effect of
French
Revolu-
tion in
Ireland

Henry Grattan had led the moderate party, advocating Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. But he did not believe in universal suffrage: "I want," he said, "to combat the wild spirit of democratic liberty by the regulated spirit of organized liberty." He wished to preserve the union with Great Britain, and declared that Ireland must support England in time of war.

Grattan

Wolfe Tone now formed an extremist party, which aimed at "breaking the connection with England, asserting the independence of our country, uniting all Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestants and Catholics." In 1792 he and *Lord Edward FitzGerald* formed an organization called "The United Irishmen" in which they sought to unite the Presbyterians of Ulster and Roman Catholics of all Ireland against the rule of England. Thousands joined it and its influence grew rapidly.

Wolfe
Tone and
the United
Irishmen
(1792)

Pitt saw that something must be done, and in 1793 the Irish Parliament (which consisted of Protestants, elected by Protestants) was induced to pass an Act giving the vote to Roman Catholics in Ireland, though they might not sit as members. Then, in 1795, Pitt sent as Viceroy, Lord Fitzwilliam, who was himself one of the Whigs who had rallied to Pitt, and who believed that Roman Catholics should be given complete political equality. He announced this as his policy, and urged it in the dispatches which he sent home. The Irish were full of hope and rejoicing. Pitt's govern-

Pitt's
Policy:
Franchise
granted to
Roman
Catholics

Lord
Fitz-
william
(1795)

ment, however, refused to support Fitzwilliam, repudiated his policy, and recalled him.

At-
tempted
French
landing
(1796)

The effect on Ireland was disastrous. Convinced now that nothing would be done to redress their grievances, the Irish turned to treason, and the "United Irishmen" began secret negotiations with the French. In 1796 the Revolutionary government sent an armed force of 15,000 to invade the country, which attempted a landing in *Bantry Bay*, but failed.

Disorders broke out especially in Ulster, and led to atrocities on both sides. Consequently in 1797 Pitt ordered the "disarming of Ulster". This was carried out by soldiers; and some Welsh and German troops sent into the country bullied and even tortured the people on the pretext of searching for arms.

Rebellion
of 1798

Such methods produced their natural results. The Irish rose in open rebellion. The avowed objects of the leaders were to secure Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. The peasants joined because they wished for abolition of tithe. Many Irishmen too now believed that their country could prosper only if she broke away altogether from England and got rid of the commercial burden on her prosperity. They hoped that the French would send them aid.

The rebellion failed utterly. The British government had known of the plot, and on the eve of the outbreak arrested the leaders, the best known of whom was Lord Edward FitzGerald.¹ The French help was not forthcoming, for Napoleon, who had thought of invading Ireland, had already

¹ Lord Edward FitzGerald was one of the seventeen children of the first Duke of Leinster. He served in the American War of Independence and was severely wounded, his life only being saved by a negro, who afterwards became his devoted servant. Subsequently FitzGerald was in Paris during part of the Revolution, attended the debates of the Convention Assembly, and was imbued with revolutionary ideas. He joined the United Irishmen on his return and was one of the organizers of the Rebellion. A price was put on his head by the Government, and through treachery he was seized in a feather-dealer's house in Dublin. He killed one of his captors, but was himself severely wounded, and died shortly afterwards in prison.

started on his Egyptian expedition when the rebellion broke out. The peasants, left to themselves, made a despairing effort, but they were easily crushed at *Vinegar Hill* in Wexford. A small body of French, led by Wolfe Tone, arrived weeks later and was surrounded and captured at Lough Swilly.¹

After the Rebellion was over, Pitt felt that the only way to preserve the connection of Ireland with Great Britain, and to secure any harmony between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland itself, was by means of a Union between Great Britain and Ireland, similar to that between England and Scotland. Irish opinion was, however, against such a union. But lavish promises of peerages and honours — forty-one persons were either created peers or raised a step in the peerage — and very generous money compensation to those individuals who held "pocket boroughs",² secured a majority sufficient to pass the measure through the Irish Parliament. Moreover, though no explicit promise was made, the Roman Catholics were given to understand by the Government that Catholic emancipation would form a sequel to the passing of the Union. Thus the *Act of Union*, despite Grattan's speeches against it, was finally passed through the Irish Parliament in 1800. By its terms four Irish bishops and twenty-eight peers, who were to be elected for life by the whole body of Irish peers, were to sit in the House of Lords, whilst Ireland was to contribute a hundred members to the House of Commons. Ireland was to keep her separate judicial system and her separate executive — dependent, of course, upon the British ministry. There was to be absolute free trade between Ireland and Great Britain, and Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths to the revenue of the United Kingdom.

Thus ended the Irish Independent Parliament after an

¹ Tone committed suicide in prison, before he could be executed.

² Over £1,250,000 was expended in this fashion, and two peers received £52,000 and £45,000 respectively for their boroughs.

existence of eighteen years. It had possessed some able speakers and statesmen; it had passed some useful laws; and, on the whole, considering the difficulties which it had to meet, it was not unsuccessful. The understanding about Catholic emancipation came, most unfortunately, to nothing. George III became firmly convinced that the grant of such emancipation would be contrary to his coronation oath, and would not agree to it, and Pitt consequently resigned office in 1801.¹ Our period consequently ends with Catholic emancipation still unsecured, and the Irish Catholics consequently feeling that they had been cheated over emancipation. Moreover, the Parliament at Westminster was now saddled with the responsibility of dealing with the biggest of the Irish problems, the agrarian question; but the English at Westminster never realized their full responsibility and for a long time failed to attempt any solution.

CHAPTER 55

PITT'S HOME POLICY AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF WAR (1793-1815)

The outbreak of war with France had a disastrous effect upon Pitt (*Note 108*). Whatever prospects there had been of improvement in the political and social condition of Britain came to an abrupt end. All reform ceased: "One cannot repair one's house in a hurricane," said a contemporary in defence of Pitt. Unfortunately, however, Pitt did not stop at cessation of reform — he began a policy of coercion. The fear of revolution in England was the cause, but actually the bulk of the country was loyal, and repression, after all, was no remedy for social ills.

Policy of
Coercion

¹It is reported that the King read the Coronation Oath to his family and said, "If I violate it I am no longer legal sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy."

In 1790 Burke had published his *Reflections on the French Revolution* which contained the warning that power in France would pass more and more into the hands of extremists. This book had a tremendous effect on Britain, and particularly on the aristocracy who had practically ruled the country for the past century. It was answered in 1791 when Tom Paine published his *Rights of Man* in which he maintained that the people of a country had the right to choose or alter the form of government as they liked. This democratic view found many followers, but in 1792 Paine issued another pamphlet in which he praised republicanism, and because of the fear roused by the march of events in France, his opinions lost their popularity.

Burke's
Re-
flections
on the
French
Revolution

Paine's
Rights
of Man

Burke and Paine may be said to represent the two extreme views, but by far the majority of the British people agreed with Burke in so far as he regarded the French Revolution as an anarchical movement. The Government was certainly of his opinion, and was especially afraid of the various bodies which they thought were spreading revolutionary ideas in Britain. Chief of these were the "Corresponding Societies", the largest of which, the "London", was under Thomas Hardy and had over three thousand members. These societies were really clubs which held meetings and published pamphlets, and their objects were no more revolutionary than an attempt to obtain universal suffrage and annual parliaments. Some members, however, openly professed sympathy with the ideas of the French Revolution, and because of this Pitt attacked the Societies and ordered the prosecution of both members and leaders. In Scotland a series of famous trials ended in the "martyrs of 1793" being sentenced to transportation, though it was impossible to prove that they had done more than ask for "more equal representation". In England, Horne Tooke and Hardy were more fortunate, for when they were tried in 1794, the juries acquitted them.

The
Corres-
ponding
Societies

A serious step was taken in 1794 when the Habeas Corpus

Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (1794) Act was suspended, so that a person could be kept in prison indefinitely without being brought to trial, if simply accused of "treasonable practices". A most odious system was set up of Government spies who went about the country and produced "evidence of plots". On the strength of such stories, many people were imprisoned.¹

Repressive measures Pitt next introduced and passed a series of Acts (1795) which made writing, speaking, or in any way "inciting against the Government" a serious offence, to be severely punished. Public meetings were made illegal unless licensed by a magistrate, and, of course, no reform meetings would be licensed. Further, by the *Combination Act* of 1799, **Combination Act (1799)** working men were forbidden to form Trade Unions, for fear they should be "revolutionary". It was also made an act of treason to support any changes in the constitution.

In all these measures, considered necessary by the Government at the time, Pitt had the support of the Tories and of a large majority of the Whigs, led by Burke. Only Fox and some of his followers stuck to their principles, declared that the excesses of the French were due to the miseries they had suffered, and formed a new Whig party.

Pitt's Financial difficulties Pitt's financial reforms all went by the board. The National Debt increased so enormously that the provision of the Sinking Fund was useless, yet he continued its operation, on the false assumption that the war would be short. Thus while on the one hand he paid money into the Sinking Fund to pay off the debt, on the other hand he borrowed far larger sums to finance the war. The commercial treaty with France naturally was not enforced. Increased taxation was needed, but Pitt took no steps to deal with the question adequately. He was so confident that the struggle would only be a short one that he preferred to borrow rather than tax. Thus he only increased the assessed taxes in 1797, and it was not till 1798 that he brought in his

¹ "Oliver the spy" became infamous for this, and even magistrates at length refused to accept such "evidence".

income-tax.¹ He also borrowed on very disadvantageous terms, paying increasingly high rates on an ill-considered system. As a result he left the nation far more heavily burdened with debt than was necessary.

Pitt's policy in Ireland has already been considered. Here we must note that Pitt himself, when the King refused even to consider Catholic Emancipation, resigned, in 1801. But when, in 1804, he returned to office, he took no further steps in the matter. Perhaps to do justice we must admit that he could never have induced the King to alter his resolution, for George firmly believed that to grant Catholic emancipation was contrary to his coronation oath.

Pitt and
Ireland

To Pitt at his resignation in 1801 succeeded one of his followers, *Addington*. He it was who made the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, and conducted the early stages of the war when it was renewed in 1803. But he was quite unequal to the position.

Addington's
ministry
(1801-4)

"Pitt is to Addington
What London is to Paddington",

sang Canning, rather unkindly. And as the administration grew more Paddingtonian, it was felt that the tried pilot must be recalled. Pitt returned to power in 1804, and lived long enough to see the crowning victory of Trafalgar in October, 1805. But six weeks later Austerlitz made Napoleon supreme in Europe, and this victory, and the impeachment of his closest ally, *Robert Dundas, Lord Melville*, for malversation of funds,² broke down his already enfeebled health, and in January, 1806, he died.

Pitt's
second
ministry
(1804-6)

Pitt's opponents had intended to charge him with incapacity in the conduct of the war. His death left them

¹ This was graduated from 2d. in the £ on incomes of £60, up to 2s. in the £ on incomes over £200.

² A vote of censure on Melville preceded the impeachment. In the actual vote, the numbers were equal but the speaker after a silence of many minutes, gave his casting vote against Melville. There ensued a scene of wild exultation amongst Pitt's opponents. Pitt crushed his cocked hat over his brow to conceal the tears trickling down his cheeks, and his younger supporters, forming a screen round him, led him away from the House.

with no one to blame. It also left the King with no one to whom he could turn. He was forced to call upon Fox.

A coalition ministry was formed, for all parties felt that they must unite in face of the terrible situation on the Continent. Fox, Grenville, Addington combined. Owing to the fact that the best men of all parties were included in the Ministry, it had the nickname of "*All the talents*". Yet, because these men did not really agree on policy, nothing much could be done. Fox and his followers wished for reform of Parliament and for Catholic Emancipation, but their fellow ministers would never agree to either. Fox did succeed, in the face of bitter opposition from the King, in getting an *Army Act*, which improved army service. But the only real achievement was the passing of the Act to abolish the wicked *trade in slaves*. (Freeing the slaves was not yet possible and this Act only stopped the capture and sale of slaves as a money-making affair.) The *abolition of the Slave Trade* was the last act of Fox's life, for he died 8 months after taking office.

Ministry
of all the
Talents
(1806)

Abolition
of slave
trade

This was the only reform possible, for in the succeeding years the struggle against Napoleon absorbed all the energies of the government. Repression and growing misery characterized the first decade of the century and led on to the demand for Reform which was to follow the establishment of peace.

Fox's ministry was followed by one under the inefficient Duke of *Portland*, who took office in 1807. Though himself incapable, his cabinet included two young men, Castlereagh and Canning, both destined to lend brilliance to our foreign policy. Feeling against "revolutionary principles" ran so high that no important measures could be undertaken, for any reform was thought to lead to revolution.

Portland's
ministry

The only political event of note was the setting up of the Regency in 1811. This was necessary owing to the hopeless nature of the King's illness, and in 1812, when it was certain that he would never recover his sanity, the Prince of Wales

The
Regency
(1811)

received full powers to act as sovereign. The Prince, selfish and bad as he was, had been the friend and supporter of the Whigs. He could not, even had he wished, have struggled against the general opposition to reform, but actually he made no attempt to stick to his principles, but abandoned the Whigs at once and chose as minister the dull and reactionary *Perceval*.

Perceval's ministry was short, for he was shot at and killed in 1812, by a lunatic, in the lobby of the House of Commons. Lord Liverpool took his place, but the whole strength of the nation, its energy and talent, seemed to be absorbed in the struggle against Napoleon, so that none was left for home affairs.

Murder of
Perceval
(1812)

Yet we must notice that, in spite of the exhaustion caused by the long wars, the eighteenth century was remarkable in the spheres of art and literature.

Many of the most famous names in British art belong to this period. Hogarth, the greatest of satirical painters, lived in the first part of the century,¹ Reynolds, Romney, Raeburn, Allan Ramsay, and Gainsborough in the latter part. These men made portraiture supreme, and through them Britain could claim her greatest recognition in the world of art abroad.

Art and
literature
in the
eighteenth
century

In literature the first half of George III's reign was the time when Johnson, the "immortal doctor" flourished. Boswell's *Life* remains one of the great classics, and in itself has drawn many on to further study of the period. Gibbon wrote his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Burke's speeches are still unsurpassed; while Scotland produced her greatest poet, Robert Burns. The French Revolution coincides with the appearance of the "romantic" poets, Shelley and Keats, Scott and Wordsworth, though Scott has won greater fame by his Waverley novels. Byron became celebrated in the years when the Napoleonic war

¹ Some of his best work is to be seen in the comparatively little known Soane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

raged. Jane Austen wrote her novels in the midst of that great struggle, and the whole flowering of literature which was to mark the first years of the nineteenth century, finds its seeds in the eighteenth.

NOTES ON PERIOD NINE (1783-1815)

BRITISH SOVEREIGN

GEORGE III (1760-1820)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

- FRANCE: LOUIS XVI (1774-1792)
FIRST REPUBLIC (1792-1799)
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE:
 First Consul (1799-1804)
 Emperor (1804-1815)
- SPAIN: CHARLES III (1759-1788)
CHARLES IV (1788-1808)
JOSEPH BONAPARTE (1808-1814)
FERDINAND VII (1814-1833)
- EMPIRE: JOSEPH II (1765-1790)
LEOPOLD II (1790-1792)
FRANCIS II (1792-1835)
(Holy Roman Empire ended 1806)
- RUSSIA: CATHERINE II (1762-1796)
PAUL I (1796-1801)
ALEXANDER I (1801-1825)

BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS

- PITT (the Younger): (1783-1801)
ADDINGTON: (1801-1804)
PITT: (1804-1806)
GRENVILLE-Fox (Coalition) (1806-1807)
PORTLAND: (1807-1809)
PERCEVAL: (1809-1812)
LIVERPOOL: (1812-1827)

NOTE 104. — IRELAND IN THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
(1760-1795)

1. Political Grievances.

- (a) By the *Penal Laws* (1727) no Roman Catholic could vote, or hold any office, or go to the University, or be a schoolmaster, or buy land. No Protestant could marry a Roman Catholic, or leave land to a Roman Catholic.
- (b) Under the ancient Poynings' Act, all laws passed by Irish Parliament had to receive assent of the English Privy Council, but English Parliament could pass laws binding on Ireland
- (c) In Irish Parliament no Roman Catholic could sit, nor could any Roman Catholic have a vote, and two-thirds of members were nominated by private persons
- (d) All officials appointed by England, and were almost invariably Englishmen

2. Economic Grievances.

- (a) Irish agriculture and trade controlled, not to Irish advantage. Irish might not export to England any cattle or woollen manufactured goods. Raw wool had to pay heavy duties if sent to England.
- (b) Land had been confiscated and three-quarters belonged to English landlords.
- (c) Tithes had to be paid to the Episcopal Church of Ireland, though four-fifths of population were Roman Catholics.

3. Reforms during Eighteenth Century.

During American war, Britain forced to conciliate Irish, so

- (a) *Penal Code abolished* (1778).
- (b) *Restrictions on Irish trade abolished* (1780).
- (c) *Irish Parliament given self-government* by repeal of Poynings' Law, and British Parliament could not pass laws binding upon Ireland (1782). This meant *legislative independence*.

4. Grattan's Parliament.

The Irish Parliament now had a brilliant period under leadership of *Henry Grattan*, who wished to remove last disability of Roman Catholics, wished for "Catholic Emancipation", i.e. that Roman Catholics should be allowed to sit in Parliament, and to hold offices (e.g. be lawyers, soldiers, etc.).

NOTE 105. — CHARLES JAMES FOX (1747-1806)

Brilliant young man, of eminent Whig family. Brilliant speaker and strong upholder of liberty everywhere.

- 1 *Championed American colonies*, and led the party which supported them (1775)
- 2 *Opposed the growth of the King's Power* and wished for Parliamentary reform.
- 3 Friend of the Prince of Wales, an unprincipled man, whose connection with Fox did the latter much harm, and helped to fix the King's dislike of Fox.
- 4 *Joined the Rockingham Ministry* (1782) on fall of Lord North; he would not serve under Shelburne. So formed alliance with former opponent North, and made the "*Infamous Coalition*" (1783). Tried to bring in a Bill to settle India (1783). Failed, and his place taken by Pitt the younger.
- 5 *Opposed Warren Hastings*, as believed he had oppressed Indians (1786).
- 6 *Great Champion of the French Revolution*. Declared people of France justified in rebelling against their government. Strongly opposed Pitt's repressive measures in Britain. Opposed the war against France (1793)
7. On death of Pitt joined the Coalition "*Ministry of all the Talents*" (1806). Wished to end war, but failed to come to terms with Napoleon. Helped to abolish trade in slaves

Note: Fox ruined his career chiefly by accepting office in the "*Infamous Coalition*" of 1783, which lost him popular confidence. The King always hated him. And as the French Revolution grew more extreme, Fox, as its champion, was discredited.

NOTE 106. — EDMUND BURKE (1729-1797)

Irish by birth, entered Whig Parliament in 1765, and served under Lord Rockingham, with Fox, on fall of North.

Liberal minded in early life, and

1. Supported a policy of conciliation towards the American colonies.
- 2 Supported Catholic emancipation
3. Supported complete religious toleration for all.
4. Wished for reform of penal laws, and abolition of slave trade.
- 5 But did not wish for extension of the franchise, nor redistribution of seats, and believed British Constitution needed no reform.

6. In later life was so bitterly opposed to the French Revolution that he supported the war, and all the repressive measures of Pitt.
7. His speeches still are some of the best English prose: most notable are *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (a defence of the party system), *On the American Colonies* (putting the case for a self-governing colonial empire), and *French Revolution* (against violent change in government).
8. Led the attack on Warren Hastings.
9. One of the best exponents of moderate political philosophy.

NOTE 107. — WILLIAM PITT, THE YOUNGER (1759-1806)

Was Chancellor of Exchequer before he was twenty-four, and made *Prime Minister when he was twenty-four* (1783)

1. Pitt as Financier.

- (a) Reduced duties drastically, so as to work towards freedom of trade.
- (b) Established the Sinking Fund to reduce National Debt.
- (c) Commercial treaty with France (1786)
- (d) Wished for free trade with Ireland. Abolished application of Navigation Acts to Ireland (1788). Established free trade with Ireland in 1800
- (e) But after the French war broke out he abandoned the treaty with France, kept on the Sinking Fund when it was useless, and borrowed at too high rates, rather than tax. He wrongly believed war would be very short, and based his plans on this

2 Pitt and the Empire.

- (a) *India* — his India Act (1784) made British Government responsible for the Governor-General and his Council
- (b) *Canada* — his Canada Act (1791) divided Canada into two. Lower (or French) Canada, and Upper. Meant to prevent friction between the races
- (c) *Australia* — first settlements sent out (1788).

3 Pitt and Reform.

Desired reform of Parliament. Bill to disfranchise 36 rotten boroughs and redistribution of seats (1785). Not passed, and war ended all reform.

Wished for Catholic Emancipation, in conjunction with Act of Union (1800) but defeated by King

NOTE 108. — PITT AND THE FRENCH WAR (1793)

- 1 Pitt originally did not desire war with France, and for first three years of Revolution, Britain kept aloof.

Causes of the War. In 1792 French seized the *Austrian Netherlands* (Belgium), and declared they would help any nation that rose in revolt. They declared *Scheldt open* to all commerce, and the river had been closed by European treaty to help British trade.

French threatened to invade Holland, and Britain could not let that coast be in hostile hands.

2 Revolutionary War.

(a) Pitt is not considered to have been a good war minister. He scattered the resources on small expeditions. Thus in 1793 he sent expeditions to the West Indies, to Toulon, and to Belgium.

(b) He had not his father's gift for choosing good men to serve under him.

He let the King give the Duke of York command of the army.

(c) He wasted money on subsidies to useless allies, e.g. the King of Prussia who made terms with Napoleon which suited him and would not fight when wanted.

(d) But, note, Pitt was hampered because all the allies were incompetent, and he suffered for their mistakes. He also never lost heart but persevered in forming one coalition after another against the Revolution. He also may be said to have been unlucky in having to contend with so great a genius as Napoleon.

NOTE 109 — CHANGE IN PITT'S HOME POLICY PRODUCED BY FRENCH WAR

1. Pitt began life as reformer, friend of Adam Smith (said "Tom Paine was right", Paine being reformer who wrote *Rights of Man*).

2. War changed him into a reactionary, for he dreaded spread of revolutionary ideas to England.

(a) Considered such ideas must be stamped out, so attacked "Corresponding Societies", i.e. reforming societies which "corresponded" with each other.

(b) Prosecuted all advanced reformers. A series of *political prosecutions* held. In Scotland the "martyrs of 1793" (Muir, Palmer, etc.), prosecuted or transported. In England Hardy and Horne Tooke tried (1794) but acquitted.

(c) "Two Acts", 1795, made speaking or "inciting" against the Government a very serious offence. Public meetings illegal unless licensed by a magistrate.

(d) Any attempt to "change the British Constitution" made act of treason.

(e) *Combination Acts* (1800) forbade working men to combine in any body. Hence all *Trade Unions* or clubs illegal.

NOTE 110. — PITT AND IRELAND

1. Grattan's Parliament was moderate, but extremists under *Wolfe Tone* wanted complete independence of Ireland. Society of United Irishmen formed (1791).
2. Pitt saw need for reform, and in 1793 vote was given to all Roman Catholics who were £40 freeholders.
Fitzwilliam sent as Viceroy, and promised complete Emancipation. Repudiated by Pitt (1795).
3. United Irishmen plotted with revolutionary France.
 - (a) French expedition tried to land in *Bantry Bay*, but failed (1796).
 - (b) Revolt in Ulster. Pitt ordered disarming of Ulster; great severity shown (1797).
 - (c) *Irish Rebellion* of 1798 partly organized by Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald. French fleet defeated. Irish defeated at *Vinegar Hill*. French troops defeated at *Lough Swilly*.
4. Pitt Decided to Abolish Irish Parliament (1799).
 Act of Union carried only by:
 - (a) Promises of pensions to induce members to vote for it.
 - (b) Promise of free trade.
 - (c) Understanding that Catholic Emancipation would be granted.
5. Act of Union (1800).
 - (a) Ireland lost her own Parliament.
 - (b) Sent 100 members to English Parliament and 28 peers.
 - (c) Ireland to contribute two-seventeenths to English revenue.
 - (d) Ireland to keep her own courts of justice and own civil service.

But, Pitt (owing to the attitude of the King) could not give Roman Catholic Emancipation, hence Irish M P s were all Protestants; no Roman Catholics could hold any office. Moreover, tithes were still paid to the Episcopal Church.

NOTE 111. — THE WAR WITH REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE
(1793-1798)

1. Britain joined the Coalition of Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Sweden against *Republican France*. *Britain met with disaster*.
 - (a) because she sent too many small expeditions to Toulon, Brittany, Dunkirk, West Indies (*all failed*) 1793.
 - (b) at sea did not use sea-power and did not blockade French ports though Howe won *First of June*, and took Cape of Good Hope (1795).
2. After 1797 Britain made greater use of sea-power. Won Battles of *St. Vincent* and (after mutiny at the Nore) *Camperdown* (1797).
 Cut off Napoleon in Egypt by *Battle of the Nile* (1798).

3 War with Napoleon — first phase, 1798-1802.

In 1799, after failure in Egypt, Napoleon returned to France and became Consul. War was now against him. Austria made peace with France.

Armed Neutrality formed against Britain by Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden (1801).

Against this Britain won *Battle of Copenhagen* (1801), and in the west captured West Indies.

4 Peace of Amiens (1802)

- (a) Britain gave up all conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad
- (b) France kept Belgium and the Rhine frontier

NOTE 112. — SECOND PHASE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (1803-1815)

1 Causes of Second War. Europe hoped for peace after Treaty of Amiens. Napoleon, however, showed he meant to renew war. (Became Emperor in 1804).

(a) He was aggressive in north of Italy, annexed Piedmont and Elba.

(b) He sent troops to Switzerland.

(c) He sent expedition to Egypt.

(d) He began to build a huge fleet.

(e) Great Britain fearing war in Egypt, did not give up Malta as she promised in the treaty.

(f) Great Britain being convinced Napoleon was preparing to resume war when it suited him, decided to be first in the field.

2 Napoleon's Plans to Invade Britain.

Spain was France's subject-ally, and her fleet was to co-operate with French fleet.

(a) But Britain blockaded all the French and Spanish harbours.

(b) Special transport-fleet collected by Napoleon at *Boulogne* helpless unless battle-fleet held the Channel.

(c) Napoleon therefore gave up plan, and sent his army to attack Austria.

(d) Nelson destroyed French and Spanish fleets at *Trafalgar* (1805), and all hopes of invasion useless.

3 Napoleon Plans to Ruin Britain's Trade.

Napoleon then fell back on attempt to ruin Britain's trade.

(a) By *Continental System* (Berlin Decrees, 1806) no country allowed to trade with Britain. He had conquered Austria (*Austerlitz*, 1805), Prussia (*Jena*, 1806), and made alliance with Russia (*Tilsit*) (1807).

- (b) Britain retaliated by *Orders in Council* blockading foreign ports (1807).

To ensure blockade she *captured Danish fleet* (Copenhagen, 1807), to prevent Napoleon seizing it.

- (c) Napoleon, to make Continental System complete, seized *Holland and Portugal and Spain*

This led to the *Peninsular War* (1808).

NOTE 113. — NAPOLEONIC WAR: THIRD PHASE (1809-1814)

1 War in the Peninsula.

- (a) French driven from *Portugal* by battle of *Vimiero* (1808) and forced to evacuate Portugal. Moore sent to cut off Napoleon in Madrid. Retreated to Corunna where fleet met him and British army saved from capture (1808)
- (b) *Wellington attacked in Spain*. Wellington drove French from Portugal, entered Spain, won *Talavera*, then driven out of Spain and back to coast. Entrenched himself at the lines of *Torres Vedras* (1810-11).
- (c) *Wellington had to defend himself on the coast*. French after months retreated from Portugal and Wellington, pressing on, won *Fuentes d'Onoro* and *Albuera* (1811).
- (d) *Wellington advanced and freed southern Spain*. While Napoleon was occupied in *Russia* (1812) Wellington entered Spain, took key fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz; won battle of *Salamanca*, drove French from Madrid, and freed Southern Spain.
- (e) *Wellington freed all Spain and invaded France*. While Napoleon was fighting the war in *Germany* which had risen against him (1813), Wellington won battle of *Vittoria*, and in 1814, while Napoleon was defending Paris, Wellington crossed the Pyrenees, entered France, and took Toulouse.

The effect of the war was to keep large numbers of Napoleon's troops engaged, and to use up his transport. French lost half a million men. It restored British prestige, and above all it encouraged other nations to resist Napoleon.

NOTE 114 — SEA-POWER IN THE FRENCH WARS

1. At first Britain did not use her sea-power, and did not blockade France. Therefore, French
 - (a) Defended West Indies and it took us five years to capture them
 - (b) Invaded Ireland twice — Bantry Bay, 1796, and again in 1798
 - (c) Conveyed their grain across Atlantic.

2 French conquest of Spain gave her *Spanish fleet*.

(a) French and Spanish fleets to meet Prevost at St. Vincent (1797)

(b) French conquest of Holland gave her *Dutch fleet*. Defeated at *Camperdown* (1797) Dutch fleet destroyed(c) French sent Napoleon to Egypt (to attack Syria and get a stir up India) but Nelson defeated *French fleet* at *Battle of Nile* (1798) (famous for Nelson sending in ships between French and shore, and French thus caught between it shores). As a result, Napoleon was shut up in Egypt, and French expedition failed.

3 Armed Neutrality, to protest against Britain preventing neutrals from trading with France

All the northern powers combined against Britain namely, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden

Nelson destroyed the *Danish fleet* at *Copenhagen* (1801), — famous for Nelson's skill in getting through the shoals(Note: Nelson was second in command to Hyde Parker, hence his famous "blind eye" to Parker's signal to withdraw.)
Result: Baltic opened to Britain

4 After Treaty of Amiens Napoleon planned to invade Britain.

(a) Got fleet of transports ready at Boulogne

(b) Spanish and French fleets to meet in West Indies, and fleet to gain command of Channel

But, Nelson blockaded French and Spanish fleets in their harbours, so no junction could be made. *Brest* fleet did not get out. *Toulon* fleet did, met Spaniards and sailed to West Indies. Returning to Europe fought indecisive battle at *Cape Finisane* (Cadiz, British admiral, did not renew action) French fleet took refuge in *Cadiz*. Napoleon ordered them out and Nelson met and defeated them at *Trafalgar* (1805)Nelson sent his fleet in two lines ahead and broke the Franco-Spanish line, and fought action with his ships parallel to allied ships
Result: French naval power destroyed, invasion hopeless, and Britain supreme at sea. This led Napoleon to attempt the "Continental System", which alienated Russia and led to his downfall.

NOTE 115. — REASONS FOR FAILURE OF FRENCH IN PENINSULAR WAR

1. *French had very long lines of communication*, which could fairly easily be attacked by Spaniards.
2. *Geography of the country* was against French, for roads ran across valleys, transport very difficult, and food hard to get. French held Madrid and had to work down the valleys and could not quickly get across from one valley to another

- 3 *British* did not suffer so much, for they had *command of the sea*. Thus could easily get troops and stores to Wellington, who fought the greater part of the time near the coast. At Torres Vedras, British got supplies from sea, while French starved in the devastated country.
- 4 Napoleon did not, after the first, go to Spain himself, but left his marshals to fight. (Soult, Masséna.)
- 5 He could not send adequate troops, and had to withdraw large bodies when he undertook first the Russian campaign, then had to fight "War of Liberation" in Germany, and finally defend France against invasion in north.

NOTE 116 — THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM (1806)

1. Blockade.

Britain blockaded French harbours, and in return Napoleon imposed the "Berlin" decrees, after his fleet was lost at Trafalgar. These set up the "Continental System" (1806).

(a) Aimed at ruining British commerce by forbidding any ships from Britain or her colonies to enter any port of France or of her allies.

(b) Britain retaliated by *Orders in Council*, forbidding any neutral ships to enter ports from which Britain was excluded (1807).

2 Immediate result was to check all trade. But, as Britain had command of the sea, and Napoleon had not, Britain could carry goods where she wished, while continent could not get anything by sea without British leave.

3 Indirect Results.

(a) The need to close all the continent to Britain led Napoleon to extend his aggression, and made him seize Holland and Spain.

(b) Also led to his quarrel with Russia, for the Czar refused to impose the system, as Russia needed British goods.

(c) Great Britain, in order to prevent Napoleon acquiring the Danish fleet, attacked Copenhagen and destroyed Danish ships (1807).

The Continental System did great damage to British trade, and impoverished the country, but France herself suffered still more, and Britain stood the strain better.

NOTE 117. — INDIA DURING THE FRENCH WARS (1795-1799)

1. French stirred up *Tippoo Sahib* in Mysore to rebel against Britain.

French sent officers to drill native troops, and were very active in organizing Tippoo's army (1795).

- 2 French sent Napoleon to Egypt, with idea of proceeding to India. Battle of Nile cut Napoleon off from France and forced Napoleon (1798)
- 3 Tippeo Sahib made war on British, but was defeated by Earl at *Seringapatam* (1799)

Note: In 1798 French Government hesitated whether to send Napoleon to Ireland to help rebellion of FitzGerald, or to Egypt. Napoleon himself decided this in favour of Egypt

NOTE 118 — IRELAND IN THE FRENCH WARS

- 1 Ireland very strongly affected by American Revolution and French Revolution. *Wolfe Tone* wanted independence of Ireland, formed "United Irishmen" (1792), and plotted with the French (1796)
- 2 In 1796 *Hoche* sent French force to Ireland, and tried to land in *Bantry Bay*, winds contrary and British fleet arrived, so force never landed. Dutch fleet carrying French troops defeated at *Campredown* (1797)
- 3 1797 "Disarming of Ulster" with great cruelty
- 4 1798 Rebellion partly organized by FitzGerald. Rebellion put down by English. Irish defeated at *Vinegar Hill*. French force landed at *Lough Swilly* destroyed by British. Act of Union followed (1800)

NOTE 119 — HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1 Wesley and the Methodists stirred up religious feelings, and were pioneers of social reform
- 2 Evangelical party supported "humanitarian" movements
 - (a) **Missionary work** amongst heathen. *Church Missionary Society* founded, 1799. *British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1804.
 - (a) **Prison Reform.** *John Howard* (1726-1790) and *Elizabeth Fry* visited the prisons and urged reform of prisons and of the terribly severe Penal code.
 - (c) **Anti-slavery Society**, founded by *William Wilberforce* (1759-1833), and supported by *Buxton*. Abolition of Slave Trade carried in 1806.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD NINE (1783-1815)

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great and Greater Britain	Dates	Foreign Powers.	Dates.
George III	1783-1801	Pitt (the Younger's) First Ministry. Pitt's India Act Commercial Treaty with France. Hastings impeached, First convicts to Australia Formation of Upper and Lower Canada.	1783 1784 1786 1788 1791	Death of Frederick the Great Bread Riots in France French Revolution begins; Fall of Bastille	. . 1786 1788 1789
	Pitt	Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act; Battle of 1st of June	1793 1794	French Republic set up Execution of Louis XVI, 2nd Partition of Poland	1792 1793
		Death of Burke, Camperdown; St Vincent. Battle of Nile, 2nd Coalition, Irish rebellion. Combination Laws. Union with Ireland Battle of Copenhagen. Peace of Amiens	1797 1798 1799 1800 1801 1802 1803	Rule of Directory in France (till 1799), 3rd Partition of Poland	. . 1795
		3rd Coalition, Trafalgar Death of younger Pitt Slave Trade prohibited, British seize Danish fleet	1804 1805 1806	Napoleon becomes First Consul. Alexander I reigns in Russia	1799 1801
	ADDINGTON				
	Pitt				
	GRENVILLE, PORTLAND, PERCEVAL				
	1812-27				
	LIVERPOOL				
Napoleonic Wars			1807 1809 1811 1812 1813 1815	Napoleon proclaimed Emperor Battle of Austerlitz End of Holy Roman Empire, Battle of Jena Battle of Friedland; Treaty of Tilsit. Battle of Wagram March to Moscow Battle of the Nations. Congress of Vienna Restoration of Louis XVIII	1804 1805 1806 1807 1809 . 1812 1813 1814 1815

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD NINE

(1783-1815)

- 1 Describe Wellington's work in the Peninsular War and account for his successes (LGS 1917)
- 2 Describe the main changes in British farming and rural life between 1783 and the Agricultural Labourers revolts of 1830-1. (NUJB 1930)
- 3 Sketch the career of Horatio Nelson and discuss the importance of his victories (LGS 1905)
- 4 How do you account for the success of the English in India during the eighteenth century? (LM 1931)
- 5 By what methods did George III destroy the power of the Whigs? (OL 1927)
- 6 What do you know of (1) town life, and (2) country life, during the eighteenth century? (OL 1930)
- 7 Describe the course of events which led up to the Irish rebellion of 1798. (OC 1932)
- 8 Describe the resistance of Great Britain to the ambitions of Napoleon between 1802 and 1815. (LGS 1930)
- 9 Trace the events which led up to the Act of Union with Ireland in 1800 (LGS 1937)
- 10 Describe the part played by Great Britain in the overthrow of Napoleon (NUJB 1935)
- 11 Outline the changes in English agriculture during the eighteenth century. (NUJB 1930, '32, OC 1930)
- 12 Describe the domestic policy of the younger Pitt before and after the outbreak of the French Revolution, and account for any striking differences (NUJB 1930, OL 1930, LM 1932; D 1932)
- 13 Describe and account for the attitude towards the French Revolution of (a) Pitt, (b) Burke, and (c) Fox (OL 1927, NUJB 1932)
- 14 Compare the achievements of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, with those of his son William Pitt. (OC 1925; OL 1928)

15 Give an account of Pitt's India Bill and of the circumstances which led to it (NUJB 1931)

16 "Misguided and reactionary". Is this a fair criticism of the domestic policy of Pitt after 1793? (OC 1929)

17 Explain why the Domestic System of manufacture was replaced by the Factory System (NUJB 1930)

18 What is meant by the expression "Agrarian Revolution"? In what ways was it related to the industrial changes of the later eighteenth century? (CMB 1932)

19 Discuss the importance of the victories won by Nelson (OL 1920, 1930, LM 1931)

20 Explain how England's command of the sea stood her in good stead in her struggle with Napoleon (OL 1928, OC 1930, D 1931, NUJB 1932)

21. What was the Continental System? How far can it be said to have achieved its object? (B 1931)

22 What were the social effects in Great Britain of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars? (NUJB 1931)

23. Which do you consider played the greater part in the defeat of Napoleon, the success of our navy or the campaigns in the Peninsula? (OL 1925)

24. What were the main causes of the discontent and distress in England at the end of the Napoleonic wars? (LGS 1924)

PERIOD TEN

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: ABUSES AND
REFORMS

1815-1867

CHAPTER 56

GEORGE III

1. 1815 AND AFTER IN GREAT BRITAIN

The years which followed Waterloo are generally taken as beginning a new era. The century which followed saw ^{Intro} such immense changes in every sphere of life that it forms ^{ducti} one of the most thrilling and interesting periods in British history. To keep clear in our minds what the reigns involved, we need to consider briefly what we are going to study.

First, there are great social changes. The development of machinery, and the growth of our vast town population, altered the whole trend of life. The sufferings of the poor in the early part of the century were such that they led first to a great demand for political reform, and then after that to a long, gradual process of social reform. That process is still going on.

Next, there are changes abroad. The nineteenth century was the great age of Liberalism. Revolutions swept over Europe, new States were formed, great powers competed together for supremacy. England's policy was of much importance, and she produced a series of great ministers, Canning, Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli.

Self-
governing
and
National
move-
ments in
Europe

There were two movements of supreme importance in the nineteenth century. *First*, there was a movement for *Self-government*. The rulers of many of the States of Europe after 1815 were reactionary and despotic, and distrusted all Liberal aspirations, which they labelled as dangerous and anarchical. In many parts of Europe liberty, in the English sense, was unknown: there was no liberty of speech or of writing; public meetings were forbidden and arbitrary arrests frequent. Only one other European country besides Great Britain had a Parliament — and that was France. The growing desire felt by the people for greater individual freedom and for a greater control of the government led at times, and especially during the years 1830–32 and 1848–52, to agitations and revolutions, which were sometimes suppressed and sometimes successful. Closely allied with the movement for self-government there was, *secondly*, a movement for the realization of the idea of *Nationality*. People of the same race or speaking the same language, possessing common traditions or a common history, showed a passion to be united and to be freed from the control of alien rulers, a passion which led to the independence of Belgium in 1830, to the War of Italian Liberation in 1859, and to the final union of Germany under the leadership of Prussia in 1871.

Then, the British Empire developed, its territory was extended, and its whole policy altered. The idea of self-governing colonies was worked out.

There remained the problem of Ireland. This became so acute that her relations with Great Britain were one of the major problems which statesmen had to attempt to settle, and the effect on Britain was as important as it was on Ireland.

Trouble so ahead exhausted that for a while stagnation reigned. The absolute rulers were everywhere restored, and foreign policy at first had little interest for Great Britain.

It was at home that great changes took place, and here

we have to trace most important developments. Vast changes in industry; terrible distress amongst the working-classes; a total failure on the part of the Government to see or to sympathize with the state of the nation, led to upheaval. The next seven or so years show how the grievances of the "common people" became unbearable, and how they revolted against them. A harsh government tried repression and thereby drove the country to the brink of revolution.

The troubles and struggles of these years can be traced to two main causes — to the distress due to the aftermath of war, and to the further fact that Britain was now embarking on what is called the "industrial revolution".

2. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

George III was, in 1811, recognized as unfit to rule, and the Regency was declared. The state of the country was terrifying; the "common people" were suffering and showing their discontent, yet neither Crown nor Parliament took any steps to help the nation.

The closing years of *George III* and the age of machinery

In the first place the country was bound to be faced with a difficult situation created by the coming of the peace. War is destructive, and it takes time and money to repair the damage it leaves behind. Trade had shrunk away during the long war and every nation was impoverished, therefore every nation had less money to spend. Unemployment was bound to exist on a large scale, and this was made worse by the fact that all government orders stopped, and in addition thousands of soldiers and sailors were added to those wanting work.

Distress due to the war

This inevitable trouble was greatly increased by the fact that the beginning of the peace coincided with the development of what we call the *Industrial Revolution*, which in turn at first created more unemployment.

The Industrial Revolution

Machinery was now to become the great feature of in-

dustrial life, and in every direction we see men inventing new machines. If we stop to think, we can see that there is an interesting problem here. Machinery means factories, and that means that men must congregate to work in towns. Village industry and home industry must disappear. But if factories spring up, and mankind swarms together in towns and cities, then food must be brought, and also the raw materials for industry, and the resulting manufactures must be transported from the factories to the shops and to distant places, and even overseas. Thus, roads, railways, and shipping must be developed too. What is fascinating in this "revolution" is the fact that all the necessary changes appeared at the same time, and each one fitted in with the other.

First we must retrace our steps, for, though it is in some ways convenient to take 1815 as a dividing line, changes had begun in the latter half of the eighteenth century which came to fruition in the nineteenth.

Perhaps the first of our industries to be affected by the scientific spirit was our oldest — that of *Agriculture* (Note 120). Up till the eighteenth century *arable* land had, in most districts, been treated as in the Middle Ages; it was sown with corn for two years and then left fallow for a year to recuperate its fertility. The discovery was made, however, that by the cultivation of roots, the recuperative advantages of a bare fallow might be secured without the loss of a year's crop. Moreover, the roots both gave the opportunity for clearing the soil and provided food for the cattle and sheep during the winter.¹ Consequently there was more manure, and the fertility of the land was correspondingly increased. Tradition says that "*Turnip*" Townshend, George I's minister, was the first to realize the importance of this discovery, and to develop on his Norfolk estates a four-year rotation of crops (e.g. wheat, some form of roots,

¹ Formerly the bulk of the stock, except that required for breeding purposes was killed about Martinmas.

barley, a mixture of clover and some form of grasses, never taking two successive corn crops off the same land; and this principle of rotation — sometimes three-year or five-year instead of four-year — was generally adopted in the latter part of the eighteenth century in England.¹

Moreover, the scientific breeding of live stock, especially by *Robert Bakewell*,² the developer of the famous Leicester breed of sheep, produced such changes that by 1800 the average weight of sheep was nearly three times, and of cattle more than twice, what it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century. New forms of manure for the land, new artificial foods for stock, were also discovered. The institution, at the end of the century, of the *Smithfield Club* for the encouragement of stock breeding, and of a new Government department, the Board of Agriculture, are significant of the great interest taken in agriculture, an interest shared by George III himself, who started the model farm at Windsor and wrote articles in agricultural newspapers.

These were not the only great changes that took place in agricultural conditions in this period. Waste lands were reclaimed and made productive by enterprising landowners. Large farms were substituted for small farms in many districts. Above all, an enormous amount of common land and open fields — no less than seven million acres in George III's reign alone — was enclosed by individuals, chiefly, of course, the neighbouring landowners, through Acts of Parliament. At the same time more capital was expended on the land, more improvements were introduced, and the enclosed land was made far more productive — it has been estimated that its produce multiplied at least fivefold. But these changes led to the decay, and even to the disappearance,

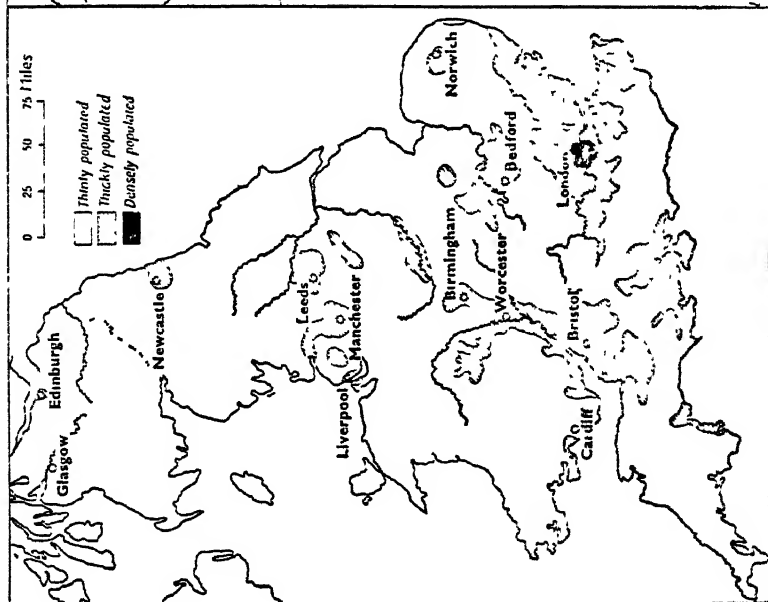
¹ There is a story that an archdeacon took a rector to task for growing turnips in a churchyard. "This must not occur again," he said. "Oh no, sir, next year it will be barley!" was the reply of the unrepentant rector.

² He was born in 1725 and died in 1794. People used to come from all over the world to see his bull "Twopenny" and his ram "Two-pounder"; and in his kitchen he would entertain "Russian princes, French and German royal dukes, British peers and sightseers of every description".

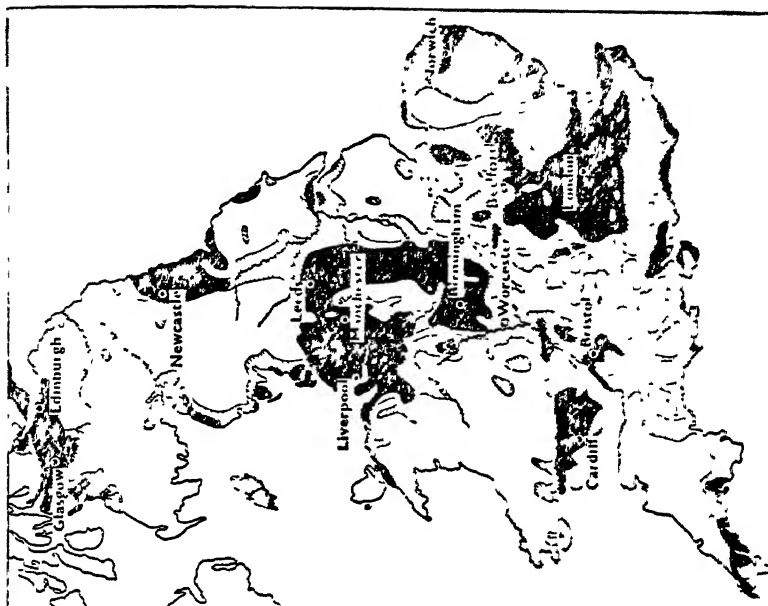
in many parts of England of the yeoman class and of the small farmers. In many districts they found increased difficulty in obtaining a livelihood owing to the enclosure of the common lands on which they used to feed their stock, and, moreover, they were often tempted by good offers to sell their land. Many of them sank into the position of labourers, and their condition during the earlier part of the nineteenth century was deplorable. Many of them drifted into the towns, which were now springing up, owing to the revolution in industry.

Industrial development
For the world was changed by the vast series of developments which now transformed Britain from an agricultural into an industrial country (*Note 121*). Each part of the new methods fitted into new discoveries in other branches. Thus men learnt to improve the production and use of coal, and of iron and steel, at the time when a whole series of inventors were producing various kinds of machinery, and others were developing the means of transport. Each of these advances would have been useless without the others. In combination they fitted together and entirely transformed men's lives, for they not only changed conditions of work, but they cheapened production and so made goods more plentiful. At the same time, population was increasing very rapidly, and great towns were springing up. The new population could not have lived, and the new towns could never have been created, unless roads and railways had made it possible to bring food and raw materials to them. Town life became the feature of British development. The new conditions led on the one hand to all sorts of problems in connection with housing and health. Public health had to be studied, and not only conditions in factories and workshops, but conditions in the crowded streets and houses.

In another direction, the growth of factories led the men and women who worked in them to learn to combine, and so we have the growth of Trade Unionism, leading on to Socialism and the Labour Party.



1700



1900

DENSITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The first inventions really appeared in the eighteenth century, and in the *cotton industry*. Lancashire had the ideal climate for cotton spinning, which requires damp. In 1738 *John Kay* had invented a shuttle which could be thrown mechanically from one side of the loom to the other. This "flying shuttle" helped all weavers, who soon had need of more yarn. This demand stimulated invention, and in 1764 *James Hargreaves* invented the "Spinning Jenny", called after his wife. This was a wheel which turned sixteen spindles instead of the one which a hand-spinner had used. A little later *Richard Arkwright* developed spinning by rollers actuated by water-power, and *Samuel Crompton*, in a machine he called a "mule", combined these two principles. Now spinners produced more yarn than the weavers could use, for one man operating Crompton's mule could look after hundreds of spindles. Then in 1785 a mechanically-minded clergyman, *Edmund Cartwright* (who had previously never seen a loom at work), invented the power-loom, which gave an enormous impetus to weaving. Figures show us in an impressive way what the use of these new machines meant. In 1750 there were 40,000 men engaged in the cotton spinning industry. In 1831 there were over 800,000. The production of cotton yarn rose from 500 million lb. in 1844 to 1300 million lb. in 1882. In the same period the export of cotton piece goods rose from 348 million lb. to 1000 million lb. As to the value of these exports, by 1870 the value of our cotton exports was £54 million, and by 1910 it was £89 million. Cotton had become one of the great exporting industries.¹

The new machinery of course involved the use of iron and steel, and here the actual creation of the machines was made possible by the development in *iron*. This had, through-

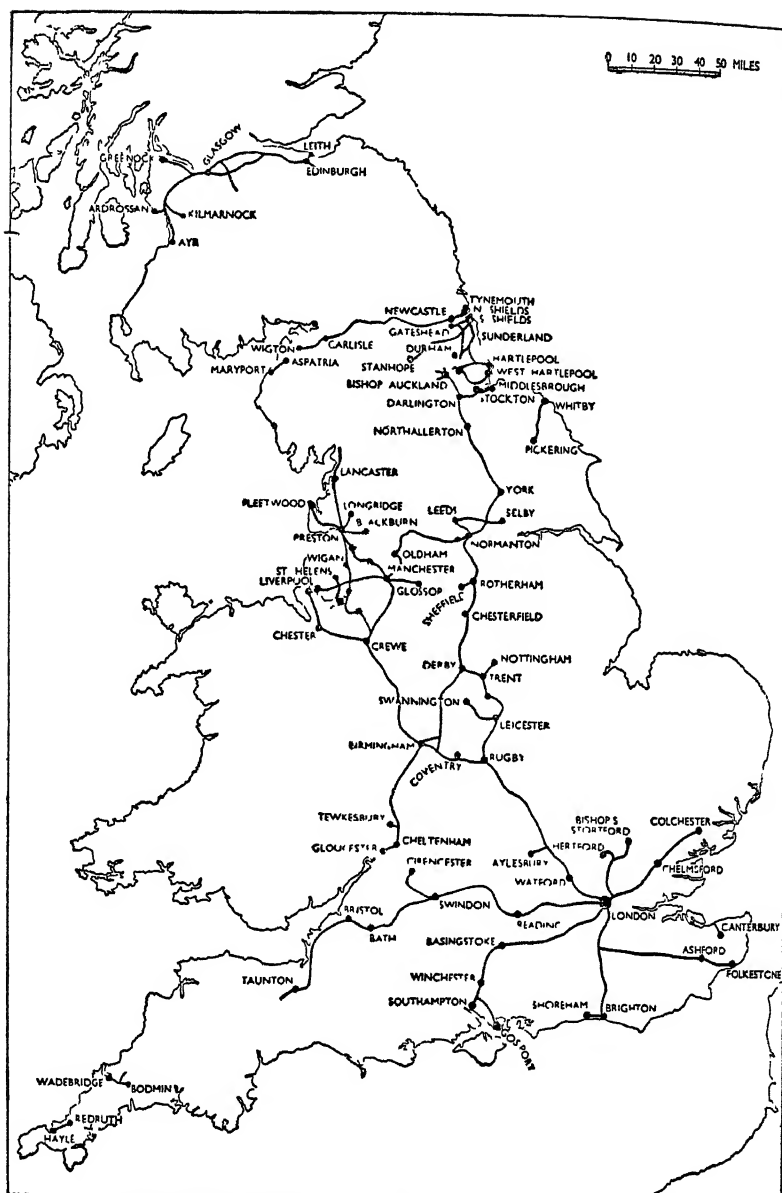
¹ Our cotton exports suffered terribly in the trade slump after the 1914-18 war. In addition, India produced her own cotton and put very heavy tariffs on Lancashire cotton. Thus, before 1914 India had imported 3000 million yards of cotton from England, and by 1937 she was only importing 334 million yards.

out previous centuries, been smelted by charcoal, and as the forests were used up, the price of this fuel rose. In 1760 coal and coke could be used, owing to an improvement in blast. *Henry Cort* discovered new ways of puddling iron, and thus by 1770 the "iron age" had begun.

Now it was only a step to the discovery of the use of steam, and *James Watt* is the man to whom we owe this. Steam
In 1769 Watt, a maker of mathematical instruments at Greenock, made the first efficient steam engine. At first it was used only for drawing up water, but soon it was given a "rotatory" and parallel motion, and could be used for manufactures. In 1790 the first iron ships had been built, and in 1812 one of the first steamers, the *Comet*, sailed down the Clyde. In this very same year Napoleon was embarking on his great Russian campaign. He hoped to win the mastery of the world by force of arms. The "nation of shopkeepers", whom he despised, were setting out on their campaign too, but it was one for peaceful prosperity.

Once the principle of steam-driven engines had been established, the railway age was at hand. In the year before Railways
Waterloo, *George Stephenson* made his first locomotive, which was one to carry coals, and it travelled at the rate of three miles an hour. When it was suggested that lines should be laid down all over the country, great opposition was set up, for landowners objected to the idea of such traffic across their estates. Parliament rejected the first Bill for the promotion of a railway (1818). But the pressure of the new inventions was too great. Already "cotton towns" were filling the north, population was leaping up,¹ and trade called for better transport. In 1825 the first railway was opened for traffic, the *Stockton and Darlington*, and next came the *Manchester and Liverpool Railway* (1829). Once the idea was safely launched, financiers saw in railways an excellent investment. Companies were formed, hundreds of thousands of pounds were put into the ventures,

¹ In 1801 at the first census, it was 9 million; in 1821, 12 million.



BRITISH RAILWAYS IN 1843. (Compare with the map on page 748)

and with extraordinary speed the land was covered with a network of lines.¹

The effect of the railways on industry was tremendous. Now the coal-fields could be opened up, especially in the north-east, and "heavy" industries could be developed wherever they were situated, since the railways could transport raw materials so easily. Thus by 1850 there were over 6000 miles of railway, linking up all the industrial districts of the north. Passengers carried in 1843 were 23 millions, in 1850 73 millions.

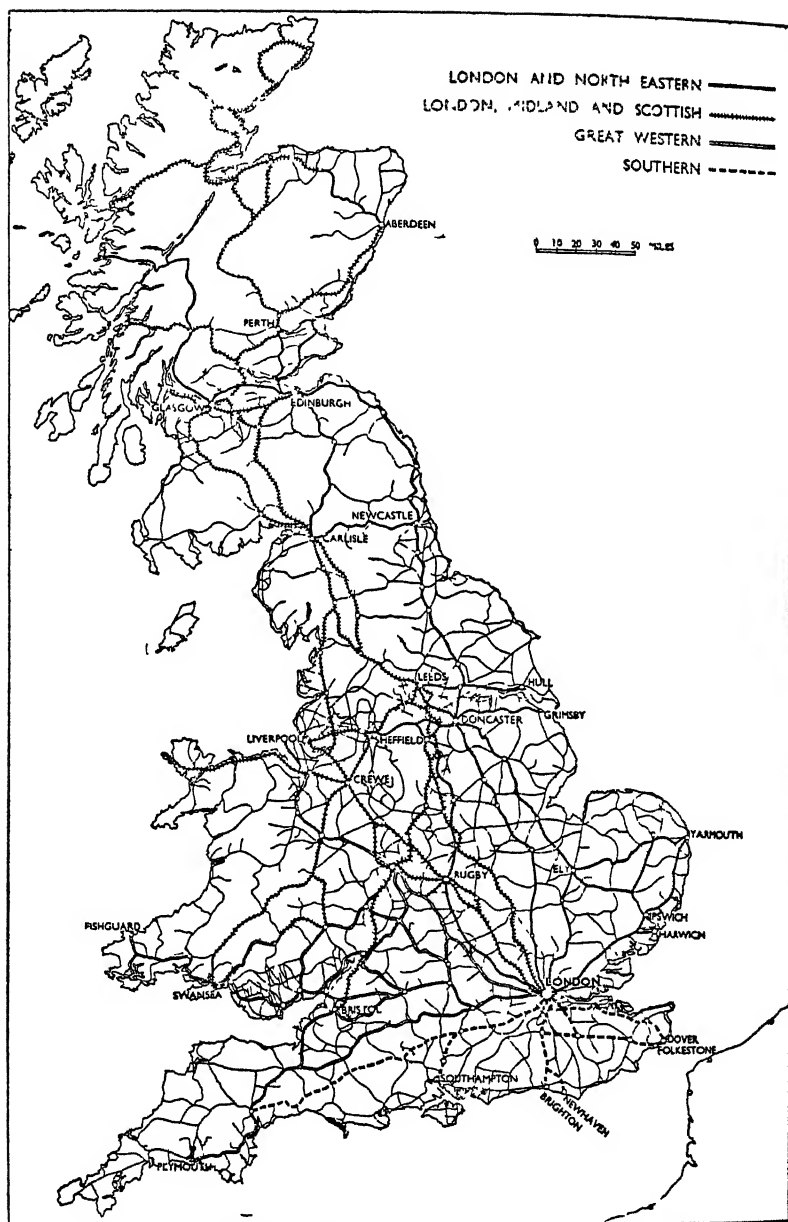
To look a little ahead, Queen Victoria, who was always enterprising, made her first journey by train in 1842. It was found that "third-class" traffic paid better than "first", since there were more passengers to use it, so the *Cheap Trains Act* (1846) laid it down that one train on each line a day must carry passengers for 1d a mile.

But railways did not go to every place, nor were they the only means of transport. *Canals* had carried much traffic, but now the railway companies bought them up, and usually closed them in order to rid themselves of competition.

They could not deal so with the roads, and parallel with the railway development came improvement in roads. *John Macadam* in 1811 demonstrated his new surfaces, and localities which were not yet industrialized, profited from the new roads. Dickens' novels show the great part played by the coaches which carried mails and passengers.

One final invention proved again the rule that improvements in an industry call out further advance. The great use of coal meant an extension of mining, and the discovery of the steam engine caused the introduction to the mines of machinery driven by steam. At first this increase in coal-mining produced accidents in the pits, and the loss of life was terrible till *Humphry Davy's* safety-lamp was invented

¹ The labourers who worked on the railways were called "navvies", from "navigators", the name given to the earlier workers on the canals.



BRITISH RAILWAYS AFTER 1901 (Compare with the map on page 746)

(1815) — it largely eliminated explosions of dangerous gases in the mines. The safety-lamp

We know that these new inventions were in the end to improve the lot of mankind, but at first they seemed to the workers to bring only evils in their train. Machinery was destined to cheapen production, and so in time create a larger demand for goods and gradually give rise to an ever greater demand for labour. But in the first years of the new century unemployment increased and the purchasing power of wages fell.¹ Opposition of workers

Starvation faced many, and in despair they took to violence. The "Luddite" riots, primarily due to the introduction of the new machines, occurred in the years 1811 and 1812 (called derisively after Ned Ludd, a village simpleton who was supposed to have broken some machines), and were put down with severity which too often became cruelty² 'Luddite' Riots (Note 122). Byron in the House of Lords pleaded for these men "meagre with famine and sullen with despair", but he was more merciful than the judges who sentenced such rioters as were caught. A terrible echo of these times comes to us in the story of a boy of fifteen who had acted as sentry to some rioters, and was sentenced to death, and who on the scaffold "called on his mother for help, thinking she had the power to save him". Yet these riots were only a beginning. For as the "post-war depression" of 1815-16 deepened, the temper of the people grew worse, in face of their helplessness. We have now to see how the Government, far from helping the working-classes, adopted a policy which increased their burdens.

¹ Wages during the war years rose in most industries, but not as fast as the cost of living. The case of the hand-loom workers was especially hard, because they were competing against the power-loom. Thus in 1787 a highly skilled weaver earned 26s 8d a week, in 1811 only 14s. 7d. These weavers could thus in 1797 buy 281 lb of food with their wages, and only 131 lb in 1811. Between 1790 and 1813, the cost of living, as measured in commodities, rose by 57 per cent.

² A very good description of home-weavers is given in *Silas Marner* by George Eliot, while excellent pictures of the machine-breaking riots are to be found in *North and South* by Mrs. Gaskell, and in *Shirley* by C. Brontë.

The
Govern-
ment's
attitude:
Castlereagh

The Prime Minister from 1812 to 1827 was *Lord Liverpool*, himself an amiable enough man, but he had no personality and was dominated by *Lord Castlereagh*. Castlereagh, though a "Liberal abroad" (see p. 756) was the opposite at home, and while his influence lasted there was misery leading to riots and disorders, which were merely suppressed, while no efforts were made to help the starving people. Yet all blame cannot be put on Castlereagh alone. Parliament supported him and urged him on. For in those days public opinion did not expect the State to cure the evils of poverty, and Parliament itself, lacking accurate information, did not know the extent of the social problem.

Financial
measures

One of the first acts of Parliament (actually at the instigation of the opposition), after peace was declared, was to remove the Income Tax. This had been introduced by Pitt as a war measure, and on these grounds it was now discontinued. As the *National Debt* had naturally grown enormously owing to the heavy war expenditure, great sums of money had to be produced to pay interest on the debt. Yet now this extra taxation was not raised "directly" from the richer classes, but was met by raising the customs duties on goods.

Starvation
and Poor
Relief

Moreover, the people suffered specially from changes in the price of food. The artisan class did not do so badly, but the agricultural labourer could not afford to buy many commodities. Then, even more than now, bread was the mainstay of the poorer classes, and the price of bread fluctuated.¹ Parliament was in the hands of the Tories, that is to say of the owners of land. If the price of wheat were high, landlords could charge the farmers high rents. True, they declared that in this way they kept agriculture alive and employed the labourers, but the effect of the high price of corn was felt by the village labourer even more severely than

¹ It was very high after bad harvests, such as that of 1816. The price of corn, for instance, after the good harvest of 1815 went down to 55s a quarter and after a bad harvest in 1817 went up in June to 111s. In 1822 it fell as low as 34s.

by the town labourer, as his wages were far lower. Indeed, the situation had been such that some years before (in 1795) at one place in Berkshire, *Speenhamland*, the magistrates of the district decided to give relief in proportion to the price of corn and the number of children in the family. This was meant to keep the large family of the very poor man from starvation, but being widely copied, it ended by meaning that farmers and employers paid very low wages, knowing that their workpeople could get this relief to supplement their wage.

Speenhamland
(1795)

As the years passed, things seemed to grow worse. With the coming of peace, other nations began to compete with our shipping and develop their own manufactures. Foreign countries began to send their corn into England. The landlords would have none of this. They saw the price of corn fall by half, and many farms which had flourished in the high-price time of war, now no longer paid. Something had to be done about it, and, in 1815, the first *Corn Law* was passed, which forbade foreign corn to be imported into England until the price of English wheat was 80s. a quarter. This same year saw unemployment reach greater proportions than ever before. Conditions, of course, varied in different localities and different industries, but by 1816 the state of the nation was such that poor relief had risen from under two million pounds in 1790 to nearly eight million pounds in 1816.

Corn Laws
passed

William Cobbett, who himself was a countryman, in his famous *Rural Rides* describes the condition of England. Thanks to his wonderful prose, the places he passed through live in our minds. He devoted all his great gifts and his unbounded energy to stir up the spirit of revolt against such conditions, using his paper the *National Register* for his propaganda.

Nor were the town-dwellers very much better off. As the textile industry had developed with the new machines, so "factory" towns appeared; builders now ran up rows of

Condi-
tions in
the towns

squalid houses, and the great mills belched out smoke overhead. In these factories, men, women, and children worked for long hours, there being no limit fixed till 1819, and even then the legal twelve hours a day was exceeded, for there was no means whatever of enforcing the Act. The workers could not combine, for that was forbidden by the *Combination Laws*.¹

One specially difficult thing to understand is that some men, good and broad-minded in other respects, saw no need for preventing this state of things. *John Bright*, who later worked so hard to have the Corn Laws repealed, and *William Wilberforce*, who devoted his whole life to freeing the slaves, both opposed the Factory Acts. They thought that liberty was so precious that workers and employers should be free to arrange matters between them; and they believed further that the better employers would by their success force bad ones to improve their conditions. This policy of leaving *capital* and *labour* to settle their own affairs was called *laissez faire*, but it cannot be called a success, since "labour" was not strong enough to defend itself. And when such men as these disbelieved in State action, it is easily understood how the Tory Government would react. The upper and middle classes had been genuinely terrified by the excesses of the French Revolution; they were partly ignorant of the sufferings of the workers; they had no trained body of civil servants to deal with the problems, and no traditions to induce them to attempt remedies through State action.

3. REPRESSION AND REVOLT

Such misery as the people were suffering was hard to bear. Yet no help came, and no redress, and finding Parliament obdurate, the leaders of the people began to work for reform

¹ These Acts punished "any working man who combined with another to gain an increase in wages or a decrease in hours."

of Parliament itself. The *Radical* party appeared, so called because it wished for "radical reform". It included writers such as Cobbett, speakers such as "Orator" Hunt,¹ and the great lawyer *Jeremy Bentham*, who wrote the *Catechism of Parliamentary Reform*. The starving miserable people eagerly joined in the movement. Meetings were held in the great towns, and soon trouble broke out (*Note 124*).

In London, during November of 1816, a great crowd met at *Spa Fields*, Bermondsey, demanding universal suffrage. It formed in procession and set off to "capture the Tower". Needless to say, it was easily dispersed and broken up, but the Government, seeing a resemblance to the French attack on the Bastille, was genuinely terrified. Riots were reported from the Midlands and from Glasgow, and the Government decided on most vigorous methods to deal with the disorders. Not content with arresting and executing the leaders of "mobs", when they could catch and convict them, in 1817 they suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. That Act is always reckoned one of the safeguards of British liberty, for under it a man cannot be imprisoned without trial. The suspension of the Act meant that the Government could pounce on anyone and put him in prison, and that he could have no redress for he could not claim to be tried, so of course could not prove his innocence.

Riots
and
repression

Still trouble increased. The first "unemployed march" came when a band of men set out (January, 1817) from Manchester, to bring a petition to the Government. They were called the *Blanketeers* as each man carried a blanket to sleep in. Their leaders were arrested at Derby, and the march brought to a stop. Then, in 1819, the Radicals arranged for a great public meeting to be held in Manchester, at which "Orator" Hunt was to speak. Here over 50,000 people met, at St. Peter's Fields, to ask for Parliamentary reform. The magistrates were frightened, and ordered the Yeomanry

The
"Man-
chester
Mass-
acre"
(1819)

¹ So called to distinguish him from the writer, Leigh Hunt, also a Radical.

first to arrest Hunt, and then to disperse the crowd. The soldiers obeyed, and in the enclosed space hundreds were injured and eleven killed, including two women and a child. The bitterest resentment was bred by this "Manchester Massacre" and the people nicknamed it *Peterloo* in mocking comparison with Waterloo.

Completely terrified by the lawlessness which they found was increasing, the Government thought only of repression. The *Six Acts*, or as the people called them the *Gag Acts* (Note 123) were now passed. The most important of these Acts forbade public meetings of more than fifty people, unless the Mayor or Lord Lieutenant agreed that they should be held; duties were put on newspapers and pamphlets, so that as printing became expensive, that means of airing grievances would be checked; magistrates could order private houses to be searched for arms. This panic legislation cannot be justified by fear of "French revolutionary ideas", for the war had ended four years earlier, and revolutionary France had been not only crushed but put back under the rule of the reactionary Bourbon kings. If open political agitation is made impossible, it is driven underground, and becomes plotting.¹ After the Six Acts came the *Cato Street Conspiracy* (1820). A band of men, headed by *Arthur Thistlewood*, met in a little street off Edgware Road in London and planned to assassinate the Cabinet at a dinner party, to seize the Tower, and to set up a Republic. The plot was discovered and some of the conspirators executed.

In Scotland the *Battle of Bonnymuir*, as it was called, took place. Instigated by the Government secret agents, some miners armed themselves, but were easily scattered by a troop of soldiers.²

For this repressive policy, Castlereagh must bear a large

¹ This is the time when the Government used spies, such as the notorious "Oliver", who went round acting not only as spies but as *agents provocateurs*.

² One of those executed was Andrew Hardie, ancestor of Keir Hardie, destined to be the first leader of the Labour Party and first working-man M.P.

share of responsibility. True, he was not the head of the Government, but his was the strong character which hustled the weak Prime Minister along this path. He believed in ruthless putting down of disorder, and he saw that his ideas were carried out. The people hated him, and the poets lashed at him with scorn.¹ When he committed suicide in 1822, he had become so hated that a jeering mob howled with delight at the sight of his coffin being carried through the streets of London. His death marks the end of a bad period.

Death of
Castlereagh

4. FOREIGN POLICY OF CASTLEREAGH

Castlereagh had been Foreign Secretary since 1812. He had shown great energy and resolution in carrying on the opposition to Napoleon. He had largely brought about the Fourth Coalition, which finally defeated France, and he had been one of the most prominent figures at the great Congress of Vienna, which ended the war.

After 1815, England's foreign policy remained in his hands, and it has been said that he was "one of the very greatest and most constructive of British foreign statesmen".

Castlereagh's
foreign
policy
after
1815

(Note 125). The long war had left Britain determined to withdraw as far as possible from continental quarrels, and the country as a whole therefore upheld Castlereagh's main policy, which may be summed up as *non-intercession*. All Europe was afraid of revolutionary ideas, and all the absolute monarchs wished to revive their powers, which had been so shattered first by the French Revolution and then by Napoleon. Castlereagh was as strongly "anti-jacobin" as any man, but at the Congress of Vienna he had stood up for two principles — the recognition of Bourbon France, and the right of States to constitutional government.

Castlereagh acquiesced in the settlement which Vienna

¹ Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, all wrote bitter satires on Castlereagh and the Government.

Castle-
reagh
and
France imposed upon France. She had to revert to the frontiers she had held before the conquests of the Revolution and Napoleon; she was encircled by States which would check any possible aggression on her part; she was to have an army of occupation in her territory for five years. But he did not wish to see her kept out of the position to which as a great nation she was entitled, and he therefore pressed the view that, once it was definite that she had given up her "revolutionary" ideas, she should be received back into the ranks of the great powers. And there were no indemnities.

The
ongress
system He was also prepared to support the retention of constitutional government wherever it had been set up. For example, he insisted that though Poland was handed over to Russia, yet she should be guaranteed her own constitutional government.

Except for the Czar Alexander First, who showed (but not for long) signs of a vague liberalism, the autocratic rulers were not liberal-minded.¹ Furthermore, they were all afraid of a revival of militant revolution in Europe, and therefore were resolved to stamp out any tendency towards popular control. This led them to oppose all forms of constitutional government in the modern sense of the term, and to restore everywhere their own arbitrary power. The position might be summed up in the words "the little kings came out into the sun again". The Czar formed the "Holy Alliance" of Christian monarchs, but Castlereagh took advantage of the fact that the ruler of Great Britain cannot undertake responsibilities in his own person to prevent the Regent from signing that treaty, calling it "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense". But Castlereagh did believe whole-heartedly that the Great Powers of Europe should try to take joint action to prevent the recurrence of the horrors of war. His chief claim to fame lies in this, for he both acted as a "good European", rather than in the

¹ The Emperor's Liberalism was of a kind not unknown to Liberal autocrats "The Emperor," said one of his ministers, "would willingly have consented that everyone should be free, on condition everyone should do his will alone."

interests of his own country alone, and he endeavored to continue, as an instrument of peace, those meetings of the Powers which had been held by the Allies during the last campaigns against Napoleon and during the re-settlement of Europe after Napoleon's fall.

At first the practical aim of those meetings or Congresses was to ensure that the Peace of Paris was duly observed, and to attain this, Castlereagh maintained the *Quadruple Alliance* between Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain. The first Congress was held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* (1818), when it was admitted that France had ceased to disturb Europe and that the Bourbons were firmly re-established on the French throne. Accordingly, the army of occupation was withdrawn from France and she was re-admitted to the rank of a Great Power, and allowed to join a new Quadruple Alliance.

Europe might then have advanced peaceably, but unfortunately reactionary views were to create discord. In 1820 a revolution broke out in Spain, and the King, in order to save his life and his throne, was obliged to grant a very democratic constitution. The Czar, horrified at this, declared it was the duty of the Congress powers to intervene in Spain and put down the constitution. Castlereagh refused, and in a memorable state paper laid down that Britain was only committed to prevent the return of Napoleon to France, and that the revolution in Spain was a purely internal affair which it was no concern of Britain's to suppress.

Attacks
on
rebellious
subjects

Further revolutions now broke out in Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, and the Czar insisted that the powers of the Alliance must meet to deal with the situation. At *Troppau* in 1820, Castlereagh sent his brother to represent Britain. There the three Powers (Russia, Prussia, and Austria) issued a protocol, declaring that they "would never recognize the right of a people to circumscribe the power of their kings". Castlereagh not only refused to accept this protocol, he said it was "destitute of common sense", and when the Austrians entered Italy to suppress the revolutionary movements

there, Castlereagh declined to take any part in such proceedings.

This meant that Britain was now isolated from her former allies. One more effort was made by Castlereagh to save the situation. When the Greeks rose in revolt against the Turks, Metternich would have supported the rule of the Sultan, but the Czar was ready to help the Greeks who were his co-religionists. Castlereagh agreed that one more Congress should be called, to endeavour to settle the question without war. But before that Congress met (at Verona) Castlereagh was dead. In a breakdown from overwork he committed suicide in August, 1822, and with him died the last hope of the Congress System.

CHAPTER 57

GEORGE IV (1820-1830) AND WILLIAM IV (1830-1837)

1. THE "TORY REFORMERS"

George IV became King in 1820. His bad personal character, his selfishness and extravagance and general uselessness, made him disliked and despised. George was separated from his wife, *Caroline of Brunswick*. At his accession he tried to rid himself of her by causing the Government to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties, under which he could divorce her. His own immorality was so open and notorious that people's anger was aroused, and popular sympathy was on the side of the Queen. The bill had to be dropped, but at the Coronation, a fresh scandal was created. George refused to allow Caroline to be crowned, and she tried to force her way into the Abbey, but was prevented. He might have saved himself the contempt and anger his treatment of her created, for Caroline died only a few months later.

With Castlereagh's death in 1822, the discredited ministry broke up. Better days were hoped for, since the new

Government was formed of men who wished to deal with the universal discontent, not by mere savage repression, but by attempting to remove its causes. There followed a period of change and in many respects of advance. The man who now rose to power was *George Canning*, who became Leader of the House of Commons and the chief influence in the Cabinet, though the Premiership remained with *Lord Liverpool*. *William Huskisson*, an enlightened economist, became President of the Board of Trade, and a rising young man, *Robert Peel*, became Home Secretary. This new group of people broke away from the reactionary policy of the last decade and launched out on new ways (*Note 126*).

At home, a small beginning was at once made. First the *Combination Acts*, by which Pitt had forbidden workers to organize a strike, or to form Trade Unions, were repealed (1824). This was the work of *Francis Place*. He was a master-tailor of London, and a *Radical*, as the more extreme reformers were called, and he won over *Joseph Hume*, a Member of Parliament. Hume got the repeal carried through Parliament, and when employers came in deputation to point out the resulting strikes, which they said were ruining trade, Hume brought up counter-deputations of workers. It was made so clear that the workers had genuine grievances and should not be left at the mercy of their employers, that the repeal was confirmed. Working-men might now join together in association, but they must not "molest" workers who did not choose to join them.

Next Huskisson tried to remedy some of the ills of the widespread distress and starvation. He modified the *Navigation Acts* (finally abolished in 1849), and thus ships of all nations could bring goods to England, and freights and prices in consequence fell. He went further and lowered some of the duties on foreign goods coming into England. Yet how high those duties had been we can guess when we find that some of those left ranged from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. Huskisson did not wish Parliament to repeal the Corn

The
Tory
Reformers

Repeal
of Com-
bination
Acts
(1824)

Reduc-
tion of
customs

Laws altogether, but he did lower the duty on Colonial corn and introduced a sliding scale, and this was a little help. He gave preference to colonial products too, and subsidized emigration.

Desperate hunger had driven men to crime. Peel, the Reform of Penal Code
 new Home Secretary, now tried to improve matters by reducing the severity of the punishments inflicted by the law.¹ The *penal code* was so savage, and judges and magistrates so harsh in their administration, that in one year (1819) nearly ten thousand persons had been transported to Botany Bay. More than 200 crimes were punishable by death, including stealing a sheep, and picking pockets. This gradually, as opinion became more humane, produced the effect of causing juries to refuse to convict. Men would not condemn a fellow-creature to death for stealing five shillings. Hence the terribly severe penalties began to prove ineffective. *Sir Samuel Romilly* (1757-1818) and *Sir James Mackintosh* (1765-1832) had long worked for reform. Peel adopted Mackintosh's ideas. In 1828 the death penalty was abolished except for murder,² and the whole code softened. Mackintosh, when he later spoke of the changes due to Peel, said, "I could almost think I had lived in two different countries."

Canning's foreign policy
 Now we must turn to foreign affairs, for here the new spirit was more strongly marked, and achieved striking effects. That policy was decided by the man who was the most outstanding figure in the Government, the Foreign Secretary, Canning.

George Canning is one of the most attractive of British statesmen. His mother, whom he adored, had been an actress, and the more strict of the aristocrats of the period, such as Lord Grey, thought that this unfitted him to hold such an office as the Prime Ministership. His wit, which was sometimes cruel,

¹ The Game Laws used to be very severe. As late as 1816 an Act was passed punishing with transportation for seven years any person found by night in open ground having in his possession any net or engine for the purpose of taking any hare, rabbit, or other game.

² For a brief time it was also retained for forgery of a Bank of England note, for treason, and for arson in a royal dockyard.

also made him enemies. Undismayed by all the difficulties put in his way, Canning worked steadily up. He was ready to champion anyone who suffered, and perhaps for this reason he stood up for poor, vulgar, marginalized Queen Caroline in her quarrels with the worthless King. For this he was naturally in disgrace with George IV, and at last in despair had accepted the office of Governor-General in India, which would end his hopes of advancement in England. His ship was on the point of sailing, when news came that his enemy and rival, Castlereagh, had committed suicide. Canning was at once asked by the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, to become Foreign Secretary, and he accepted.

When people accuse Great Britain of hypocrisy, they usually mean that she has acquired territories for herself while pretending to champion the rights of others. Canning's career shows that that charge was untrue in the early nineteenth century. Great Britain, under his guidance, did stand out as a champion of oppressed countries, but she gained no territory by it. Europe was passing through an odious phase. The fall of Napoleon had meant the "restoration" of the old rulers. Back they had all gone, the Bourbons "in the baggage of the allies" as the saying went. The restored sovereigns had learnt nothing; they wished to return to absolute monarchy as it had been before the French Revolution. Austria, under Metternich, had made it her business to support this reaction with all her might (believing that in such an Empire as Austria, with her many races, he could only hold the State together by combating nationalism¹), and not only France, but Spain, Portugal, Naples, and the little States of Italy and Germany, were now pushed back under the power of rulers who were sometimes not only stupid but cruel. Thus when the *Congress of Verona*

Canning
and the
reaction-
ary kings

¹ Metternich's two points were — and there was something to be said for his attitude in both of them: (1) that the Austrian monarchy, with its heterogeneous possessions, was like "an old house which would fall in pieces if you tried to repair it;" (2) that revolutions are infectious and must therefore be put down whenever they occur. "When France has a cold," he said, referring to the Revolution in France, "Europe sneezes."

met in the autumn of 1822, it was decided that France should send an army to invade Spain and destroy the newly-granted constitution. Wellington was Great Britain's envoy, and acting on Canning's instructions, he declared that Great Britain utterly refused to be a party to any interference by force. France therefore acted by herself, sent an army across the Pyrenees, abolished the Spanish constitution, and restored the hateful Ferdinand to absolute power. Canning felt most bitterly the irony of seeing the Spaniards, who had fought so long beside the British in the Peninsular War, now slaughtered by the brutal Royalist armies at the command of the King whom Great Britain had helped to restore. When, in the next year, the restored King of Spain called for a Congress to discuss Spanish America, Canning refused to send any representative of Britain, nor would he send any representative to the proposed conference to discuss Turkey and Greece. His refusal to take part was the final blow to the "Congress System" from which Castlereagh had hoped so much. On Castlereagh's side it represented an effort to substitute peaceful settlement of difficulties for the miseries and stupidities of war, but it was an effort which failed. It broke down because the reactionary Powers tried to transform the meetings into a general "police system" of interference in other States and to interpret the co-operation of the Powers in the interests of peace as a crusade against constitutional government.

South America (1826)
Canning could not save Spain, but he could and did save her South American colonies. These colonies refused to accept Ferdinand. The King asked France and Russia to supply him with troops. Great Britain commanded the sea and could stop the transport of those armies. Canning showed that he would do so when he "recognized" the independence of the South American republics of Mexico, Peru, and Chile. "I called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the old," were his famous words.

Now the question of *Portugal* came to the fore. There

Dom Pedro was King, and his only child was a daughter. Portugal
In order to win support for her, Dom Pedro offered to grant a constitution and to abdicate if the people would accept her. He was opposed by his brother, Dom Miguel, an absolutist, who was backed by the reactionary rulers of Spain. Canning declared that any ruler could grant a constitution, and the constitutionalists appealed to Britain for help. Thus she was bound by treaty to give, and thus Canning sent a fleet and troops to Lisbon. The Spaniards were obliged to leave the country, Miguel was defeated, and the young Queen ascended the throne and granted a constitution (1827).

Growing bolder, Canning decided to champion liberty in The
Europe itself. The *Greeks*, long held down by the Turks, Greeks
rose to fight their War of Independence. Lord Byron was the most famous Englishman to volunteer to fight, and his death at Missolonghi roused passionate enthusiasm for the Greeks. But volunteers were not enough. At first Canning hesitated. Like so many statesmen, he dreaded lest the emancipation of the Balkans from the Turks would only give Russia the chance to step in. England feared Russia, and dreaded her arrival in the Mediterranean. But when it looked as if the Greeks must be overwhelmed, Canning decided to act. He joined with Russia and France, and sent the British fleet out to the Greek coast. There, at the modern *Navarino* (the scene in classical times of the more famous battle of Pylos), a chance shot started an engagement, fought just after Canning's death. The entire Egyptian-Turkish fleet was destroyed and Greece soon won her freedom (1827). The
Battle of
Navarino
(1827)

So it may be claimed that Canning worked to secure liberty for other countries. Whether he would have gone on to carry his liberal ideas into home politics, one cannot tell. In 1827 Lord Liverpool had a stroke, and George IV offered the premiership to Canning. He accepted it, but, before four months had passed, he too was dead.

Canning's untimely death led to a strange development.

Wellington,
Peel, and
Catholic
Emancipation

Office was taken by a Tory Ministry which was forced by stress of circumstances to go right against one of the strictest principles of Tory policy.

The *Duke of Wellington*, who still retained the great prestige he had won in the Napoleonic wars, was asked by the King to form a ministry. He did so, with Peel as Leader of the Commons. Wellington represented the stiff Toryism of the old school; Peel was, as we have seen, a reformer, yet they united in opposition to *Catholic Emancipation*, and both were now to be obliged to change their minds.

Religion still acted as a possible disability in public life, for neither Roman Catholics nor Nonconformists could hold any office under the State, or attend the universities.¹ Now a Bill was passed (1829), which freed Nonconformists from all restrictions. Roman Catholics, however, were still debarred, and at this point the state of affairs in Ireland forced the Duke and Peel to give the whole question reconsideration. For whereas in England the Roman Catholics were a very small minority, in Ireland they were the vast majority.

Ireland's
grievances

Ireland had for long been filled with burning resentment at the treatment she received. The Act of Union had been carried through in 1800 on the express understanding that Catholic Emancipation should be granted, but that pledge had not been honoured (see p. 715). Therefore the Irish found themselves with no parliament of their own, and they were "represented" at Westminster only by Protestants of the landlord class. These Protestant landowners showed no sympathy for or understanding of the grievances of the Irish Catholic peasantry.

Peel had been Chief Secretary in Ireland for six years (to 1815) but he had no sympathy with Emancipation, and indeed was considered by the Irish as so anti-Catholic that they nicknamed him "Orange Peel". He tried to keep

¹ Each year an "Indemnity Act" had hitherto been passed, to excuse Nonconformists from taking the oath.

order through *Coercion Acts*, and introduced the system of police, whom the Irish called "Boblin" after him.¹ He was opposed by one of the greatest men Ireland has produced, *Daniel O'Connell*, called by his followers "the Liberator".

O'Connell was a marvellous orator, and one of the kindest as well as one of the most popular of men. He opposed all violence, and he was determined to use only peaceful methods. He hit on the plan of inducing men to vote only for those candidates for Parliament who would promise to support Emancipation. Soon he went further. *Vesey Fitzgerald*, Member for County Clare, was in 1828 made President of the Board of Trade, and in consequence had to seek re-election. He was a Protestant landlord, but he favoured Emancipation and was personally popular. Now O'Connell decided to stand against him. He did so, and an overwhelming majority of freeholders voted for him, though, as a Catholic, he could not take his seat. This showed the absurdity of the system, and feeling began to run dangerously high. Huge meetings were held everywhere, and O'Connell's marvellous oratory aroused the wildest enthusiasm. It became clear that an explosion would come. In England itself the situation was threatening. Peel and Wellington were both opposed to Emancipation, but each of them became convinced now that unless it were granted, revolt would break out in Ireland, and might spread to England. Hours had to be spent in argument with George IV who believed Emancipation conflicted with his coronation oath to "maintain" the Protestant religion. Eventually he gave way,² Peel's Bill was passed, and Roman Catholics could now sit in Parliament (1829). The Army, Navy, Law, and so on were now open to them, and they were eligible for all offices

¹ The nickname followed the system to England, when Peel set up the Metropolitan Police in London in 1829.

² In order to win his consent, Peel had to agree to two things, the suppression of O'Connell's Catholic Association, and the disfranchisement of the freeholders in Ireland.

except those of Lord High Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Tories were naturally angry with their leaders, but accepted their judgment.

But these "reforms", helpful as they were, were not enough. The leaders of the opposition were determined to Demand (for "reform") strike at one of the roots of the trouble. The people had suffered cruelly, Parliament had not done enough to help them. Parliament, then, they said, must be changed, and power should not be left in the hands of the landowner and the rich.

In Great Britain the *system of representation* had not changed with changes in the population (*Note 128*). Thus each county still sent two members to Parliament, and a number of boroughs (towns) each sent two.¹ But as population had shifted, while representation remained unaltered, certain places still had the right to send members to Parliament although their inhabitants had dwindled away. (The classic example was Old Sarum, the landowner of the uninhabited "green mounds" of which could still send members up to Westminster). These were called "pocket boroughs" or "nominated" boroughs, for the owner or patron could nominate whom he chose.

Meanwhile, the great new towns, because they were new and had recently grown up, might have no representatives at all.

Clearly where such power lay in the hands of a few people, it was possible to control their votes. Bribery was extensively practised, and where a great local magnate could either bribe or influence the few local voters, the borough was called a "rotten borough", and a rotten borough could even put itself up for sale.

Only in a very few places, such as Westminster itself, was the franchise held by a considerable number of householders.

¹ In 1832 there were, for England, 84 county members and 409 borough members; and of the borough members 200 belonged to patrons and another 180 had been "bought".



Note (1) London returned four members

(2) Melcombe Regis and Weymouth returned four members between them

(3) Oxford and Cambridge Universities each returned two members.

COUNTIES

Yorkshire returned four members. All other English Counties returned two members each
Each Welsh Count, returned one member

In Ireland and in Scotland matters were, if possible, worse. When Pitt abolished the Irish Parliament he had to give a million and a half pounds in compensation to the owners of rotten boroughs; and the bulk of the Irish representatives were returned by about 50 great landowners. Scotland sent 45 members to Parliament, but they were chosen by a tiny number of voters, only 4000 for the whole country, and it was reckoned that those voters were controlled by 150 patrons.

Thus the Parliament of the early nineteenth century was not representative of the people.

There was the same injustice in the distribution of votes. The franchise (i.e. the right to vote) was held in the counties by people owning *freehold land* worth 40 shillings. In the towns there were all sorts of qualifications. In some towns the members were chosen by the Town Council.¹ In a few, they were chosen by those persons who had the hereditary position of "freemen" (burgage franchise) and in others by the owners of certain "ancient tenements". In other cases the franchise was very wide and gave the vote to any person whose house possessed a hearth on which a pot could be boiled, these persons being nicknamed "potwallopers".

The Whigs, led by Lord Grey, demanded parliamentary reform and the extension of the franchise. The new movement coincided with the accession of a new sovereign, for in 1830 George IV died.

He has long been despised as one of the most selfish and contemptible of our kings. He deserves that contempt, for he was capable of better things. He was no fool, and his one claim to credit is that he appreciated literature² and art. Yet, living at a time when no one could help but know that the people were suffering, the country hard-hit, and the need for wisdom and for economy supreme, he cared for

¹ In Bath, for example, where the corporation of 35 men returned the two members.

² His admiration for the novels of Jane Austen led him to keep a set of her books at each of his residences.

nothing but his own vulgar dissipations, and wasted hundreds upon thousands of pounds on his senseless amusements. The court which surrounded him and the men and women who were his companions, showed nothing but the low level to which such people could sink. The middle classes and the "common folk" knew all this and resented it. They might hope that his death would coincide with a move for reform.

2. THE GREAT REFORM BILL

It is more cheerful to turn to the men who were the openers of a new chapter. *William IV*, though somewhat eccentric (his nickname was "Silly Billy") was warm-hearted and was prepared to back parliamentary reform, now passionately desired by the country. Accordingly, *Lord Grey* in 1831 brought in his famous *Reform Bill*, which aimed at enfranchising the middle classes. It was carried by a majority of one at its second reading, amidst intense excitement.¹ When the Bill was amended in committee, Grey called for a fresh election, and the country showed its wishes by returning him with a larger majority. His Bill came triumphantly through the Commons, only to be thrown out by the Lords. Now people saw where they stood. Reform, which the nation at large demanded, was denied by the Upper House. London rioted and the mob attacked the Duke of Wellington. Bristol burst into revolt, and Birmingham threatened to send 20,000 men to march on London. Riots in Scotland were so bad that soldiers had to be sent north. Patiently Grey introduced a fresh Bill, and once more the Lords so mutilated it in Committee as to destroy its purpose. Grey resigned and the old Tory leader, Wellington, tried to form a ministry, but no one would take office. Grey once more brought in the Bill. This was one

¹ "You might have heard a pin drop," Macaulay wrote, "as Duncannon read the numbers. Then again the shouts broke out, and many of us shed tears. I could scarcely refrain." See the account in Macaulay's *Life and Letters*.

of the real crises of our history. If the Bill failed again, few doubted that open revolution would break out. Our Constitution has one curious safeguard for such an emergency. The Lords were against reform, but the King could create new lords from amongst the reformers. Grey asked that this should be done. William IV agreed.¹ Wellington, unwilling to see the Tory majority permanently swamped by the creation of more Liberal peers, advised his followers not to vote at all. Accordingly, in June 1832, the Bill passed (*Note 129*).

Terms of Reform Bill (1832) To Liberal enthusiasts the passing of the Reform Bill was the panacea for all human ills; even children, it is said, went about their playgrounds shouting, "The Reform Bill has passed!" To the Tories, on the other hand, the passing of the Bill seemed to foreshadow the downfall of Great Britain; and the Duke of Wellington expressed the opinion that in six weeks' time Lord Grey would be out of office, and that henceforward no gentleman would be able to take part in public affairs. Yet in itself the Reform Bill appears to us a mild measure. It abolished a great number of "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, a hundred and forty-three seats in all, and gave them to counties or large towns. The franchise in the counties was extended to copyholders² and *long leaseholders of lands worth £10 a year*, or to tenants-at-will of lands worth £50 a year, and in the boroughs to *holders of houses worth £10 a year*. But it is reckoned that under the Bill only one person out of every twenty-four of the whole population had a vote.

The Reform Bill of 1832, nevertheless, broke down the monopoly of power possessed by the landowning aristocracy, and by giving the vote to the middle class altered the

¹ "The King," so ran the document from the King, "grants permission to Earl Grey and to his chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill, first, calling up peers' eldest sons"

² A copyholder was almost as complete an owner of land as the freeholder. The land did not belong to him, but practically he could not be dispossessed of it without his consent. Copyholds were abolished in 1922.



PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION AS CHANGED BY THE REFORM ACT OF 1832

Boroughs returning two members after 1832 ● *Boroughs returning one member after 1832* ○

County members are indicated by numbers English Counties without numbers returned 4 members each

centre of gravity in politics. Moreover, once a Reform Bill was passed, other bills were bound to follow. In 1867 came the *second Reform Bill*, which gave the vote to the better-class artisans in the towns — and one in twelve of the population had a vote. And then, in 1884, the vote was given to the agricultural labourer in country districts and to nearly all men in towns — and one in seven had a vote. Finally, by Acts passed in 1918 and 1928, women got the vote — and so at the present time nearly two out of three of the population have votes. In fact, practically everyone has a vote who is not a minor, an alien, a criminal serving sentence, a lunatic, or a peer.

The Duke of Wellington's prophecy with regard to gentlemen ceasing to be able to take part in politics proved to be signally wrong. No doubt members after 1832 were drawn from a wider circle, and more merchants and more lawyers were elected than formerly, but the old governing families, and what is sometimes called the Public School Class still had, in the nineteenth century, great influence.¹ Though, however, the character of our legislators did not greatly alter, yet the character of legislation did. The period of quiescence in legislation came finally to an end. The rival programmes of each party were full of legislative promises, and to an increasing extent, as the franchise was extended, this legislation has been passed for the benefit of the working-classes. Moreover, the methods of politics changed. Reporters were admitted to the debates. The sessions were more protracted. Members became more regular in their attendance. Again, public meetings became far more common. Canning was the first great statesman to address them, but the prejudice against ministers in high office speaking in the country lingered for some time, and even as late as 1886 Queen Victoria objected to Gladstone addressing public meetings outside his own constituency.

¹ In the House of Commons of 1865 one-quarter of the members were connected with thirty-one families, and in that of 1900 one-quarter had been educated at Eton or Harrow.

CHAPTER 58

THE FIRST WHIG REFORMERS (1832-1841)

The passing of the Reform Act seemed at first to end the long period of Tory rule. The Whigs were in, and they were pledged to deal with the state of the country. They set to work at once and a period followed which can be taken as the beginning of a real attempt to improve social conditions (*Note 130*).

The first great problem to be tackled was that of the factories. Hard times had forced parents to let their children go to work in the new factories which now covered the north and midlands. There, children of 6 or 7 years old would work for 10 or 14 hours a day. They worked in the mines, too, for long hours, under the most terrible conditions. *Lord Ashley* (better known by his later title of *Lord Shaftesbury*) took up their cause. He was a man who, in his own home, rich and aristocratic as he was, had spent a very unhappy childhood. Moved by the evangelical teaching of his old Welsh nurse, the human being who had been kindest to him, he resolved to give his whole life to those whom he recognized as poor and oppressed. He embarked on a campaign to shorten the hours of work in factories. He was fought by the owners of factories and mines on the grounds that unless these children and women were employed for these long hours, the factories could make no profits. Even enlightened men such as Cobden and Wilberforce declared that it was better for these conditions to continue, than to shorten hours, and so bring about the closing down of the works. Parliament, however, moved by terrible accounts of the state of the children presented to them by a Commission, decided on legislation. The *Factory Act* of 1833, the first really effective Act, which dealt only with textile works, (1833)

such as cotton and woollen, forbade the employment of children under 9; limited the hours of those under 13 to 48 hours per week, and not more than 9 hours on any one day; and of those under 18 to 13½ hours. Four inspectors were appointed to see that these laws were kept. The arguments put forward by the owners proved fallacious. Factories did not close; on the contrary, trade flourished and expanded. Long hours and inefficient labour proved less profitable than the shorter times worked by adult labour, and the removal of the cheap child-labour, while raising the wages of adults, also raised the purchasing power of the working-classes.

The children thus set free from mine and factory, were now to be given the first step in *education*. Two private societies¹ had already set up schools in many districts. In 1833 the State gave £20,000 a year to these societies, and all children employed "part time" in cotton mills were to go to school for at least two hours a day. This was the beginning of the State education of its citizens.

Next to be dealt with came the *Poor Laws*. The terrible poverty of the early years of the century had led magistrates all over the country to follow the example of *Speenhamland* (see p. 751). "Out-relief", which meant payment of money to families in their homes, was granted so lavishly that the burden on the rates had become intolerable. Many farmers, ruined by the high rates, gave up their farms; agricultural wages, being supplemented from the rates, fell in some counties as low as 6s. a week, and "relief" became an expected part of the family income. It was clear that this system could not be continued. A commission of inquiry had been set up in 1832, the secretary and moving spirit being *Edward Chadwick*, and as a result a *Poor Law Amendment Act* was passed in 1834. This Act altered the system of *poor relief*, which had lasted since the days of Queen Eliza-

¹ The Church of England "National Society for Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England", and the Nonconformist "British and Foreign Schools Society".

beth. The most important point was the check imposed on "out relief". The new Act ordered the setting up of workhouses, into which the able-bodied "destitute poor" had to go, instead of receiving money and staying in their homes as formerly. Families were broken up (for the sexes were separated in the workhouses), and conditions deliberately made very unpleasant. The idea behind this measure was twofold. It was intended that the granting of help from the rates should bring with it such severe conditions that the poor would do all they could to struggle along.¹ Thus idleness and shiftlessness would be penalized. But, on the other hand, if workers could no longer get their wages made up out of the rates, employers would be obliged either to pay higher wages, or to see their workers go off to the new "workhouses". To a certain extent these hopes were fulfilled, but at the cost of terrible suffering. Modern legislation has swept away the system of 1834, and tried to solve the problem along other lines.

Another reform which had world-wide importance, was carried through. *Wilberforce*, though not in agreement with the Factory Acts, showed himself one of the most enlightened philanthropists of any age in his struggle for the abolition of *slavery*. If we sometimes wonder whether the world progresses, surely in the freedom given to the slaves we have a proof of real advance. *Wilberforce* first attacked the horrible slave trade, under which men who were free in their own country were caught, sold, and transported into slavery. This traffic had been prohibited by Great Britain in 1807, and in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, other European powers including France and Portugal were persuaded to do the same, and Spain forbade the trade after 1820. Slavery, however, still existed in the British colonies of Jamaica and in South Africa. Here there was an economic difficulty, for if the slaves were freed, how would the plantation owners

Abolition
of slavery:
William
Wilber-
force
(1833)

¹ Conditions were to be "as disagreeable as consistent with health".

run their estates on a paying basis? Slave labour is usually recognized now as inefficient and extravagant, but the ruin of the owners was a real problem. In 1833 slavery was prohibited in British Dominions and twenty million pounds were given as compensation to the owners. The slaves were to be "apprentices" for a while, but in 1838 they were completely freed. In South Africa the question led to great bitterness, for the Dutch regarded the natives as an "inferior" and therefore subject race. Quarrels over the compensation given led to the Great Trek and to much antagonism between Boers and British.

At this stage William IV dismissed Melbourne's government because he objected to its policy, and decided to call in the Tories. Peel was now head of that party, and already he showed signs that he too was a reformer. He issued what is called his *Tamworth Manifesto* — in an address made at that place, in which he declared that the Tories were fully prepared for reforms, but wished to go gradually. This was important, for it foreshadowed what has come to pass, that the two great parties would unite in social reforms. In 1834, however, the country was not prepared to believe in such a change of Tory policy, and at the election, though the Tories gained 100 seats, the Whigs came back.

Lord Grey, who had piloted political reform, felt himself too old to carry out an ambitious new policy, for he was over seventy, and he insisted on retiring and making way for *Lord Melbourne*.

Melbourne was himself an extremely attractive man. He was very handsome and rich, and had the support of an aristocratic family behind him. He loved power, and his wit and kindness enabled him to keep his party loyal.¹

Though himself too cynical to care deeply for reform, his ministry was now to bring in a whole series of great measures.

Two other reforms completed the work of the Whig

¹ Many sayings are recorded of him, one of the best known being his remark to his Cabinet: "It doesn't matter what we say, but we must all say the same thing."

ministry. In 1835 the *Municipal Corporations Act* gave ^{Other reforms} to a large number of towns a uniform type of Town Council elected by all male ratepaying householders. The municipalities could, if they chose, undertake the work formerly performed in some places by special committees, and provide their towns with sanitation, lighting, and other improvements. More was to be done later in this direction (see p. 852). These Councils were elected by a uniform qualification which gave control to the middle classes.

Another step was the setting up of the *penny post*. *Rowland Hill* had for long been agitating for the improvement of ^{Postage} the postal service. Expense and delay were still characteristic of the Post Office system at the time of Queen Victoria's accession. The charge for letters, for instance, from London to Windsor was 5*d.*; from London to Cambridge, 8*d.*; and from London to Durham, 1*s.* Letters could not be posted after seven o'clock at night, and their delivery was exceedingly slow.¹ The reforms made were due, above all, to Rowland Hill. He proved that the expense of a letter did not vary appreciably with the distance it was carried, and owing to his efforts the penny postage was at last introduced in 1840. The postmaster-general of the day opposed the change on the ground that, if it was made, the Post Office might have to convey not forty-two millions as they then did, but eight hundred and forty millions of letters annually—a number which would burst the walls of the Post Office. That particular number was exceeded threefold some forty years later, and a faint idea of the volume of business to-day may be gathered from the fact that the total weight of the stamps issued in an average year is almost 400 tons.²

Thus the Whig ministry of William IV made a good

¹ A letter written after 7 p.m. on a Friday night at Uxbridge, and posted at the earliest available moment, would not have reached Gravesend, distant only forty miles, before Tuesday morning.

² Or, put in another way, whilst every person received on the average only four letters a year at Queen Victoria's accession, each person on the average now receives 140.

Constitutional
effects of
reform

beginning in remedying some of the social ills of Britain. Now the King's reign closed, and a new period began. We can note here the change in our Constitution brought about by reform.

The Reform Act of 1832 shifted the balance of political power, in the sense that from then on the landowner was to lose his predominance. Gradually power was to be extended first to the middle classes, then in slow process of time to the working-classes, finally to include women. But reform shifted power in another sense too. The House of Commons became clearly the centre of authority. The House of Lords retained its theoretical rights unimpaired, for the Lords could still throw out and destroy a Bill sent by the Commons, but there was a subtle difference after 1832. In a trial of strength between the two houses, the Commons would win, and they could invoke the co-operation of the Crown, as was to be proved in the twentieth century.

The
Crown

The Crown in turn became recognized as possessing influence, but not power. The sovereign must accede to the request of a Prime Minister with the country behind him. The ruler could, and in fact did, possess knowledge and experience which might be useful to a Prime Minister. Queen Victoria's long reign was to give her much more experience than that of her ministers who came and went. The Queen saw all foreign dispatches, she was consulted on all foreign affairs, and she could intervene to avoid mistakes being made. (Once in 1861 she and Prince Albert suggested modifications in a dispatch to the U.S.A.; once she changed a proclamation after the Indian Mutiny.) Thus the Queen showed herself a constitutional monarch, and her influence was accepted and respected. She acted as a link between different parts of her Empire, and, above all, she made the Crown popular.

How necessary this was, the closing years of William IV showed. The King had no children. Princess Victoria was

the child of his brother next in age. But there had been no Queen since the days of Anne, and the next royal brother, the Duke of Cumberland, was suspected of being ambitious. Cumberland was hated beyond any individual in England. His arrogance, his cruelty, and his completely reactionary ideas made him detested by all. London was filled with, leaflets showing on the one side his harsh repellent features, on the other giving a portrait of the innocent-looking little princess. Had Victoria not been at hand, it is clear that there would have been a major upheaval. Luckily for the nation, Victoria could rally to her all that was best. She was young and she was a girl, and when William IV died in 1837, the nation with joy accepted her as Queen. Better days were hoped for.

CHAPTER 59

QUEEN VICTORIA (1837-1901)

THE FIRST STAGE — PEEL

Great Britain must be reckoned very fortunate in the personalities of the people who now came to the fore. The whole country had disliked the "Royal Dukes", the highly unattractive sons of George III.¹ People welcomed with relief the complete break brought about by the accession of a young girl, though they could not know that in actual fact she was to prove a wise and capable ruler. She was enormously helped, and through her the whole country, by the men who had the task of governing the country and starting the young Queen on her career. First, she had as

Queen
Victoria
and
Mel-
bourne

¹ But the Duke of Cambridge, grandfather of Queen Mary, made an excellent regent in Hanover until 1837, and on his return to England was, it has been said, "emphatically the connecting link between the throne and the people." The Duke of York, who was commander-in-chief for 10,000 days made the British army, according to Fortescue, its historian, "the most efficient in the world."

her Prime Minister, *Lord Melbourne*. He was very experienced, mellowed by age, and so attractive that the Queen readily made great friends with him. He encouraged her in her wish to do her best for her people, and he helped her to take up the routine of State business. But within two years of her accession, a crisis arose.

Peel and
the "Bed-
chamber"
crisis

The Whigs had gone far and fast in their reforms. The freeing of the slaves had led to a violent quarrel with Jamaica, and further trouble came over Ireland. As a result, the Whigs resigned, and *Peel* became Prime Minister as head of the reformed Tory party, now to be called *Conservative*. Peel had two avowed objects; he had to get the country's finances in order, and he meant to maintain the Corn Laws. He was to prove himself a most enlightened patriot, and to sacrifice not only his career, but even his party, to what he believed to be the interests of his country. But unluckily for himself, he had the hard, cold manner which many shy people sometimes put on to cover up their real feelings. This made him difficult to get on with, and very few people either knew him as he really was, or cared for him. The young Queen disliked him at once, and he made mistakes in dealing with her. Thus, at the very beginning (in 1839) he insisted that the Queen should dismiss two of her ladies-in-waiting, who were of the Whig party, and replace them by Tories. Victoria indignantly refused, and as a result Peel refused to form his ministry. This quarrel, known as the *Bedchamber Question*, postponed Peel's ministry for two years, but in 1841 Melbourne retired for good, and Peel's real period of office began (*Note 133*).

Peel as
Prime
Minister

Robert Peel was the younger son of a wealthy manufacturer. He had an excellent business head, and was a man of wide culture and very great ability.¹ Besides his

¹ When still a boy at Harrow he used to listen to the debates in the House of Commons. At Oxford he had worked very hard, studying just before his examination some eighteen hours a day, and he was the first Oxonian who obtained a double first in Classics and Mathematics, this was not possible before owing to the system of examinations.

intellectual gifts, he had one other valuable characteristic — he had the type of mind which can see that strongly held views may be mistaken. He could in fact change his mind, and therefore his policy. This trait was not only one source of his greatness, but was also the cause of his ultimate fall.

He had first taken office under Lord Liverpool in 1822, as Home Secretary. Here his great task was the reform of the *Criminal Code* (see p. 760). When Wellington became Prime Minister Peel was his most eminent supporter. He had been strongly opposed to Catholic Emancipation, but the success of O'Connell in Ireland convinced him that he was wrong. He came over to Emancipation and helped Wellington to carry the measure (see p. 764).

Peel's
early
career

Now he was himself head of the Government, and his great abilities had full scope. He was an excellent speaker, and his skill and tact in managing Parliament made him, in Disraeli's opinion, the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived. His immense powers of work, the clearness of his intellect, and his great experience enabled him not only to spend eight hours a day in the House of Commons attending the debates, but also to conduct a huge correspondence as well as to supervise, to an extent which no subsequent prime minister has probably ever attempted to equal, the affairs of the various departments of State. Mr. Gladstone thought Peel's ministry "a perfectly organized administration". "Neither the Grand Turk nor a Russian despot," said Cobden, the free trader, "had more power than Peel."

Peel's administration has been called "one of the most memorable administrations of the century", and his chief successes were won in the economic sphere.

To begin with, Peel saw that more money must be raised by *direct taxation* (Note 134). Taxes on goods fall largely on the working-classes, simply because they outnumber the others and therefore are the largest consumers. In Peel's

Financial
measures:

- day taxes were levied on almost all goods, and thus the burden of taxation was unjustly distributed (since the well-to-do only paid their taxes on consumption of goods). Peel imposed an *income tax* of 7*d.* in the £. Pitt's early income tax had been a war-measure, and had been removed when peace came. Now Peel imposed a direct tax on incomes. He then turned to the other side of the question, and set to work to reduce tariffs. He reduced 1000 duties and abolished over 600, this in itself showing what the burden had been. At once trade revived — for the duties had often made goods so expensive that the market for them ceased, and the gigantic number of officials needed to collect the dues, and to check smuggling, added to the expenses of government. The reduction of duties not only relieved government expenses, but also caused a revival in trade and a general fall in the cost of living. Finally, Peel passed the *Bank Charter Act* (1844) to set the currency in order. This Act limited the number of bank notes which could be issued, and allowed the Bank of England to issue these notes only in proportion to the gold reserve it held. This measure prevented inflation, and connected the management of currency, through the Bank, with the Government.
- (a) *Income Tax*
 - (b) *Tariffs*
 - (c) *Currency*

Now, too, came a series of acts carrying on the reforms of the Whigs in social conditions. *Lord Shaftesbury* (p. 773) had worked untiringly, and the Commission to investigate into the mines now presented its report. So horrifying were the conditions revealed that the conscience of Parliament, and of the nation, was startled. Children under 12 worked for 16 hours a day,¹ and women and children alike acted as beasts of burden, pulling tubs laden with coal. The Act of 1842 prohibited the employment underground of women and girls, and of boys under 10. Inspectors were appointed to see that the law was observed.

The second *Factory Act* (1847), passed in Russell's

¹ The owners declared that they could not run the mines at a profit without child-labour. Children under 8 did not pull "tubs", but sat opening the doors or "traps" in the workings.

ministry, introduced the Ten-Hour Day. This really applied only to women and persons under 18, but as the work of the factories depended so largely on these two classes of employees, it meant that the factories could not work longer hours, and the men therefore benefited as well. (b) Factory Act (1847)

Britain thus embarked on a period of reform, and the country seemed to be entering upon an era of prosperity Ireland after such troubled years. Less happy was the condition of Ireland, and from the West came trouble which was eventually to overwhelm Peel and his party. Peel had been Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he had been brought much into contact with O'Connell, the "Liberator", so beloved of the Irish. Through O'Connell's efforts the Roman Catholics had won emancipation (p. 764), but they desired more. When Peel became Premier in 1841, O'Connell hoped the time had come for further concessions. He desired the repeal of the Union, and he wished Ireland to manage her own affairs. He did not want to break away from Great Britain; he was perfectly loyal to the Crown, and he was, indeed, extremely enthusiastic in his devotion to the young Queen. But he wished for an Irish Parliament and objected to the country being ruled by a Viceroy and Chief Secretary who took their orders from the Cabinet and Parliament at Westminster. O'Connell's agitation took the form of great meetings.¹ The movement grew and gathered strength. Peel was resolved to crush it. He "proclaimed" one of O'Connell's largest meetings, and forbade it to be held. O'Connell would never go against the law, and he accepted the prohibition, thus, as it turned out, losing all the support of the more extreme elements. Peel then went further and had O'Connell arrested for sedition (1843). The first trial ended in conviction, and O'Connell went to prison. On appeal, the House of Lords reversed the sentence. O'Connell,

¹ No disorder ever occurred at any of these meetings, except that on one occasion the retiring crowd trampled down the stall of an old woman who sold ginger-bread. The meetings generally terminated with enthusiastic cheers for the Queen.

however, was completely broken. He could not win back his power over his people, and died in retirement.

Ireland was to have a strange revenge on Peel.

She was a terribly poor country, and the peasants depended mainly on potatoes for their staple food. Now in The
Famine
(1845) 1845 a fearful disease appeared and attacked the crop. Men would go out to their fields and would suddenly catch a faint sickly smell borne on the wind. Then, beneath their eyes they would see their potato plants turning black and sinking away into slime. Starvation fell upon the whole wretched country. The obvious remedy was to import food, but importation was checked by the Corn Laws imposed by Great Britain.

Anti-
Corn
Law
League In England agitation had already been raised against these laws. *Richard Cobden* had joined with *John Bright* to form a great League, founded in 1839, to press for repeal. Cobden was a hard-headed, clear-speaking manufacturer, an excellent hard at drawing up pamphlets and leaflets, which through the penny post he could distribute up and down the land. Bright was a member of Parliament, and reckoned one of the great orators of the day.¹ These two stirred up one of the most effective political campaigns that has ever been known. Meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country. They could point to two damning facts. The poor needed food, and the price of bread was high, while the landlords profited from the high price of wheat. Plenty of foreign corn could be brought in, but that would mean a fall in the price of corn. On the other hand, Protectionists could urge that mill-owners wanted cheap corn because it meant cheap wages and that therefore they would be able to sell their cotton cheaper throughout the world and so increase their profits. There was, no doubt, exaggeration on both sides. Peel had himself gradually become convinced that the system was wrong and that the Corn Laws should

¹ His speech on the Crimean War contained a phrase which has won immortality: "The Angel of Death is abroad in the land. We can almost hear the beating of his wings."

be repealed. His party, however, was composed of landowners. The Irish famine forced his hand. In that country in 1846, each week nearly 3000 people were dying in the workhouses alone.¹ England herself could send no corn, for her crops were ruined by rain. Cobden said these rains "washed away the Corn Laws", for Peel hesitated no longer, and decided for Repeal. His Cabinet would not agree, and Peel resigned.

There was a brief interval when the Whigs tried to form a ministry, but here again landlords would not agree to the import of foreign corn, so *Lord John Russell* declined office. Peel came back, thinking the way clear. He was mistaken. In his party was the ambitious young Jew, *Benjamin Disraeli*, who led a revolt of the Tories against their leader, claiming that Peel was "betraying the party". For the landowners it must be said that many honestly considered that repeal would ruin agriculture and therefore injure the country. Peel, however, remained convinced that the Corn Laws were against the interests of the people, and he was firm in his resolve not to let party considerations come before those of the nation. Deprived, through Disraeli, of the support of some of his own party, he turned to those of his opponents, the Whigs, who also favoured repeal. With their help the repeal of the Corn Laws was carried (1846).

Peel tried to convince his party that this was both inevitable and part of a comprehensive plan, for not only were the corn duties reduced to 1s., but taxes on live stock, meat, cheese, and butter were abolished, as well as duties on many manufactured goods. His efforts were vain. Disraeli pursued him unrelentingly, calling the Government "organized hypocrisy", Peel himself a "sublime mediocrity", and finally joined with the Whigs in defeating him over another measure. Peel resigned the Premiership. Lord John Russell and the Whigs came into office, and later (1852)

¹ In the four years 1845-49, the population of Ireland fell through deaths and emigration, by almost 2 million, and decreased from 8,300,000 to 6,600,000.

Lord Derby. This victory of the *Protectionists*, as they called themselves, over the "Peelites" did not last long. The Tory party split could not be healed, and in 1846 the Whigs came into power.

Peel himself continued as a member of Parliament, and his calm acceptance of the situation won him great respect.¹ But a riding accident killed him in 1850, and the fortunes of the party passed into the custody of the young man who had brought about his political eclipse.

Disraeli's triumph over Peel, however, brought disaster to himself, for the split caused in the Tory party had the effect which might have been foreseen. Peel's friends were some of the ablest men of the day. *Gladstone*, the "rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories", was devoted to his leader, while the tough old *Duke of Wellington* was equally loyal. These men and many others could not forgive Disraeli and would not work with him. So the Tories could not keep a majority, and the Whigs triumphantly returned to power.

CHAPTER 60

WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENTS — CHARTISM: TRADE UNIONISM: CO-OPERATION

The period of Peel's ministry coincided with a time of distress, and the name of the "Hungry Forties" clings to that decade. A strange contrast was being worked out in the lives of the different classes. While exports, shipping, coal and iron production flourished and the manufacturers grew rich, the workers were hit by dear bread due to

¹ Peel himself, in the speech he made when he resigned, summed up the situation "I leave a name severely censured by many who from no interested motives adhere to the principle of protection, I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist — but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with goodwill in the homes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their bread . . . when they eat abundant untaxed food, sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

bad harvests. The years to 1840 saw an immense transference of population. England swung over from a nation with life based on an agricultural population, to one based on towns. Hence her problems altered and became those of town dwellers and workers. Thus the industrial north experienced a "hunger-revolt", intensified by the dislike for the new Poor Law. This led to the formation of working-men's associations to "benefit politically and socially and morally the useful classes", and this in turn gave rise to the interesting movement known as *Chartism* (Note 131). This strange interlude, though it ended in failure and was ridiculed at the time, later came to be treated with more respect, for it showed that the working-classes were waking up to the desire for political power and were combining together to obtain it. They realized that the reforms of 1832 had enfranchised only the middle classes, and had done nothing for the workers.

In 1838, *William Lovett*, a skilled craftsman, drew up the "People's Charter", which he hoped might be passed by Parliament. This Charter demanded six concessions — manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of property qualification for members, equal electoral districts, and annual parliaments. Most of these points have now been granted, and, indeed, we now have what the Chartists did not visualize — universal suffrage for both men and women. In those days many, especially amongst the labouring classes, rallied to the democratic ideals of the Chartists. The movement itself had two sides, one of which worked along peaceful lines and helped to win its cause by persuasion. This section was led by William Lovett himself and concentrated on drawing up petitions to Parliament, which invariably rejected them.¹ A more violent section believed that "force"

The
People's
Charter

¹ The first petition (1839) contained 1½ million signatures and was rejected by Parliament by 255 votes to 45. The second Chartist petition, in 1842, was said to contain nearly 4 million signatures, and was rejected by Parliament by 287 votes to 49.

Feargus O'Connor alone would win the day, and this was headed by *Feargus O'Connor*.¹ For ten years from 1838, the movement grew steadily and thousands joined it. Then in 1848 revolution broke out all over Europe, and at first it seemed as if England would catch the infection. O'Connor, who had a great gift of wild oratory, raised crowds to frenzy. He became more and more extreme. The Chartists, under his influence, refused to work for the repeal of the Corn Laws, declaring that the men who worked for the League were the manufacturers who wanted the Corn Laws abolished only in order that they could lower wages. Political reform was their goal. A third monster petition was drawn up and was to be presented to Parliament by large deputations from all over the country. It was said to contain 5½ million signatures, and this at a time when many of the working-classes could not read or write. Great expectations were aroused by the idea of this petition, and great apprehension was felt by the Government. The Duke of Wellington collected troops, and when the procession approached Westminster it was forbidden to cross Westminster Bridge. Torrents of rain fell on the disappointed crowds, which melted away without giving any trouble. The hopes of the petitioners vanished as speedily, for when the lists of names were examined, many were found to be forgeries, and the whole thing was brought to ridicule when such names as "Queen Victoria" and "Wellington" were found scrawled in. Yet, though people laughed at the Chartists then, we can perhaps better sympathize with them now. We can see how comparatively little was to be feared from "revolution" in England, for while the rest of Europe saw fighting and bloodshed, our very mild efforts scarcely troubled political life.

Actually the country was settling down to a time of peaceful development. We have learnt that trade follows what economists call a "cycle", that is to say "slumps" are

¹ He spoke, he said, "to the unshaved chins, the blistered hands, and fustian jackets of the genuine working-man."

followed by "booms", and now the years of depression were followed by prosperity. The repeal of the Corn Laws did not ruin agriculture, for the workers of the whole country were prospering as trade revived, and had more money to spend, while the growth of population increased the demand for goods and for corn. It was the content due to prosperity, which made the working-classes lose interest in the Chartists' demand for political reform.

In addition, the Chartists did not appeal to all sections of the working-classes, many of whom found an outlet for their energies in, and hoped for more from, the reforms to be obtained through two other movements, *Trade Unionism* and *Co-operation*.

Robert
Owen:
Trade
Unions

Both these were influenced by the ideas and work of *Robert Owen*, a most remarkable man, and one who has been hailed as the founder of British Socialism. Owen was a Welshman who went to Scotland and there set up a model factory at New Lanark.¹ He came to believe that if men were to combine instead of competing, production could be so developed and distribution of wealth so equalized, that poverty would disappear. He was convinced, too, from his own experience, that decent conditions produced decent citizens. Good wages, good housing, clean conditions of work, and opportunities for education, transformed his own workpeople at Lanark. So he came to preach the idea that good environment and social justice could transform the populace.

He considered that the beginning of this programme must be made by uniting the workers in Trade Unions. This was made legal in 1824, and as the workers realized that the Reform Bill of 1832, which they had so ardently supported, brought no benefit to them, they began to join the Unions in great numbers. In 1833 Owen had the idea of amalgamating all these small bodies, and he there-

¹ He took many of his ideas from *Political Justice*, a book written by Godwin, Shelley's father-in-law.

fore founded the "Grand National Consolidated Trades Union", which was joined by every class of worker from "farm labourer to sweeps and bonnetmakers". Owen thought that the Unions could take over industry and run it co-operatively, and he would not countenance strikes. When the employers, frightened at the new movement, began to "lock out" its members, it all fell to pieces and collapsed. Trade Unionism had to develop along different lines from those of Owen's dreams. Moreover, the employing class were now growing vindictive. They saw, and dreaded, the power which combination might give. They could not now openly forbid men to organize for the improvement of their conditions, but they tried to injure the Unions in another way. In 1834 began a set of prosecutions against men who "took an oath" in support of their Unions.¹ The climax came in the case of the Dorset labourers of Tolpuddle. These men were arrested in 1834 for swearing men into a Union which intended to join the Grand Consolidated. For this they were sentenced to seven years transportation.

The Tol-
puddle
Martyrs

The other working-class movement which indirectly derives from Owen, had a far more prosperous future. He had begun, in London, an experiment in "co-operative selling". Members of his "society" took to a central "store" the goods which they produced. They were paid for their labour, and the goods were sold at that "cost price" with a small charge for the expenses of running the store. The experiment was a great success for a time, and then failed owing to difficulties over Owen's personality. Yet his idea lived on, and a new start was made by a little group of men in Lancashire. There, at Rochdale, in 1844, a band of weavers joined together to open a little store in Toad Lane. They combined to buy jointly first food, then general goods which they needed. By this joint buying they could get

co-opera-
tion

¹ These actions were taken under an "Unlawful Oaths Acts" of 1797, a panic year.

things cheaper. They called themselves the *Rochdale* The Rochdale Pioneer *Pioneers*. The idea spread, and, soon, from simply buying they went on to manufacture. From that handful of men, meeting in a little back lane, came a whole new idea — to produce for use and to do away with private profit. Thus, a “co-operator” paid for his goods, and then received back the “profit” which would have been made by a private trader. (This returned “profit” was called “dividend”.) The scheme worked because the “consumer” for the first time was organizing and controlling “production”. So great has the movement grown that to-day it is reckoned that one-third of the people of England belong to co-operative stores which are managed by the members themselves, and the Co-operative Wholesale Society is the largest single manufacturing concern in the land. The idea originated in England, but it has spread over the whole world.

While the working-classes in this way abandoned the political agitation for the Charter and began to work up towards prosperity and to develop their organizing powers, the middle classes also grew more prosperous. From 1848 onwards was a time when everything seemed to expand. Railways were being built and steamships were being developed. Capital was needed, and so investments paid a high rate of interest.¹ So many companies were floated, that not unnaturally there was a proportion of failures, and in order to safeguard investors, the “Limited Liability” Act was passed (1837). This provided that a shareholder in a properly registered company could only lose the actual amount he had invested, and not as hitherto be liable for the entire losses incurred, even if he had only a small share.

In 1851 the general prosperity seemed to be summed up in the *Great Exhibition*, held in Hyde Park.² The vast glass

¹ People with money in those days could earn interest at the rate of 20 per cent, for not only was the demand for capital great, but inventions enabled that high rate to be earned through the greater production. Thus we have the Victorian business man heaping up wealth in a way which can hardly be imitated in a period when the rate is not more than 5 per cent.

Amongst the visitors one of the most impressed was Charlotte Brontë.

building which enclosed even the tall trees, was to the mid-Victorian a "fairy palace" of crystal. All England rejoiced in the wealth which the Exhibition displayed, and was proud of the crowds who flocked to visit it even from the Continent.

CHAPTER 61

FOREIGN AFFAIRS — PALMERSTON

Turning now from home affairs, we find that the early Victorian era was equally remarkable abroad. In the first place, Great Britain forged ahead and became a great power, taking a prominent part in foreign affairs. In the second, the Empire expanded on clear and vitally important lines, while to make the whole subject even more interesting, a series of most remarkable men acted as her leaders — *Palmerston*, *Gladstone*, and *Disraeli*, all of whom left very definite marks on our foreign policy.

Palmer-
ston *Palmerston* is in many respects a most vivid and amusing personality. He was, in some ways, nearer to the eighteenth than to the nineteenth century in which he actually lived. He was a very cheerful, almost boisterous man, so full of confidence in himself and his country that he never troubled to consider what other men or other nations might think.¹ This gay, flamboyant attitude was characteristic. He was always bold and dashing, often reckless, in his public life. His main policy was to assert the honour and prestige of Britain on all possible occasions. Actually he started his career as a Tory, but he went over to the Whigs over the question of Parliamentary Reform, in which he believed. He supported Catholic Emancipation too, but though he thought

¹ Thus, when he went to visit Queen Victoria after the death of Prince Albert, he arrived at a court where everything literally was draped in black, dressed "in a brown overcoat, light grey trousers, green gloves and blue studs, with his whiskers freshly dyed." His rasping tone in foreign affairs won him the nickname of "Lord Pumicestone".

both these measures were necessary, he did not care for humdrum reforms such as his Whig colleagues were carrying out in the first years of their administration. The sphere which attracted him was foreign affairs, and he became Foreign Secretary in 1830. He accepted Canning's liberal ideas, and if he was at times too loud in asserting the prestige of Great Britain, and in giving advice to other Powers, he was, nevertheless, the ardent champion of "liberalism" against reaction and tyranny. This is the period when England did not hesitate to take part in continental affairs, and when she began to win a reputation as the champion of liberty and of small nations.

Palmerston first made his policy clear in the case of *Belgium* (Note 135), and we can better realize the importance of what he did in the light of modern events which have emphasized the effect of his policy towards Belgian independence. Greatly against her will Belgium had been forced (by the Congress of Vienna) to be joined with Holland and put under the sovereignty of the House of Orange. In 1830 revolutions broke out, upsetting in many directions the settlements forced on the nations at Vienna. France turned out the restored Bourbons, and Belgium broke away from Holland and declared herself independent. Palmerston was determined that France should not place her candidate on the throne, so he backed up Belgium and helped her to secure Leopold of Coburg (uncle to Queen Victoria) as King. The Dutch refused to accept the arrangement and went to war. France and Britain intervened on behalf of Belgium, and Prussia too prepared to join in the struggle. In 1832 the independence of Belgium was recognized, but the final settlement of her frontier was not reached until, in 1839, Britain, France, and Prussia gave Belgium the famous guarantee of her permanent neutrality.¹

¹ Palmerston's methods of instructing his ambassadors may be judged from the dispatch he sent to the British ambassador in Paris: "It may not be amiss for you to hint, when any fitting occasion, that though we are anxious to cultivate the best understanding with France, yet that is only on the supposition that she contents herself with the finest territory in Europe, and does not mean to open a new chapter of encroachment and conquest."

Besides Belgium, trouble broke out in *Spain* and in *Portugal*. In Spain the King died in 1833, leaving a young daughter, Isabella, but many Spaniards held that Spain could not be ruled by a woman. A large party therefore supported the late King's brother, Don Carlos, and a fierce civil war broke out. Palmerston supported the young queen, but the struggle was bitter and bloodthirsty, and was prolonged for some years. Eventually the Carlists were defeated, but their cause lingered on; and even 100 years later, in the Spanish war of 1937-39, the Carlists reappeared as a party. Palmerston backed up the young Queen of Portugal too, who was also persecuted by her uncle, Don Miguel. He seized the throne and she fled to Brazil. In 1833 her supporters drove Miguel from Lisbon. Palmerston, acting with France, secured the expulsion of Miguel from Portugal, and the firm establishment of Queen Maria on the throne (1835). In both these spheres he had English opinion behind him.

He now embarked upon a more serious quarrel with France, over affairs in the Near East. Turkey was at this period very weak, and the Sultan was threatened by his rebellious vassal, Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt.¹ In 1833 Russia stole a march on the rest of Europe, and by sending her fleet to the Bosphorus forced Turkey to sign a pact of "mutual alliance" at *Unkian Skelessi*. Palmerston was taken by surprise and could do nothing to check Russia's move. In 1840 Mehemet Ali again attacked Turkey. France at first joined with the other Powers, then secretly gave her support to Mehemet Ali, hoping thereby to win influence in Syria. When Palmerston discovered this he made an agreement with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, whereby Mehemet Ali was secured in Egypt, was promised Syria for his lifetime, but was checked in his further designs on Turkey.

¹ Mehemet Ali was by birth an Albanian, and began life as a trader in tobacco. He made himself master of Egypt during the Napoleonic wars. He was not without humour, and when in 1840 the four Powers deposed him, he announced that this was the fourth time he had been deposed and that he hoped to get over it as well as he had done the other times "with the help of God and the Prophet" And he did, though not so well as he had hoped.

France, which had not been consulted, was furious at being excluded from this settlement. Thiers began to threaten war, and some of Palmerston's colleagues were much alarmed. Palmerston, however, was perfectly cool. He said "One must use firm and stout language to the French government and to Frenchmen." He never believed France would go to war, and he was right. Thiers resigned, France accepted the arrangement, and it was finally agreed that during peace time Turkey should close the Dardanelles to ships of war of all nations. Palmerston's policy of co-operating with Russia and standing firm against France was completely successful, and the fear of war over the Near East countries faded away.

His next exploit, however, had less to commend it to his China countrymen. The Chinese government was trying to forbid the importation of opium from India. Palmerston acted in the interests, as he conceived them, of British India, which derived large revenues from the trade. A quarrel arose over the question of the recognition by the Chinese of the representative of the British Crown. Palmerston in 1840 attacked China, and eventually forced her to cede us Hong-Kong and to open five other ports to British trade.

Then for a while there was an interval due to the fall of Melbourne's government and its replacement by that of Peel (1840). The new Foreign Minister, *Lord Aberdeen*, was very peaceably inclined, and did not at all wish to follow Palmerston's stormy policy or interfere with other nations. He wanted peace, and he managed to get on good terms with France. He also showed himself conciliatory towards the United States. Indeed, Canada declared that he went much too far in yielding to the Americans.

There had, for example, been a dispute over the newly The Oregon question developed western territories, and Lord Aberdeen agreed in 1846 to what was called the "Oregon" treaty, by which the U.S.A. kept Oregon and the British received Vancouver and British Columbia.

Lord Aberdeen's conciliatory efforts carried us on quietly until 1846, but in that year Palmerston was recalled to the Foreign Office (in Lord John Russell's cabinet), and almost at once he fell out with France. The King there was now *Louis Philippe*, of the Orleanist side of the Bourbons. He was by way of being a democratic king, and walked about Paris carrying his umbrella like any ordinary French citizen. But he could not resist the temptation to add to the power of his family. Just as Louis XIV had been tempted to try to join Spain to France through marriage, so now Louis Philippe did exactly the same thing. The young Queen of Spain was old enough to marry, and Louis Philippe began to negotiate for her marriage to his younger son. Great Britain, and indeed all Europe, objected to this, for in the nineteenth century, as in the seventeenth, no one wished to see France and Spain united under one dynasty. Great Britain first suggested a Coburg prince as a husband for the Queen. This was withdrawn, but owing to a misunderstanding the French believed that we meant to persevere in this proposal. So the French King went another way to work. The young Queen was married to one of her cousins, a wretched creature who it was believed could never have children, and the Queen's sister was married to Louis Philippe's son. In this way the French thought that ultimately the Orleans family would inherit the throne of Spain. The effect of this disgraceful action was seen at once. Great Britain was furious and broke off her friendly relations with Louis Philippe. His position had always been weak, and the friendship of England had helped to keep him on the throne. Now he had lost that, and the discontented elements in France saw their chance. In 1848 a revolution broke out and he was forced to flee the country.

Disturbances began in Italy, then spread to Paris, and then to Germany. All over Europe oppressed people and races took up arms. The Italian States belonging to Austria, Hungary, Austria, all rose against the Emperor. Germany

Palmer-
ston and
France

The
Revolu-
tions of
1848

became a country where one petty ruler after another had to fly for his life. Palmerston sympathized with all these revolts, and allowed arms to be sent to insurgents whenever he could. By an irony of fate, while he did his best unofficially to forward these revolutions, he had to welcome as exiles many of the fugitive rulers. Louis Philippe came to end his days in England, and another exile was the Crown Prince of Prussia, who was, however, to return to his country and be the ruler of Bismarck's Germany.

Actually 1848, when people who believed themselves oppressed rose everywhere against tyranny, proved a year of failure. In every country, the democrats failed to unite. The autocratic rulers were able to crush one revolt after another; the Emperor Francis Joseph returned to Vienna, the Czar helped him to crush Hungary. Germany saw her rulers overthrow all the new constitutions. The hope of democratic government vanished.

Palmerston had naturally infuriated the absolute rulers by his sympathy with the popular and nationalistic revolutions. His own country had on the whole approved of his policy, especially as it was realized that he made the influence of Great Britain really important abroad.

Palmer-
ston and
the
Queen

Now his high-handed ways were to bring their own punishment, and in an unexpected quarter. Queen Victoria was lively, and she had also determination. In 1840 she had married her cousin, *Prince Albert*. Modern historians have emphasized both the great influence Prince Albert had on his wife, and his own marked ability. With her marriage, the young Queen not only learnt to devote herself seriously to the task of taking her share in State business, but she was also helped by a man of great gifts. The Queen, therefore, was not likely to accept Palmerston's way of ignoring the Crown and transacting foreign affairs without due consultation or notification. His habit of withholding dispatches began to cause serious trouble, for the sovereign had a constitutional right to see such documents. The

Queen and her husband, through their vast family connections, had both knowledge of, and influence with, foreign courts. Neither would accept "Pam's" way of ignoring the sovereign. Remonstrances grew more and more vehement, and the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, shared the royal views.

An international incident now showed the danger of Palmerston's blustering methods. A Jew, born in Gibraltar and therefore a British subject, Don Pacifico, was in business in Athens. Here he got into trouble, and a mob wrecked his house. He appealed to Palmerston on the ground that he could not obtain compensation.¹ Palmerston chose to take the matter up as an affront to Britain. He sent the fleet to seize Greek ships off the Piræus. This attack infuriated Russia (the "protector" of Greece) and France, and was taken to show British diplomacy at its worst.

Then Palmerston went too far. In the great revolutionary year of 1848, France had abolished monarchy altogether and proclaimed the Second Republic. In 1851, *Louis Napoleon*, nephew of the Great Napoleon, by a sudden act of violence overthrew this Second Republic and made himself dictator of France. Great Britain was taken by surprise, but Palmerston, lightly abandoning his Liberal principles, quickly congratulated the ambassador of Louis Napoleon on his success, without even consulting the Cabinet or the Queen. This was too much, and he was promptly dismissed.

The incident in its far-reaching results was like a stone cast into a pond. Palmerston would not recognize his mistake. Instead, he decided on revenge. He headed a revolt against his former colleagues, and returning "tit for tat", brought about the defeat and resignation of Lord John Russell. The Queen disliked party feuds, and she now used her influence to effect a reconciliation between the sections. She induced the former Tories who had stuck by Peel to join with the Whigs. The "Peelite" leader was *Lord Aberdeen*

¹ He actually asked for £26,000.

who became Prime Minister (1852). Far more important was the young man to whom he gave his first office — *William Ewart Gladstone* became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the greatest men of the period was thus well launched on his Liberal career. Lord John Russell and Palmerston both sank their differences and took office under Aberdeen, Russell as Foreign Secretary, Palmerston as Home Secretary. This famous coalition was to fulfill all prophecies as to the ill-success which usually comes from the union of strange bedfellows, for it was to embark on one of the most futile and disastrous episodes, as far as its results went, of our history — the Crimean War.

CHAPTER 62

THE CRIMEA (1854-56)

Some people have said that the Crimean War (*Note 136*) is important only because it was instrumental in producing Florence Nightingale and her creation of modern nursing. There was more than that, however, in these campaigns. We have learnt perhaps to look at history in a broader light, and now when we think of the war of 1854 we can see certain large movements behind them. For the war was an illustration of the clash of opposing interests which perpetually disturbs south-eastern Europe. It shows the forces in opposition which have had so far-reaching an influence in modern times — the struggle between the empires of Russia, Turkey, and Austria, for the control of that debateable land, the Balkans.¹

¹ In addition, to those who study it more closely, the Crimea is interesting for its picturesque details. Its battles and its great siege seem the last episode in "old-fashioned" warfare, before the modern armies came on the scene. Socially it was fantastic, smart young women went out to see the operations as though they were going to a picnic, and the romantic young soldiers were inspired to great deeds by *The Heir of Redclyffe*, the novel which everyone in England was reading.

The "problem of the Near East", as it is called, centres round the *Balkans*. The countries which made up the Balkan Peninsula had for centuries been under the Turk. Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, had all been conquered by the Turk in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century they began to struggle for independence. British sympathies had been warmly on the side of Greece, and would in general have been against the Turks, had not complications arisen because of Russia. Britain dreaded the power of that vast backward country; Tsardom stood for tyranny and we feared that it stood for aggression. We believed that Russia had designs on our Indian Empire, and we were afraid of her coming down into the Mediterranean and threatening our route to the East.

The
problem
of the
Near
East

The crisis which came to a head in 1854 had been foreseen. It was due to the obvious weakness of the Turkish Empire. The Sultan's power had for long been declining, and the question which was being more or less openly discussed was as to who should divide up his territories which included, besides the Balkans, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Russia was then ruled by the *Czar Nicholas I*, and he said, "The bear is dying. You may give him musk, but even musk will not long keep him alive." He saw no need for a war, and suggested an amicable division of the spoils. He himself wanted access to the Mediterranean, and he suggested that Great Britain should take Egypt and Crete. France, the third power concerned, was involved through the religious question.

Turkey,
the
"sick
man"
of
Europe

That question was not the cause of the war, but it was made its pretext. Russia, champion of the Greek Orthodox Church, claimed to be protector of members of that Church who were under Turkish rule, such as the Bulgars. She claimed, too, the right of guardianship over the "Holy Places"; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Holy Grotto in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The French, representing the Roman Church, dis-

Religious
question

puted that claim. Thus men said the quarrel was over "a Key and a Star" (the Star being the silver star inlaid in the pavement to mark where Our Lord was born, the Key being that for the great door of the church at Bethlehem). Ill-will and rivalry were created, and at length Russia came out with the claim to protect all the Christian subjects of the Turks. France and Great Britain saw in this the true motive of Russian policy. They believed that Russia aimed at political control of the Balkans. Our ambassador in Constantinople was *Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, who liked and believed in the Turks, while distrusting the Russians. He thought that the Sultan, to win our support, would agree to reform, and he believed that were those reforms granted, it was better that Turkey should retain control than that Russia should be given her chance. He pressed his views very strongly, and unluckily the Coalition cabinet, which really was formed of men whose views did not coincide, could not agree. Thus, no clear lead was given, and the Czar mistakenly thought there was no chance of war. Believing Britain would do nothing, he first occupied the two provinces bordering the Danube, Wallachia and Moldavia, and then sank a Turkish fleet at *Sinope* (1853).

Instantly Great Britain took alarm, and Napoleon III whipped up war feeling. He did not deliberately promote or desire war, but he had to conciliate public opinion in France by striking dramatic blows, and his need for earning political support made it difficult for him to avoid war if his prestige was at all threatened.

War
declared

So war was declared and the French and British prepared to invade Russia. The original object of the allies, the expulsion of the Russians from the Danubian principalities, was quickly secured; but it was considered necessary for future security to cripple Russia, and for that purpose to capture *Sebastopol*, the great Russian arsenal and fort in the Crimea, the "very heart", as it was called, "of Russian power in the East".

"The history of the Crimean war," it has been said, "is a history of blunders." The great powers of Europe had waged no big campaign since that of 1813, and it is undeniable that the art of war had been somewhat forgotten. The allied forces landed in the Crimea, and won the battle of the *Alma* in September, 1854. But the battle, apart from the courage shown by the soldiers, reflected little credit upon the allies.¹ They besieged *Sebastopol* after a delay which enabled the Russians to improve their defences. In addition, the Russian army was heavily reinforced and was able to attack the allies at *Balaclava*. That battle was famous for one incident. Six hundred men of the "Light Brigade" made, owing to mistaken orders, a magnificent though useless charge down a valley swept by artillery from all sides, and actually managed to reach and temporarily to take possession of the enemy's guns.² Less than a fortnight after, the Russians made a determined attack at *Inkerman*. After a desperate battle, fought in a fog — a "soldiers' battle", if ever there was one — the Russians were eventually repulsed (5th November, 1854).

The
Battle
of the
Alma

Balaclava
and
Inkerman

The allies now, however, had to fight a Crimean winter, and in the middle of November it began. For the next four months the condition of the army was terrible. The cold was intense; food and clothing were alike scanty; the transport animals all perished; the soldiers had to convert themselves into commissariat mules to bring in supplies; and the camp hospitals were miserably provided with necessities for the sick and wounded. As a consequence, the troops were attacked by cholera and scurvy, by dysentery and fever, and at one time the men in hospital were more numerous than those outside it.

The
Crimean
winter

¹ Lord Raglan, the British commander, was on an exposed position within the enemy's lines where he could not control the battle, whilst the bulk of the French forces went astray, and arrived too late to turn the enemy's left wing as was intended.

² See Tennyson's Poems. The criticism of the French commander on the charge of the Light Brigade is well known: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre."

The condition of the army was now made clear to the people at home by the dispatches of newspaper correspondents, especially of *The Times*. It became known that incompetence and corruption had left our men without stores, without clothes, without medical care. There were no bandages, no beds, not even soap to keep men and hospitals clean. There were too few doctors, and only a small number of orderlies to care for the thousands of wounded. The men had to be brought across the Black Sea to the hospital at Scutari, and when those of them who survived reached that place, it was to die in hundreds from lack of care.¹ The whole country burst into a flame of indignation. Lord Aberdeen was obliged to resign and Palmerston, whose energy was beyond doubt, became Premier (1855). More important, as it eventually proved, *Florence Nightingale* was sent out to organize the nursing and the hospitals. The career of this remarkable woman was to prove a blessing to the world at large. She was not only the "Lady of the Lamp",² she was also an administrator of outstanding ability and tenacity. Her struggles with the War Office and the Army Medical authorities were to last the whole of her long life, but she emerged victorious. She bullied the officials on the spot, she bullied the officials at home; she overcame the incredible obstruction of the medical authorities; she used the press to get stores and comforts sent from England; she cleaned the hospitals and she saw that the wounded were provided with nurses, with clean beds, with clean shirts. When the war ended she returned to carry on the work, backed by her immense prestige.³ Nursing was thrown open to women as a skilled profession, hospital hygiene was revolutionized, and not

Florence
Nightingale

¹ 420 out of every 1000 died; after Miss Nightingale took charge this appalling figure fell to 22 out of every 1000.

² Immortalized as such in one of the most beautiful statues in London, part of the Crimea Memorial in Waterloo place

³ She received no official honour, though the Queen sent her a brooch. Only just before her death (in 1910) when she had become almost senile, was the honour of the Order of Merit sent to her.

only army nursing, but civilian nursing as well was transformed. Her career may be reckoned the great factor to be remembered when the battles of the Crimea themselves are forgotten.

The new year, 1855, saw great improvement in the allied position. In February Czar Nicholas died, and was succeeded by Alexander II who wished for peace. Terms could not be arranged, and the allies fought on with vigour until in September they attacked and finally stormed *Sebastopol*. This ended the war, and the *Treaty of Paris* was signed in March, 1856. The allies achieved part of their aim, the Ottoman Empire was "guaranteed" by the Powers, and the Sultan promised reforms. These reforms he never intended or attempted to carry out. As Salisbury ruefully remarked later on, we had "backed the wrong horse". The provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were later made self-governing and united to form the State of Rumania. The Black Sea was declared neutral; no warships were to be allowed on it, and no arsenals to be built. This clause was quietly repudiated by Russia later on (1871) when Europe was distracted by other troubles.

The
Treaty of
Paris
(1856)

CHAPTER 63

CHANGES IN EUROPE

PALMERSTON'S LATER FOREIGN POLICY (1856-65)

The Crimean War was the only war in Europe in which Great Britain herself was involved in Queen Victoria's reign, but for the twenty years between 1845 and 1865 the world was very uneasy, and war spread over three continents. Palmerston's career epitomises English policy and brings us into touch with the great movements which were to alter the

face of Europe. Two nations, Italy and Germany, were to arise and change the whole of the future.

Palmerston was considered by the nation to have retrieved the country from the disgrace which the early conduct of the Crimean War had brought upon it. He was now, by a sudden freak, to lose his popularity. *Napoleon III* was always regarded by Englishmen as a somewhat doubtful intriguer. In 1858, an Italian, Orsini, threw a bomb at him as he drove to the opera in Paris, and when the pieces of the bomb were examined, it was found that it had been made in London. It was proved, too, that the plotters had held their meetings there. The French Government were highly indignant, and *Palmerston* wished to placate them. Whereas both court and nation were slightly hostile to *Napoleon III*, *Palmerston* in a contradictory way, always admired him, partly because he deeply distrusted the family of Louis Philippe, and he promptly brought in a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*, making a "conspiracy" punishable by life imprisonment. The country considered this to be giving in to French dictation in British affairs, the bill was rejected, and *Palmerston* resigned.

For a few months the Tories kept in office, and then a general election showed that the country had forgiven *Palmerston's* lapse. He came back, and with Lord John Russell and Gladstone formed what was nicknamed the *Triumvirate*. He held office for the rest of his life. During these years he gave a definitely Liberal tinge to our foreign policy, and the time is important for the great changes which took place abroad.

Italy had hitherto been split up among various States and rulers, but during the early part of the nineteenth century her patriots had struggled to give her unity and independence. First the writers had stirred up her spirit,¹ and now came the turn of the soldiers and the statesmen.

¹ Mazzini, her most famous republican, lived in exile in London and was a close friend of the Carlyles. Mrs Carlyle was devoted to him, but said he had not enough organizing ability to run even a Sunday School.

Cavour, Prime Minister to the King of *Piedmont*, had sent troops to fight in the Crimea in order to bring his country into prominence. Now he had his reward when Napoleon III became Piedmont's ally and sent French armies to drive the Austrians out of North Italy. Public opinion in Great Britain sympathized passionately with the cause of Italian freedom and unity, but Britain did not wish for another war. Two ships of the British fleet were sent to cruise off Sicily at the moment when *Garibaldi* wished to land with his famous *Thousand Republicans* in their red shirts, and though they were actually there to protect the British colony at Marsala, their presence was afterwards taken by the triumphant revolutionaries as a sign of British sympathy. Later *Garibaldi* transported his men, and conquered all Southern Italy. Palmerston, now Prime Minister, was known to hold the view that the Austrians must leave Italy, and Russell's dispatches showed that the British Government favoured the union of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies with the new Kingdom of Italy. In this the country agreed, and finally Great Britain recognized with enthusiasm the creation of the new Kingdom of Italy (1860).¹

Then came a war for a different form of liberty. In the United States of America, a quarrel arose between the States of the North and those of the South, primarily over slavery, and from that over the right of certain States to break away from the Union. The Southern States had a great many negro slaves, and as settlement spread towards the great territories of the west, the Southerners wished slavery to be allowed there too. This the North opposed. The South then declared that it would break away (secede)

The
American
Civil War
(1861-65)

¹ As a matter of fact, Napoleon III had proposed to the British Government to stop *Garibaldi* from crossing from Sicily to the Kingdom of Naples. Russell, then Foreign Secretary, was not altogether disinclined to this. But *Cavour* sent *Lacaita* (an Italian who had become a naturalized British subject) to see *Lady Russell*, who was ill in bed at the time. He converted her, and she sent down for her husband, who was at that moment discussing affairs with the French ambassador. Believing her to be taken worse, he came up at once to her room. There he was also converted by *Lacaita*, and all idea of intervention against *Garibaldi's* further action was given up.

from the Union. Had this been possible, the whole principle of the "United States" would have been wrecked. Civil war broke out, waged on modern, and on horribly destructive, lines¹ (April, 1861). Great Britain suffered greatly through the war, for raw cotton, essential to Lancashire trade, could not come from the Southern States owing to the blockade. Yet though the richer classes in Britain tended to sympathize with the South, as being more akin in its way to "aristocratic" England, the working-classes supported the North, and feeling that the struggle was one for freedom, bore uncomplainingly the real hardship and starvation which resulted from the stoppage of trade.

Neutrality always is liable to lead to troublesome incidents, and this American war brought two famous episodes. The first was called the *Trent* incident, and involved the question of the right of one nation to seize nationals or ships of another. Two Southerners were coming to Europe to seek help for their government, and they sailed in a British ship, the *Trent*. The Northerners stopped the ship and took off the two men. Great Britain was enraged and actually sent the Guards to Canada. Palmerston drew up one of his most aggressive dispatches, but the well-known action of the Prince Consort, in suggesting that the dispatch should be redrafted in a milder form, made it possible for the U.S.A. to give way and send back the two Southerners.

The other affair was even less satisfactory. A ship called the *Alabama* was built at Birkenhead to be used by the South as an armed raider, and though the British Government was informed of the fact, it delayed seizing the vessel. In consequence, it got safely to sea, and for two years did great damage to the shipping of the Northern States. The U.S.A. demanded compensation, and years later (in 1872) Gladstone, for the sake of friendly relations, paid the relatively enormous compensation of over three million pounds.

Though these episodes made tempers very hot, they did

¹ Through battle and disease over a million men were killed and crippled.

not lead even to within measurable distance of war. Much more dangerous was Palmerston's policy towards the newly arising power of *Prussia*.

Germany, like Italy, had for centuries consisted of a collection of small States. Now Prussia was forging ahead under the great statesman *Bismarck* who aimed at uniting Germany under Prussia, and meant to do this through force, or as he put it "blood and iron." He had first to check the power of *Austria*, for Austria would have liked to keep Germany under her own control. Bismarck decided to begin by winning the friendship of Russia. In 1863 the Poles under Russian domination rose in revolt. Since 1815 they had entirely lost their independence. *Poland* remained crushed and divided up between Russia and Prussia, but now she made a desperate effort for freedom. Palmerston wished to help, and sent notes protesting against the Russian treatment of the Poles. But he had no real support at home; the court wanted peace, and so did the Cabinet. Though Great Britain would not fight on behalf of Polish liberty, Bismarck showed himself fully prepared to fight against it. For one thing, he was afraid that if Russian Poland became free, Prussian Poland would also revolt. For another, he wanted to ingratiate himself with the Czar. So he sent an army to the frontier, though Russia succeeded in crushing the revolt without German aid.

Rise of
Prussia
Poland

Next came a more ominous step. *Denmark* had during four centuries been connected through her monarchy with the two little duchies which formed her southern border with Germany, *Schleswig* and *Holstein*, the King of Denmark being also Duke of the two Duchies. Now there arose a dispute as to who was the real heir to the duchies. Denmark claimed them, but so did Prussia and Austria, for Holstein had belonged to the German Confederation.¹ Great Britain sympathized with Denmark, a small country trying to hold

Schles-
wig-Hol-
stein
(1863)

¹ Palmerston said that only three people ever understood the details of the question — the Prince Consort, who was dead, a Danish statesman who was mad, and himself.

her own against two great ones, and Palmerston led the Danes to believe that Britain would support them with arms if necessary. They accordingly refused to give in to Prussia and Austria and declared war. It then transpired that Palmerston was speaking only for himself, and that Britain had no intention of going to war on behalf of Denmark. The Austrians and Prussians accordingly proved easily victorious, and Denmark not only had to abandon her claims to the duchies, but had also to pay a very heavy indemnity. Bismarck had fought the war partly because the acquisition of Schleswig would enable Prussia to build the Kiel Canal, partly as one further step in his scheme for the union of Germany. He now saw clearly that Britain would not interfere on the Continent. The days, indeed, when Palmerston could interfere here and there, were done. His policy over Schleswig-Holstein was reckoned "Pam's greatest diplomatic defeat", and "the fall of his prestige was almost total". In 1865 he died, well over eighty years of age. His policy was called by his opponents one of "meddle and muddle" and of "senseless menaces", yet his countrymen loved him, and felt a regret that under him Great Britain had not taken a more leading part in European politics.

At this point we must turn to India and see what events had passed there, for India was the scene of great upheavals.

CHAPTER 64

INDIA (1823-1858)

After 1823, India was under the control of Great Britain, and part of the country, notably *Madras* and *Bengal*, was directly governed through the great *East India Company* (*Note 137*). Other territories remained as native States, but recognized British authority in certain respects; the chief of these were *Hyderabad*, *Mysore*, and the group of States

comprised in the territory called *Rajputana*, such as *Udaipur* and *Jaiपुर*. To the east lay *Burma*, and with this country a war was fought in 1824 which ended in Britain acquiring some territory, notably *Assam*. Assam
(1824)

It was from the west, however, that trouble really threatened. There, across the north-western frontier lay *Afghanistan*, a wild mountainous district with a very warlike, independent people. Moreover, Great Britain believed that Russia, whose Asiatic Empire gave her an interest in India, was determined to stir up the Afghans and use them to disturb British rule. Great Britain aimed therefore at keeping the Afghans friendly, so as to checkmate Russian plans. In the year of Queen Victoria's accession, the Shah of Persia attacked Afghanistan, and it was known that he had been encouraged to do so by Russia, while in the next year (1838) Russian agents appeared at Kabul in friendly negotiations with the ruler, *Dost Mohammed* — a usurper, who had successfully overcome opposition and seized power. Afghan
Wars
(1838)

A new Governor-General of India, *Lord Auckland*, was appointed in 1835. He was afraid of Russian aggression and he thought that matters had gone too far, so he decided on armed interference. His policy, which was approved by Palmerston and the Home Government, proved most disastrous, for it was both reckless and based on faulty strategy. He dispatched a British army, which took Kandahar and Kabul (1839), captured Dost Mohammed, and put on the throne *Shah Shuja*, the prince whose place had been usurped. The British forces remained for two years, during which the Afghans, though sullenly hostile, seemed crushed, but suddenly they rose (1841), murdered the British agent, and captured all the military stores. Deprived of their munitions, the British troops were really helpless, and after negotiating with Dost Mohammed's son, they decided to accept his offer of a safe-conduct and leave the country. The army of 4000 men, with 12,000 "camp-followers", accordingly set off, in the depth of winter, to make its way down to the *Khyber Pass*. Lord
Auckland

and so to India. Such a journey in those days was a fearful undertaking, and thousands died of cold and hunger, while others were set upon by the Afghans hiding in the hills. Only one man, *Dr. Brydon*, came safely through, and eventually reached Jalalabad, where there was a British garrison, with the news that every other soul had perished. The Afghans, following up their success, advanced and besieged Jalalabad itself.

Such a disaster was a severe blow to British prestige, and it was decided that it must be avenged. Two armies were sent from India (1842) one of which marched through the Khyber, relieved the garrison at Jalalabad, and went on to take Kabul, while the other went to Kandahar. After restoring Shah Shuja, these armies left, but the futility of trying to force on the Afghans a ruler who depended on the absent British, was promptly shown. No sooner had the British forces departed than the Afghans murdered Shah Shuja and restored Dost Mohammed. Nothing had really been accomplished.

The Afghan wars led to another and smaller campaign which did not reflect credit on British leaders. *Sir Charles Napier*, one of the people concerned, said: "We have no right to seize *Sind*, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be." *Sind* lay at the mouth of the Indus, and was on friendly terms with Afghanistan. Its rulers, the Amirs, supported and encouraged Dost Mohammed. A treaty existed between the Amirs and Great Britain, but the British declared that this had been violated. Napier with a British force attacked and won two victories, and as a result, *Sind* was annexed.

Next to *Sind* lay the larger State of the *Punjab*, inhabited by the *Sikhs*, a fierce and warlike religious sect.¹ The

¹ The Sikh religious movement was founded about 1780, and was a reforming movement of some Punjab Hindus against what they thought were the polytheistic and idolatrous beliefs of their ancient religion. It spread rapidly, and now numbers about 3 million. "Sikh" means "learner" and these people may be thought of as "non-conformist" Hindus.

turbulence which reigned in the Punjab finally burst out into an attack on the British; a Sikh army crossed the river Sutlej and invested Ferozapore. In the war which followed (1845), the British had to fight hard, for the Sikhs were the best fighters in India, and their religious zeal caused them to be compared with Cromwell's "Ironsides". The Sikhs were fought to a standstill, and in three weeks were defeated in a series of bloody battles, including *Firozshah* and *Sobraon*. Peace was made, but this did not last, and two years later came the second war. In this the British were commanded by *Sir Hugh Gough*. Many people thought that his tactics were faulty, for he insisted on frontal attacks and bayonet charges and apparently did not believe in the use of artillery or in out-flanking the enemy. He did not realize that the Sikhs could stand up to such fighting, and at *Chilianwala* the Sikh position was taken by the British only after the loss of over two thousand men, several guns, and the colours of their regiments — a serious matter in those days. Gough was later superseded, but before this happened he showed that he had learnt something, for at *Gujerat* he did use his artillery, and the Sikhs, after "standing two hours in hell" under the heavy fire of 84 guns, had to meet a general advance which gave victory to the British. The Punjab was then annexed (1849).

Punjab
1st Sikh
war
(1845)

2nd Sikh
war
(1848)

Some may deplore the military conquest of these areas, but at least we can see that good ultimately came to them through British rule. Sind had not been a happy or prosperous country, and the Punjab had been the scene of perpetual strife. The two *Lawrences*, Henry and John, were sent to govern the Punjab and did everything possible to pacify the country, by reforming the laws, lowering taxation, and restoring prosperity. The full justification of British rule in these provinces was seen when the Punjab stood by the British in the great storm which soon burst upon India.

Lord Dalhousie, who had followed Hardinge in 1848, is one of the great men of the nineteenth century, and he is made

Dal-
housie
(1848-56) more interesting by the fact that his policy, though in some respects so well-intentioned, is yet considered to have brought such evils in its train (*Note 137*). He sums up in a sense the good side of British policy in India, in so far as he aimed at increasing the material prosperity and adding to the welfare of the people. Yet he wrought them up to a state which ended in revolt.

Dalhousie was clear in his own mind. He lived in a period when Englishmen did not doubt that British rule was a blessing, and that it was in the interests of mankind that other races should come under it. He had, therefore, no scruples when in 1852 troubles in *Burma* led to a second war and the annexation of Lower Burma. Even more important was the case of *Oudh*. There the government of the native rulers had led to great disorder and great misery, and the Nabob had been repeatedly warned that he must reform. The East India Company was still the governing body of British India, and the British Home Government and the Company decided that Oudh ought to be annexed (1856). This was accordingly done and all the valley of the Ganges was placed under the Company.

Dalhousie then took a step which in the eyes of Indians was particularly unjust. The Indians had a well-defined rule whereby Hindu princes with no direct heirs might adopt boys to succeed them. Such adoption, though not recognized in Europe, was perfectly usual and legal in the East. Dalhousie refused to admit such a system. He laid down the rule that where a ruler had no children, his domains must at his death "lapse" to the "paramount power". This in olden days had been the Mogul Empire, and Dalhousie insisted that the East India Company had all the rights of the former Moguls. Accordingly, he took possession of seven little States in Central India, and in view of this no native ruler felt himself secure. It should be noted that it was in these very districts—in Oudh, the Ganges Valley, and Central India—that discontent was later to swell into revolt.

The justification Dalhousie gave for this whole policy of bringing nations under British rule, was that thereby the native actually gained. He tried to make that claim a reality by his reforms. Already something had been done by the man who was Governor some time before Dalhousie — *Lord William Bentinck*, who had tried to bring about certain social improvements (1828–35). He had put down the horrible sect of *Thugs*, who went about secretly murdering people by strangulation, believing that in so doing they were serving their particular religion.¹ He had forbidden *suttee*, or the suicide forced on Hindu widows, whom custom compelled to burn themselves on their husband's funeral pyre.² The position of widows was a dreadful one in India, and this reform was accepted with comparative calm. Bentinck was a great believer in education, and to him should be given the credit for encouraging the education of the Indians. He considered, too, that they should share in the administration, and he did his best to give them posts in the service of the Government.

Bentinck's
earlier
reforms

Thugs
put down

Sup-
pression
of suttee

Education

Dalhousie warmly approved of this policy, and he determined to carry it still further. He did his best to encourage education, and he reformed the administration. He saw, moreover, that the curse of India was her poverty, and he genuinely wished to hurry forward the development of the country. Clearly the means of communication must be improved, and so roads were built, notably one great highway running from Calcutta right up to Peshawar on the frontier, and railways. The telegraph was introduced, and a good postal system organized, run so efficiently that it was cheaper than the penny post of England. Next came the building of canals, and of great water-works to irrigate the country. All these were measures which were meant to bring prosperity, and Dalhousie believed that he was doing

Improve-
ment of
Communi-
cations

¹ These wandering bands were said to have caused the deaths of thousands in every district.

² During one year in Bengal alone no less than eight hundred widows were burnt to death.

nothing but good. He left the country in 1856, confident that he had served India well.

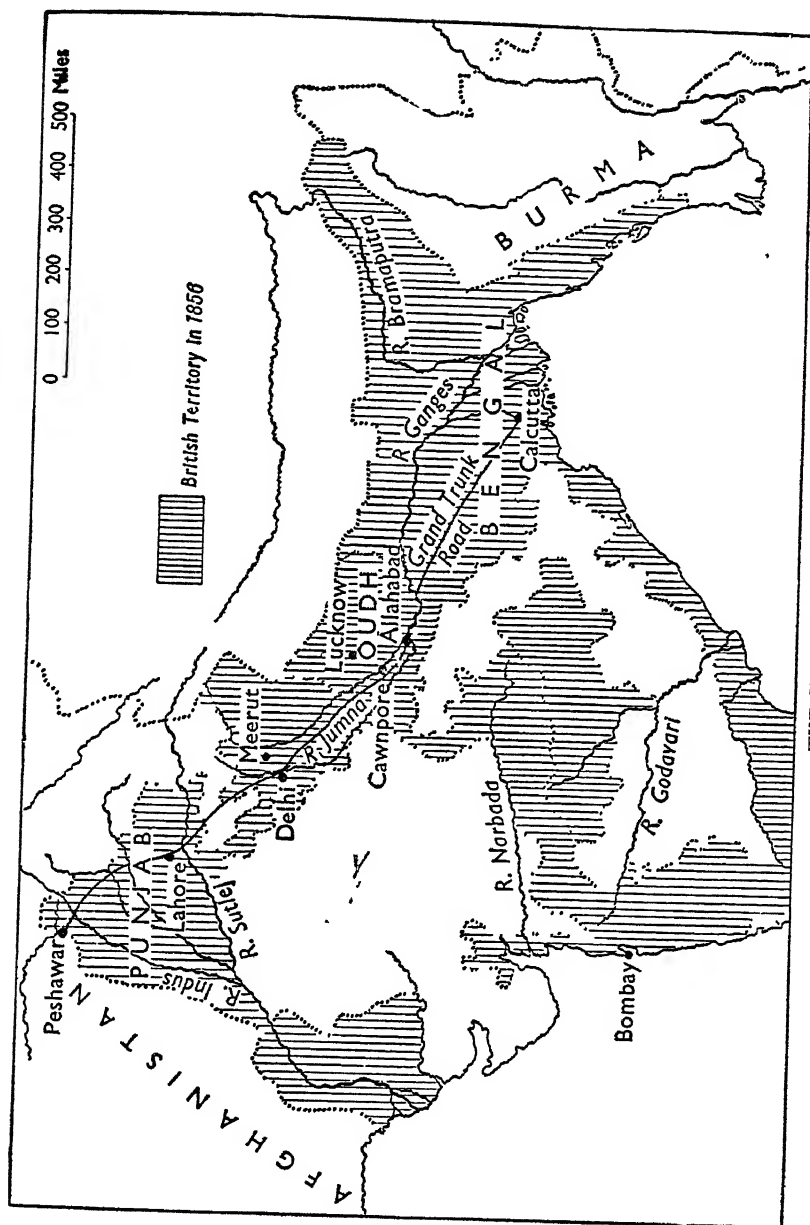
But the very reforms which he had pressed forward were soon held responsible for the disaster which was to follow. **Dis-**
content
aroused Dalhousie, men said, had gone too fast. The Indians were too backward to understand what these innovations meant — they believed that the British only wanted to consolidate their hold, and above all that they were aiming at the overthrow of the Hindu religion. Thus the new railways upset the system of caste, for different castes had to travel in the same carriage. Superstition reinforced religious beliefs, for an old prophecy said that the British rule would last for 100 years after Plassey, and that date had now come. Some even thought the wind whistling through the telegraph wires was “Bad Magic”.

Again, the richer classes were antagonized, for in Oudh the British had upset the system of land tenure, and all rulers naturally opposed the doctrine of “lapse”.

Finally, the discontented were given courage by the decline in British military prestige. The disaster of the Afghan massacre had made a great impression; the tough resistance of the Sikhs had taught Indians that British troops could be faced in fair fight; and the stories of British sufferings and incompetence in the Crimean War had now filtered through to India.

The way was thus prepared for trouble, and in 1857 the **The**
Mutiny
(1857) broke out. It must be clearly understood that it was in the strictest sense a “mutiny”; that is to say, it was a military revolt. The native soldiers, the Sepoys, mutinied; the people as a whole took no part.¹ The actual pretext was the introduction of a new weapon, the Enfield rifle. The cartridges had to be bitten before use, and they were smeared with grease. Like wildfire a report spread that the grease was the fat of the cow (sacred to the Hindus) and

¹ Thus some authorities deliberately prefer to call the whole movement the “Sepoy Mutiny”.



THE INDIAN MUTINY

lard of pigs (untouchable to Mohammedans).¹ Agitators seized on the anger aroused among the soldiers. Revolt seemed likely to succeed, for the natives outnumbered the white men by eight to one. On 18th May, the troops at Meerut mutinied and shot their officers (*Note 138*).

The movement spread in the north and centre of the country. From Meerut the men went off to *Delhi*, only forty miles away, where more native regiments joined them. They then proclaimed the revival of the Mogul Empire, with Delhi as its capital and one of the ancient dynasty as Emperor. The garrisons in Oudh revolted, and besieged the English in the capital, *Lucknow*. *Cawnpore*, just across the Ganges, also had a handful of troops, and these too were surrounded. The parts of the country affected by the mutiny were as big as France, Austria, and Prussia put together, and their native population was 94 millions. The British soldiers were only 39,000.

The whole story of the Mutiny is tragic. It arose from mistaken ideas as to British intentions, and it led to terrible episodes the memory of which time has not yet obliterated. At Cawnpore Nana Sahib was responsible for the worst incident. He was a native prince who, as an adopted son, had been disinherited through Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse. He had a small pension, but did not consider it sufficient. The British at Cawnpore consisted of 200 soldiers and some civilians who had been at work on the river embankment, together with their wives and children. They tried to defend themselves in an old building, but had no stores, and their water gave out. They were induced to surrender on the understanding, so they thought, that their lives should be spared. The men were separated from the women and children and told to embark on boats. As they did so, fierce fire was opened upon them, the boats sank, and

Delhi
(1857)

The
Massacre
at
Cawnpore
(1857)

¹ The cartridges had to be greased in order to fit into the grooves of the barrel. Though the evidence is conflicting, it is probable that some of these cartridges — though they were almost immediately recalled — were smeared, by some mistake, with the ingredients to which objection was taken.

practically all were killed. The women and children were taken to an empty building, and a few days later all were killed and their bodies thrown down a well. The relieving force reached Cawnpore the very day after this massacre. Nana Sahib fled to the jungle and was never heard of again.

Other famous stories are perhaps preferable to remember, for they show the heroism which accompanied the mutiny. *Lieutenant Willoughby* at Delhi knew that his little force of eight men could never hold the great arsenal. So he blew it up and the defenders with it, rather than let the mutineers capture the great stores. *Havelock* marched, in a desperate effort to save Cawnpore, 126 miles in 9 days, in the height of the Indian summer, fighting four actions on the way. *Sir Henry Lawrence*, with 1000 British troops and 700 loyal Sepoys, held the residency at *Lucknow* against huge forces of rebels armed with artillery, who could come up to within 15 yards of the crumbling walls and makeshift defences. The garrison held out for 87 days, though *Lawrence* was killed at the outset of the siege. In September *Havelock* and *Outram* fought their way through with reinforcements, and the struggle went on for another two months, until fresh help came and the British could finally withdraw. At Delhi the "Ridge" was occupied by 4000 British who then attacked over 30,000 Sepoys holding the city itself.

Relief of
Lucknow

Moreover, the Mutiny was marked by deeds which showed that in many cases the Indians stood by the British. Besides the loyal Sepoys at Lucknow, others fought side by side with their European officers at Delhi. The "Guides" and the Gurkhas there fought against the rebels and lost half their men. The Sikhs came in force from the Punjab, under *Nicholson*, to aid the British in the storming of Delhi. The Indian troops in Bombay and Madras refused to join in the revolt. The Indian princes either remained neutral or gave active support to the British.

Loyal
Indians

Within three months the worst was over, and fresh troops (under *Sir Colin Campbell*) arrived from Britain. By

November, Delhi had been recaptured from the mutineers and the Residency of Lucknow relieved. The Mutiny was finally stamped out in Central India, and though small groups of mutineers had to be tracked down, danger was at an end (1858).

Now came the question as to what should be done. "Clemency" Canning (1856-62) Actually the Governor-General, *Lord Canning*, was resolved that there should be no severity. He insisted on mercy, and though men called him at first mockingly "Clemency" Canning, his policy was clearly right. He was backed up too by Queen Victoria, who insisted herself on modifying in a gentler sense the words of a proclamation.¹ The Queen had been as deeply moved as anyone by the horrors of the Mutiny, but she felt herself to be indeed the sovereign of "more than a mixture of Eastern peoples". She showed her attitude clearly when in 1877 she accepted the title of Empress of India.

Results: The first and most striking result of the Mutiny was the ending of the rule of the East India Company. It was only too clear that no corporation was able to rule such territory, and the control of India passed direct to the British Government. The Secretary of State for India, with Cabinet rank, became responsible, with a council of advisers. A Viceroy represented the sovereign in India, with councils to advise him there.

The Sepoy army had hitherto been the army of the Company, and it now became part of the British forces, in which the proportion of white troops to coloured was to be one in five. Finally, it was clearly realized that more attention must be paid to the ideas and feelings of the Indians. The doctrine of "lapse" was given up and greater efforts were made to give India peace.

No more wars were to take place with India itself, but

¹ This eventually ran: "We desire no extension of the present territorial possessions . . . and our subjects of whatever race or creed shall be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service."

further trouble came in the countries beyond the borders, both east and west.

In the east, Upper Burma was annexed in 1885. In the west the trouble with the *Afghans* recurred in 1879, when another British resident was murdered at the court of the Amir. *Lord Roberts* marched to Kandahar from Kabul, and finally the British Government decided to pay the ruler of the State an annual subsidy to ensure his friendliness. As before, their true object was to check the Russians, but with the passing of time, the political situation in Europe had changed, and the distrust of Russia was replaced by fear of a common enemy. So with the opening of the 20th century Britain and Russia found themselves drawing together, and the North-west Frontier ceased to be a source of contention.

As a result of the Mutiny, and of a general change in public feeling, it was realized that more must be done to improve social conditions in India. Plague and famine were the scourges which the British tried to eliminate. The Indian medical service was developed to deal with plague, and when once medical science discovered how it was carried (by rats), it became easier to prevent the fearful epidemics. As to famine, here Dalhousie's reforms at length justified themselves. When the crops failed in India, corn and rice could be imported and brought to stricken areas by the railways. As irrigation improved the cultivation of the fields, so the yield improved, and the government could and did undertake vast works to help India to feed her millions. Education, the crying need of India, where there are many millions of illiterates, was and must be a difficulty, for the cost is enormous, and so poverty-stricken a country can scarcely bear any addition to its taxation. After 1828 the British Government had tried to encourage education and set up State-aided schools. In these schools English was the common language used (for different races use different languages in various parts) and acted as a unifying force.

NOTES ON PERIOD TEN (1815-1867)

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS

GEORGE III (1760-1820)

GEORGE IV (1820-1830)

WILLIAM IV (1830-1837)

VICTORIA (1837-1901)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE:	LOUIS XVIII (1814-1824)
	CHARLES X (1824-1830) (<i>Revolution of 1830</i>)
	LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830-1848) (<i>Constitutional King</i>)
	SECOND REPUBLIC (1848-1852)
	NAPOLEON III (1852-1870) (<i>Second Empire</i>)
RUSSIA:	NICHOLAS I (1825-1855)
	ALEXANDER II (1855-1881)
EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA:	FRANCIS II (1792-1835)
	FERDINAND (1835-1848)
	FRANCIS JOSEPH (1848-1916)
SPAIN:	FERDINAND VII (1814-1833)
	ISABELLA II (1833-1868)

BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS

LIVERPOOL:	(1812-1827)
CANNING:	(1827)
GODERICH:	(1827-1828)
WELLINGTON:	(1828-1830)
GREY:	(1830-1834)
MELBOURNE:	(1834)

PEEL:	(1834-1835)
MELBOURNE:	(1835-1841)
PEEL:	(1841-1846)
RUSSELL:	(1846-1852)
DERBY:	(1852)
ABERDEEN:	(1852-1855)
PALMERSTON:	(1855-1858)
DERBY-DISRAELI.	(1858-1859)
PALMERSTON:	(1859-1865)
RUSSELL:	(1865-1866)
DERBY:	(1866-1868)

NOTE 120 — CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE

The eighteenth century saw *enclosure movement* — under which the great landlords enclosed common lands (7 million acres enclosed) done with great harshness and unfairness, as commoners had no power and were unable to oppose Bills.

Results.

- 1 Small peasant owners were wiped out, Britain lost her small landowning class. Land held by great landowners and leased to large farmers with capital.
- 2 Agricultural labourer suffered very much. His supplementary earnings gone, and he could no longer use commons for cows, sheep, goats, or pigs, nor get fuel and bedding for his animals. Whole standard of life sank.
- 3 Agricultural labourers forbidden to combine and "revolts" treated with terrible severity. (Tolpuddle martyrs 1834)

But *Agricultural methods improved*. Enclosures enabled the big farmer to improve his land. Complete change in agricultural methods.

Jethro Tull (1674-1741) invented method of sowing in rows (Tull's Hoe)

Lord Townshend (1674-1738) developed rotation of crops, instead of leaving a field fallow, and introduced turnips, which enabled cattle to be fed during winter, not slaughtered.

Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) improved breeding of sheep, helped by Townshend's winter feeding.

Thus meat supplies were greatly increased and this made possible the feeding of the town populations which were now springing up. Had it not been for the improvement in agriculture there would not have been food for the new towns.

NOTE 121. — THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Began in eighteenth century, but full effects developed in early nineteenth century.

1 Machinery in the Textile Trades.

- (a) 1733 *Kay* invented the flying-shuttle: revolutionized weaving
- (b) 1764 *Hargreaves* invented the spinning Jenny. revolutionized spinning of yarns
- (c) 1769 *Arkwright* invented spinning through rollers worked by water-power.
- (d) 1776 *Crompton's* mule produced fine yarn by water-power.
- (e) 1785 *Cartwright* invented power-loom for weaving

Thus, both spinning and weaving were now on a mechanical basis

2 Iron and Steel. New "machines" needed iron and steel.

1783 *Cort* discovered new method of puddling iron Coal and coke used for smelting This made production of iron easier.

3. Steam.

- (a) 1782. *Watt* made a *steam-engine* which was developed and could be used to drive machinery.
- (b) Ships driven by steam invented *Comet* (1812) launched on the Clyde
- (c) *Stephenson*, in 1814, invented the first locomotive, and railways then followed 1825: First railway opened — *Stockton and Darlington*.

4 Canals and Roads.

- (a) Canals built first in 1759. *Brindley* the great engineer. Built the Manchester and Bridgewater Canal (1759–1761).
- (b) Roads improved, by *Macadam* (1811), *Telford*, and *Renme*.

5. Mines.

Great demand for coal, but use of machinery in mines (first steam-engine used in mines) and *Davy's safety lamp* enabled miners to work under new conditions with more safety (1815)

NOTE 122. — SOCIAL DISCONTENT IN ENGLAND (1815–1820)

1. Distress due to the long Wars.

- (a) Return of soldiers and sailors, needing work.
- (b) Continent now could get raw materials more easily, and began to manufacture for itself
- (c) War expenditure, being unproductive, means the destruction of capital, and hence war is followed by trade "slumps".
- (d) Heavy taxation inevitable, but Parliament acted on wrong principle, for income-tax removed and burden fell on trade and consumers through heavy duties on goods.

2 Distress due to Industrial Revolution.

- (a) Innovation of machinery destroyed "domestic" industry, and at first many thrown out of work, e.g. hand-weavers
- (b) Workers forbidden to combine and so could not get higher wages (Combination Acts 1799 and 1800 Repealed, 1824)

NOTE 123. — POLITICAL CAUSES OF DISCONTENT (1815-1820)**Repressive Policy of the Government.**

- (a) Habeas Corpus suspended (1817).
- (b) *Six Acts (Gag Acts)*, two of which forbade freedom of speech and public meetings, passed by Castlereagh in 1819-20:
 - (i) Act to suppress unauthorized military drilling
 - (ii) Act prescribing heavier penalties for "seditious libels".
 - (iii) Act putting Government Stamp on newspapers and other periodicals (These two Acts checked freedom of the press)
 - (iv) Act to prevent "seditious meetings", i.e. stopped freedom of speech
 - (v) Act authorizing magistrates to "seize arms", i.e. check on personal liberty
 - (vi) Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in crimes of violence.

NOTE 124. — AGITATION IN ENGLAND FOR REFORMS

1811. Luddite Riots against new machines.

1. Action of Reformers.

Radicals, such as *Hunt* and *Bentham*, demanded political reform

1816. *Spa Fields*, demand for universal suffrage. Riots also in Glasgow and in Midlands.

1817. March of *Blanketeers* from Manchester to London. Stopped by Government; the Blanketeers came bringing only a petition.

1819. *Peterloo*, or "Manchester massacre". Crowd went to hear "Orator Hunt", attacked by soldiers on order of magistrates

2. Policy of Government towards Agitation.

(a) Purely repressive till 1822.

(i) Political agitation repressed (see note 123) under Gag Acts.

(ii) Social agitation for better conditions repressed under Pitt's earlier Combination Laws.

(b) After 1822 the Government went in for a policy of *social reforms*.

(c) After 1830 the Whigs demanded *political reform*.

NOTE 125. — CASTLEREAGH'S FOREIGN POLICY

1. During the latter part of the Napoleonic Wars.

Castlereagh (1769-1822) was responsible for the struggle against Napoleon

He strongly supported the *Peninsular War*. Sent Walcheren expedition, the failure of which was not due to him (1809)

He urged on formation of 4th Coalition, which finally crushed Napoleon (1812).

Main idea, to be "non-interventionist" on the Continent, to let nations manage their own internal affairs; to refuse to join in the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance (1815).

2 At Congress of Vienna (1814).

Castlereagh and Wellington represented Great Britain.

(a) Stood for liberal policy towards France. Refused to let Prussia take *Alsace-Lorraine*

(b) Insisted France must be recognized as Great Power. Objected to interference in affairs of other countries. Wished to support constitutional government (as opposed to either republican or autocratic) wherever it had been set up. Insisted Czar should guarantee a constitution for Poland.

3. Refused to join *Holy Alliance* of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to suppress revolutionary ideas wherever they might appear (1815).

4 The Congress System, i.e. periodical congresses of the nations, to be held, with idea of maintaining peace in Europe

Castlereagh agreed to idea, but when he found the "Congress" only supported tyrannical government, he objected, and in the end withdrew.

Thus at *Troppau* (1820) the Great Powers now wished to put down revolts in Spain, Naples, and Portugal; Castlereagh objected and said they were "domestic" affairs

1821 At *Laibach* he only sent an observer to the Congress, and ultimately after his death Great Britain withdrew from the Congress system.

NOTE 126. — THE TORY REFORMERS (1822-1832)

Reign of George IV

Canning, *Huskisson*, and *Peel* all reformers (The old die-hards and reactionaries, *Sidmouth* and *Castlereagh*, were gone)

1. Repeal of Combination Acts (1824). Workmen could now form Trade Unions. Carried through influence of *Place* and *Hume*2 Reduction of Duties led to fall in cost of living and revival of trade. Carried through by *Huskisson*. *Navigation Acts* modified (1824-26).

- 3 Reform of Penal Code carried through by *Peel* (1823-27).
- 4 Religious Reforms. *Test and Corporation Acts* repealed (1828) (this meant Dissenters could hold any office). *Catholic Relief Act* passed (all offices opened to Roman Catholics) (1829).

NOTE 127. — CANNING'S FOREIGN POLICY

Canning (1770-1827) wished to intervene to help liberal movements abroad, and opposed policy of Holy Alliance and European congresses

- 1 At Congress of Verona (1822) refused to agree to French intervention in Spain.
2. Sent army to *Portugal* to prevent Spanish intervention from overthrowing the constitution (1826)
- 3 Revolt in *Spain* against King's tyranny was unsuccessful. But Canning supported *Spanish colonies in America* and recognized them as independent when they rebelled against Spain (1824)
- 4 Supported *Greeks* in their war of independence against Turkey. Battle of *Navarino* (1827)

Note: *Castlereagh and Canning are often compared* as regards their foreign policy Both aimed at Britain's interests being supported Castlereagh had to deal with the reaction after Napoleon and he had strongly Tory country behind him. He thought Great Britain should not "interfere" abroad Canning, who was his bitter personal rival (they fought a duel), was bolder and more dashing. He dealt with a period when reactionary Kings had gone too far. Hence he "intervened" because he thought the Kings threatened Britain's trade interests. The country also had become less reactionary, and "reforms" had begun

At home the Government of which Castlereagh was a member was reactionary (see note 124)

Canning was liberal and reforming. He advocated Catholic Emancipation, abolition of slavery, and freedom of trade.

NOTE 128. — REPRESENTATION BEFORE THE REFORM ACT OF 1832

1. (a) Each county sent 2 members, elected by freeholders, owning freehold land with an annual rental value of forty shillings
(b) Each borough sent 2 members Elected according to the borough's charter, which varied from place to place.

In some places only the members of the town council could vote.

2. Many boroughs were "decayed", i.e. the people with votes had died out; e.g. *Gatton* had only 1 voter, *Pevensey* had 6, *Old Sarum* none, yet these places returned 2 members.

Other boroughs were "pocket" boroughs, where so few electors existed that they could be controlled by local magnates, e.g. Cornish boroughs had been created on purpose to give the King's party a large number of members, Cornwall being a Royal Duchy (and very sparsely inhabited)

- 3 Large new towns had no representation
- 4 Only 80 county members for England, but 409 borough members, so boroughs controlled Parliament.

NOTE 129 — PROVISIONS OF THE REFORM ACT OF 1832

1. Franchise Extended:

- (a) In counties to copyholders and long lease-holders of lands worth £10 a year, and tenants-at-will (short leases) of £50 a year
- (b) In boroughs to householders of a house with a rental worth £10 a year. (Thus property qualifications kept, but based not on ownership of land but on basis of householding. Restriction to "corporations" etc., all abolished.)

- 2 Redistribution of Seats. Rotten and pocket boroughs abolished, towns with less than 2000 inhabitants lost their representation, and seats given to large towns and counties with large population

Result: The dependence of the franchise on land-owners was broken by giving votes to householders, and it was certain that persons who did not rent a house, but only part of it (i.e. lodgers) would in the end get the vote.

It was a beginning, which though small did double the number of voters (had been half a million, and another half-million now added).

But only enfranchised the middle classes, and working classes had to wait nearly forty years for enfranchisement.

Note: Reform Bill *advocated* by:

- (i) The Whigs, who wished to break Tory monopoly of power.
- (ii) The middle classes and manufacturers, who objected to franchise depending so largely on land *owning*.
- (iii) Genuine reformers who wished for enfranchisement of the workers.

Opposed by:

- (i) Those Tories who wanted land-owning interest to be supreme, believing it the most important in the country, and did not realize growth of manufacturing importance of Great Britain
- (ii) All who feared "revolution" and dreaded ideas of "middle-class" agitators.
- (iii) All who made money out of corrupt elections and sale of boroughs.

NOTE 80 — THE WHIG REFORMERS (1830-1854)

William IV's Reign

Government led by *Grey*, then by *Melbourne* Policy of social reform

- 1 Poor Law Reform (1834). Speenhamland system (1795) had given relief:
 - (a) To supplement low wages
 - (b) To large families in proportion to size. Led to general "pauperization" or families living on rates.
 Act of 1834 set up workhouses, checked out-relief, and though very harsh did oblige employers to pay living wage.
 (*Chadwick* head of Poor Law Commission)
- 2 Factory Acts. 1833. First Factory Act, applied to *textile* workers. Limited hours of work to 8 hours for persons under 13 years, to 13½ hours for those under 18 years. Inspectors appointed.
- 3 Education. Grants given by Government to societies which provided schools for working-class children (1833) Inspectors to see money properly spent (1839)
- 4 Abolition of Slavery (1833) Slave Trade abolished earlier (1807), but now slaves were freed.
- 5 Municipal Reform (1835). Towns given elected Town Councils and given powers to undertake public services, e.g. sanitation.
- 6 Postage. 1840. Penny post started (by *Rowland Hill*).

NOTE 181. — THE CHARTISTS (1838-1848)

1. The *Hungry Forties* led to great misery and discontent. Working classes wanted reform, in order to get redress of grievances.
 The *Chartists* led by *Lovett*, a moderate, and by *Feargus O'Connor*, who was violent and wished to use force.
 1st Petition, 1840.
 2nd Petition, 1842.
 3rd Petition, 1848
- 2 The Charter had six points:
 - (a) Universal manhood suffrage (in 1918 all men over 21 given franchise)
 - (b) Vote by Ballot, that is, votes to be secret to prevent intimidation or bribery (granted in 1872)
 - (c) Equal electoral districts, so that numbers in each constituency should be approximately equal (granted in 1885)

- (d) No property qualification necessary for a member of Parliament (granted in 1858)
- (e) Members of Parliament to be paid (granted in 1911).
- (f) General elections to be annual.

(Object was to give all men votes and to enable working-class men to sit in Parliament. All these demands have now been fulfilled except the one for Annual General Elections, which would be too expensive and distracting. In addition, as women now have votes, suffrage is *universal*).

3. Collapse of the Chartists.

- (a) Extremists split the party. The Charter presented (1848), but found to have many forged names — “killed by ridicule”.
- (b) Moderates were satisfied by gradual reforms
- (c) Energies of the workers diverted into other movements, e.g. Trade Unionism and Co-operation.
- (d) Prosperity revived, Corn Laws abolished, duties on food reduced (Peel), workers became more contented.

NOTE 182. — ROBERT OWEN (1771-1858)

Owen set up model factory at *New Lanark* (1801). Believed in *co-operation* rather than competition, and in *equalization* of wealth. Believed good wages and good conditions meant good work and high rate of production.

1. Combination in Trade Unions.

Trade Unions legalized in 1824. Spread rapidly.

1833 Owen wished to amalgamate small unions in *Grand National Consolidated Union*

Collapsed because:

- (a) Owen would not countenance strikes, and
- (b) Employers attacked the Unions.

2. Co-operation.

Owen started in London a scheme for *co-operative selling* (1824). Workers produced goods and sold at central store.

Failed after a while, but idea revived by the *Rochdale Pioneers* (1844), who bought jointly, and did away with middle-man

Movement spread, and from distributing goods, went on to produce goods. The modern *Co-operative movement* has one-third of population as members.

3. Socialism.

Owen believed that capital should not be held in private hands, and his friends called his views “socialism”. Term was first used in *Co-operative Magazine* in 1827.

NOTE 133. — ROBERT PEEL (1788-1850)

Chief-Secretary in Ireland (1812-18) Opposed Catholic Emancipation, as did all his party. Helped Wellington to pass *Catholic Emancipation* (1828) Regarded by his party as a "treacherous" act, but Peel believed it must be done to avoid civil war in Ireland.

1. **Penal Reform** (1822-27) Home Secretary, reformed the penal code, making it much less severe

Founded *Metropolitan Police* (helped to prevent crime) (1829)

- 2 **Financial Reform.**

(a) 1819 Chairman of currency committee. Restored cash payments by Bank of England, and thus restored currency and trade.

(b) Abolished many customs duties, thus helping trade

(c) *Bank Charter Act*, 1844, regularized issue of notes by Bank of England

- 3 He reformed the Tory Party by his new programme

Tamworth Manifesto (1834), in which he said "Conservatives" would accept Parliamentary Reform, and any other moderate reforms This meant transforming the old die-hard land-owning Tory party He was *Prime Minister* in 1834-35 and in 1841-46

4. **Social Reform;** passed Mines Act (1842) prohibiting women and girls and boys under 10 from working underground, and Second Factory Act (1844) limiting hours of children under 13 to 6½ hours and of women to 12 hours.

5. **Political Reform.**

(a) With Wellington he passed *Catholic Emancipation* (1828), for he believed if not granted there would be civil war in Ireland

(b) Accepted Reform Bill of 1832, though his party had opposed it, for he believed revolution would come if not passed.

- 6 **Economic Reform.**

(a) His budgets consistently reduced duties on goods (over 250 duties abolished and others reduced).

(b) He repealed the Corn Laws (1846) because he saw Ireland starving and also thought workers of England would rebel if laws not repealed.

Note: Peel was accused of ruining and betraying his party by the repeal of Corn Laws. His party was pledged to maintain them, but he carried repeal with help of the Whigs His own party was split, and he was turned out of office. Peel claimed that he was justified, both over Catholic Emancipation and the Corn Laws, because country's interest must come before party pledges. His party felt that he had broken pledges and split the party.

NOTE 154. — FREE TRADE AND TARIFFS

1. **1776.** Adam Smith, in *Wealth of Nations*, laid down doctrine that countries gained by free exchange of goods
Pitt convinced by book, and began to reduce duties.
2. Huskisson (1823) reduced duties, modified Navigation Laws, and lowered duties on colonial produce.
3. Peel further abolished duties and reduced others (1842). Disraeli did not agree with Peel's policy.
4. Gladstone completed abolition of more duties, and *Free Trade* made policy of Great Britain (1860).
5. Joseph Chamberlain returned to earlier ideas and started campaign for what he called "Tariff Reform", i.e. duties to be put on foreign goods, but a preference (lower rates, or free entry) for *colonial products* (1903). This was part of Chamberlain's Imperialist policy. Converted Conservative party, but policy rejected repeatedly by country.
6. War of 1914-18 caused McKenna duties to be put on certain goods, to check imports (motor cars, clocks, etc.).
7. Policy extended by Conservative government. Accepted by Liberals in the National Government of 1932, because of competition from foreign goods which were heavily subsidised by their governments.

NOTE 155. — PALMERSTON'S FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign Secretary, 1830-34, 1835-41, 1846-51; *Prime Minister*, 1855-58, 1859-65. Championed "Liberalism" in Europe.

1. **Belgian Independence.** Palmerston supported Belgium in her separation from Holland; secured choice of Leopold (Queen Victoria's uncle) as King (1831). *Gave guarantee of permanent neutrality for Belgium* (1839).
2. **Spain.** Supported Queen Isabella against her uncle Don Carlos (1830). Also backed Queen of Portugal (policy of asserting Britain's influence) (1834).
3. **China.** 1840. Fought the "opium war", compelling China to cede us Hong-Kong and to open its ports to British trade (policy of maintaining British trading interests)
As India sold opium to China, the war brought much blame, as fostered opium trade.

4 **France.**

- (a) In 1840 settled Eastern Question by agreement with Russia over *Mehemet Ali* without consulting France Distrusted Louis Philippe
 - (b) In 1846 Palmerston quarrelled with France over King Louis Philippe's marriage treaty with Spain
 - (c) In 1848 he strongly supported the French Revolution against Louis Philippe, who lost his throne largely as a result of losing support of Britain
 - (d) *Resignation of Palmerston* (1851) over his congratulations to *Louis Napoleon* on seizing power in France Done without consulting Cabinet or Queen Palmerston forced to resign
- (Note: Palmerston always admired Louis Napoleon, and his later efforts to punish Orsini conspirators discredited him)

5 **Greece.** "Don Pacifico" incident caused Palmerston to send British fleet and seize Greek ships Russia and France both infuriated Britain's policy regarded as too aggressive (1850)6 **Russia.**

- (a) Russia first alienated by Don Pacifico incident, as Russia regarded Greece as her sphere of influence (1850)
- (b) When *Crimean War* went badly, Lord Aberdeen resigned, and Palmerston became Prime Minister, so as to prosecute the war with vigour (1855)

7 **Italy.** In 1859 Palmerston again Prime Minister. Sympathized with movement in Italy headed by *Garibaldi* and *Cavour* to unite Italy8 **United States.** Peel had compromised over Oregon dispute (1846). *Trent* incident led to aggressive action by Palmerston. War averted by Prince Consort (1861)9 **Germany.** Palmerston wished to support *Danes* in struggle over Schleswig-Holstein Misled Danes, as British would not go to war (1863).

Contrasting Views of Palmerston's Policy. Always aggressive, and made Great Britain to be looked on as interfering, but made Great Britain feared, and her prestige high on the continent. Usually wished to support all movements for liberty.

NOTE 136 — CRIMEAN WAR (1854-1856)

1 **Causes:**

- (a) Turkish misrule of Balkans
- (b) Russia championed Christians in Balkans
- (c) British afraid of Russian influence, as threatening route to India. Hence Britain supported Turkey.

(d) Napoleon III wished to raise prestige of his Government, so asserted French influence in Holy Land

Immediate pretext — quarrel of Russia and France over guardianship of Holy Places

2 Events of War.

(a) 1854 Attack on *Sebastopol* — not pressed forward quickly enough after *Alma*

Battle of *Balaclava* — no result as Russians got command of road to British base

Battle of *Inkerman* — indecisive.

(b) 1855. Allied troops suffered terribly during winter, Nov, 1854–March, 1855

Florence Nightingale sent out (Palmerston, Prime Minister)

(c) February, Czar Nicholas died Alexander II ready to negotiate *Sebastopol* taken (Sept)

1856. Peace made in March by Treaty of Paris.

3 Results of War.

(a) Turkey's "integrity" guaranteed Sultan promised reform, but did not keep promise Czar gave up claim to protect Christians in Balkans

(b) Danubian provinces given self-government, and in 1861 declared independent as Kingdom of Rumania (hence integrity of Turkey not observed)

(c) Black Sea neutral and no war ships allowed in it (But Russia set this aside in 1870)

Real result of war was to bolster up the failing power of Turkey for a while Allies thus meant to check Russia Later the Balkans freed themselves finally from Turkey (1912–13), but remained friendly to Russia

Great Britain gained nothing, except development of nursing reforms due to *Florence Nightingale*

NOTE 137. — INDIA EXPANSION OF BRITISH TERRITORIES (1823–1856)

1 Part of India directly governed by East India Company (e.g. *Madras*, *Bengal*)

Other parts under British influence (*Hyderabad*, *Mysore*, *Rajputana*)

(a) In 1824 part of *Burma* annexed after *First Burmese War*

(b) Lord *Auckland* (1836–41) attacked *Afghanistan* and dethroned *Dost Mohammed* In 1841 *Afghanistan* attacked the British, and whole army destroyed Second *Afghan* expedition to avenge this. *Dost Mohammed* again put on throne.

(c) *Lord Hardinge* fought First Sikh War. *Punjab* a Protectorate (1845).

2 Dalhousie, Governor-General (1848-56)

Believed (a) in territorial expansion of British in India; (b) in social reform

(a) Territorial Expansion.

(i) Second Sikh War. *Punjab annexed* (1849). Lawrence sent to govern

(ii) Second Burmese War *Lower Burma annexed* (1852)

(iii) Doctrine of *lapse* *Central Indian States* of Jhansi and Nagpur annexed (1856).

(iv) Annexation of *Oudh*, as result of Vizier's misrule (1856)

(b) Social Reforms.

Dalhousie continued the policy of *Lord William Bentinck* (1828-35), who (a) abolished suttee; (b) suppressed Thugs; (c) reformed finance; (d) gave Indians a share in government; (e) gave more liberty to Press.

Dalhousie (a) reorganized internal administration; (b) built canals and roads, (c) introduced railways and telegraph, and postal services, (d) encouraged education

Dalhousie's measures all aimed at developing material resources in order to make India prosperous. His annexations aimed at bringing order to badly misgoverned provinces. Dalhousie believed British rule meant peace and prosperity.

NOTE 138. — INDIAN MUTINY (1857-1858)

1. Causes:

(a) Mutiny a *military revolt* of Sepoys. Sepoys upset by famous cartridge issue, and by order to go oversea to Burma — both against *caste* regulations.

(b) Supported by *native princes* because of dislike of doctrine of lapse. Confined to districts where lapse had worked harshly, and to Sepoy troops.

(c) General dislike of Dalhousie's reforms; customs and beliefs of the Indians upset.

(d) Loss of British prestige in Crimea and Afghanistan.

2. Events of Mutiny. First outbreak at Meerut (May, 1857).

(a) *Delhi* besieged; *Lucknow* besieged, *Cawnpore* cantonments besieged (May, 1857)

(b) *Cawnpore* garrison surrendered; massacre of English by Nana Sahib.

- (c) *Lucknow* and *Delhi* held out and relieved (Sept. and Nov., 1857).

Note: Sikhs and Gurkhas fought for British.

3. Results of Mutiny.

- (a) *East India Company* abolished, and Secretary of State, with Council in England, took over charge of Indian affairs (1858).
Viceroy sent to India, with Council to advise him.
- (b) Sepoy army made part of British army. Proportion of white troops to Indian increased.
- (c) More attention paid to Indian ideas. Doctrine of lapse abandoned.
- (d) "Clemency" *Canning* adopted policy of "no reprisals", and later Queen proclaimed *Empress of India* to emphasize British good-feeling (1877).

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD TEN (1815-1867)

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great and Great Britain	Dates	Other Powers	Dates
George III (1760-1820)	1812-27 LIVERPOOL	Battle of Waterloo, Lord Hastings in India, 1814-23	1815	Treaty of Paris, Louis XVIII King of France.	1815
		Occupation of Singapore, "Six Acts", "Peterloo", first steamship crosses Atlantic	1819	Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle	1818
		Liverpool's Ministry re-constructed, Death of Castlereagh,	1822	Revolutions in Spain and Naples, Congress of Troppau	1820
George IV (1820-1830)	CANNING GODERICH WELLINGTON	Stockton-Darlington Railway opened	1825	Death of Napoleon I, Congress of Laibach.	1821
		Battle of Navarino, Death of Canning	1827	Congress of Verona	1822
		Test and Corporation Acts repealed	1828	Charles X becomes King of France	1824
William IV (1830-1837)	GRY. MILBOURNE PEL MELBOURNE	Catholic Emancipation Act, Metropolitan Police Force founded	1829	Nicholas becomes Czar	1825
		Manchester and Liverpool Railway opened.	1830	War of Greece	1826
		First Reform Bill	1832	Treaty of Adrianople	1829
William IV (1830-1837)	GRY. MILBOURNE PEL MELBOURNE	Abolition of Slavery in British dominions, Factory Act	1833	Revolutions in France and Belgium; Louis Philippe King of the French.	1830
		Reform of Poor Law	1834		
		Municipal Reform Act.	1835		
William IV (1830-1837)	GRY. MILBOURNE PEL MELBOURNE	South Australia Colonized, the "Great Trek",	1836		
		Rebellion in Canada	1837		
		Lord Durham sent to Canada; Great Western crosses Atlantic	1838		
William IV (1830-1837)	GRY. MILBOURNE PEL MELBOURNE	First Afghan War, "Bulchamhar" question	1839		
		New Zealand annexed, Penny Postage introduced	1840		
				Belgian Neutrality guaranteed	1839
				Alliance against Mchenet Ah	1840

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great and Greater Britain	Queen Victoria, (1837-1901)	
			Dates	Other Powers
	1841-46 PEEL	Chinese cede Hong-Kong Mines Act, Ashburton Treaty The Disruption in Scottish Church Second Factory Act Irish Famine Repeal of Corn Laws, Oregon Treaty Chartist Riots, Dalhousie Gov - Gen of India (till 1856), Second Sikh War, Anaesthetics introduced	1841 1842 1843 1844 1845 1846	
	1846-52 LORD JOHN RUSSELL		1848	Spanish Marriage Question The Year of Revolutions
	DERBY	The Great Exhibition Sand River Convention	1851 1852	Louis Napoleon's <i>coup d'état</i> Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor Napoleon III
	ABERDEEN	Battles of Alma, Balaclava, Inkermann Fall of Sebastopol. Peace of Paris	1854 1855 1856	War Alexander II becomes Czar
	PALMERSTON	Second Chinese War East India Company abolished	1857 1858	
	DERBY	Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> Maori War Death of Prince Consort, the <i>Alabama</i> incident.	1859 1860 1861	War of Italian Unity (1859-61), Battles of Magenta and Solferino
	PALMERSTON.			
	RUSSELL, DERBY DISRAELI	Dominion of Canada formed; Second Reform Bill	1865 1867	AMERICAN CIVIL WAR Bismarck becomes Chief Minister in Prussia War between Prussia and Denmark Austro-Prussian War

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD TEN

(1815-1867)

- 1 Give an account of (a) parliamentary representation in England before 1832, (b) the changes made by the Reform Act of 1832
(NUJB 1935)
- 2 What were the Corn Laws and why were they repealed? (OC 1937)
- 3 What were the main achievements of Sir Robert Peel?
(NUJB 1937)
- 4 Give an account of Castlereagh's work from, and including, his settlement of Europe in 1815 to his death in 1822 (LGS 1937)
- 5 On what grounds was the system of parliamentary representation before 1832 (a) attacked, and (b) defended? State the main changes made by the Reform Act of 1832 (LGS 1937)
- 6 Describe the struggle for the reform of Parliament that ended with the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. (LGS 1936)
- 7 What were the chief services of Sir Robert Peel to England?
(LGS 1936)
- 8 Explain (a) the success of the Anti-Corn Law League; (b) the failure of the Chartists. (LGS 1936)
- 9 What were the grievances of the Chartists? (OC 1933)
- 10 Give an account of the establishment of Free Trade in England.
(NUJB 1936)
- 11 How far was the distress and discontent in England between 1815 and 1832 due to the results of the Napoleonic Wars? (LGS 1935)
- 12 What were the causes of social discontent in England (1815-20)?
(OC 1927, '29, OL 1932; LM 1932, CWB 1932)
- 13 Describe and compare the foreign policy of Castlereagh and Canning
(LM 1924, '25, LGS 1925, OC '29, '31)
- 14 Why was a reform of the Poor Law so urgently needed in the early days of the nineteenth century? (D 1931)
- 15 Write an account of (a) the co-operative movement; (b) the Reform of the Poor Law in 1834
(NUJB 1932)
- 16 Why were the Factory Acts so necessary, and what reforms did they introduce?
(D 1932)

- 17 Outline the history and the aims of the Chartist movement.
(LM 1925, OC 1929; OL 1929, NUJB 1930)
- 18 Discuss the aims and methods of Lord Palmerston
(LGS 1924, OC 1929, OC 1930, NUJB '32, UW '32)
- 19 On what occasions and with what effect did Lord Palmerston interfere abroad to check tyranny?
(OL 1930)
- 20 Describe the chief reforms of the Whigs between 1833 and 1841
(NUJB 1938)
- 21 Write a short biography of Lord Palmerston What were the chief results of his career?
(LGS 1935)
- 22 Give an account of the development of Canada from the rebellion of 1837 to the setting up of the Dominion in 1867 (NUJB 1936)
- 23 Give an outline of the history of *either* Canada up to the Canadian Act of Union (1840) *or* of Australia since the colonization of S Australia (1836)
(OC 1933)
- 24 Trace the development of Canada in the nineteenth century
(LGS 1937)
- 25 What mechanical inventions promoted English prosperity in the first half of the nineteenth century?
(OC 1935)
- 26 State the services to the British Empire of *either* Bentinck and Dalhousie *or* Disraeli and Joseph Chamberlain.
(NUJB 1935)
- 27 Estimate Peel's services to (a) his party, (b) his country
(NUJB 1932)
- 28 Write an account of the Durham Report
(NUJB 1932)
- 29 Describe and estimate the importance of the work of Bentinck and Dalhousie on India
(NUJB 1930, 1932)
- 30 Examine the causes and chief events of the Indian Mutiny
(OL 1929, LGS 1922, OC 1927)
- 31 Give a brief description of the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, and illustrate your account by reference to some leading events in his career
(LGS 1932)
- 32 State the main facts concerning (a) the causes of the Crimean War, (b) the part played by Britain in this war
(NUJB 1937)
- 33 Why did Britain engage in the Crimean War?
(OC 1933)
- 34 Give an account of the growth of British rule in India from 1750-1850
(OC 1935)
- 35 What were the chief causes and what were the chief results of the Indian Mutiny?
(LGS 1935)
- 36 Why did England enter the Crimean War? What were the chief results of her doing so?
(LGS 1935)

PERIOD ELEVEN

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: IMPERIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

1867-1914

CHAPTER 65

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI (1865-1868)

Palmerston's death, in 1865, marked the end of an epoch. Many of his associates had grown old along with him, and now they too disappeared from the political scene. Peel had died in 1850, Wellington in 1852, Lord Aberdeen in 1860. Besides his fellow-statesmen, another prominent person now pre-deceased Palmerston. The *Prince Consort* died in 1861, worn out before his time. He had led a most unselfish life, devoting himself to his wife and to her country. Though the Queen was passionately devoted to him, the English never cared for him. His stiff insistence on etiquette and his disapproval both of English sport and English laziness, annoyed them. He could not understand the nation, and in return he was distrusted. Many thought his influence too great¹ and feared that he was making the Crown too powerful. Yet he did all he could to advance science and help trade. Perhaps his most serious mistake was in the unduly severe and narrow way in which he brought up the heir to the throne.

The
Prince
Consort

On the Queen the effects of his death were disastrous.

¹ During the Crimea there was a popular demand that he should be interned in the Tower as a foreigner.

She shut herself up and declined to appear in public. For years she lived completely apart, refusing to visit London, to perform any state ceremonies, or to receive foreign statesmen. The people bitterly resented this and the popularity of her early years disappeared until in 1871 the illness of the Prince of Wales won her much sympathy and restored her popularity.

Meanwhile, on the empty political stage, there appeared two men who now had the way to greatness open before them — *William Ewart Gladstone* and *Benjamin Disraeli*.

Gladstone began life as a warm admirer of Peel. He had, like his leader, been convinced of the need to repeal the Corn Laws. He had, with his leader, suffered from Disraeli's attack on that policy. The difference thus begun at the outset of their careers, was to widen and to last throughout the lives of these two men (*Note 140*).

Gladstone was in many ways an epitome of the Victorian age. He was deeply religious and a follower of the High Church Party. He was very widely read, and a great student of the classics. He was rich, the son of a very wealthy Liverpool family. He was extremely handsome, and besides a natural dignity and severity, had a most wonderful gift of eloquence.¹ He was in many ways a strange mixture, for besides his genuine religious feeling which led him always to lay stress on the moral side of actions, he had a very subtle mind which enabled him to take a line not always clear to others. Thus his enemies, and often foreigners, accused him of hypocrisy, when to himself his actions never deviated from what he thought right. *Parnell*, one of the most formidable politicians of the day, said that Gladstone was the only opponent he really feared.

In dealing with Gladstone's career, we have to notice three separate threads: *finance*, of which he was an acknowledged master; *social reform*; and *foreign policy*.

¹ A gift wasted on Queen Victoria who complained that he "always addressed her as if she were a public meeting."

We shall deal first of all with *finance*. Gladstone for a long period acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer¹ (1859-65). His Budget Statements have always been considered as models of clearness, and he preached incessantly the doctrine of "peace, retrenchment, and reform". He aimed first at removing all barriers in trade, and his first task was the effort to lower the duties on tea and sugar and to abolish many more of those duties on goods which had remained after Peel's reforms. England now became largely a *Free Trade* country, that is to say many imports came in without paying duties. Next, he wanted to avoid spending money on armaments, for he believed such expenditure to be unproductive. He thought it best to aim at low taxation, and to leave the money in the pockets of the people. He had thought that it might have been possible to do without Peel's income-tax, but the Crimean War upset that plan. In 1860 times were more prosperous, but now Britain suffered from a fit of "nerves". She believed that Napoleon III meant to invade her, and a scare resulted in the formation of volunteer corps to defend our shores, and in the fortification of our naval ports. The expense which these measures involved, combined with the cost of restoring order after the Indian Mutiny, meant that the income-tax had to be retained, and thenceforward it became a regular feature of our taxation, though at 3*d.* in the £ it could not be thought burdensome. Great Britain was now extraordinarily prosperous, trade was increasing enormously, and revenue going up by leaps and bounds. Gladstone was easily able, therefore, to abolish a tax on paper, which he called a "tax on knowledge", since it raised the price of books and newspapers.

He also set to work to clear men's minds of the fear of France, regarding it as a harmful bogey. With the help of Cobden, the leader of the Free Traders, he negotiated a commercial treaty with France. By this treaty, each nation lowered its duties, and so French silks came into this country

¹ He was also Chancellor from 1852 to 1855.

Free
Trade-
The Man-
chester
School

more cheaply, while France lowered her tariff on British hardware. Free Trade was championed by men who came mainly from the great exporting centres of northern England, and its leaders were called the *Manchester School*. They preached that trade flourished through the exchange of goods, and that by keeping out the goods of other countries we checked the export of our own.

Electoral
Reform

Next to finance, came *reform*, and here the *Liberals*, as they began to be called, saw that the time had come for an extension of the franchise. Increased wealth had spread to all parts of the community, and now the working-classes wanted more political power. So in 1866 Gladstone drew up the second *Reform Bill*. This was intended to give votes to working-class householders. It was a moderate scheme, and would have meant that half a million of the well-to-do artisan class would have been enfranchised. What followed is a commentary on the tricks that "party" schemes can play.

Lowe
and the
Adullam-
ites

Many of the former Whig party were not in favour of reform. Palmerston had always opposed it, and Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, was very lukewarm. Indeed, his belief that the franchise was now completely satisfactory and needed no further change earned him the nickname of "Finality Jack". Quite a large section of the Government party went even further, and were resolved to oppose all extension of the franchise. They were led by Robert Lowe, who frankly admitted that he feared to give political power to the working classes. This group was nicknamed the "Adullamites" (after the men who withdrew with David from following Saul and hid in the Cave of Adullam—1 Samuel xxii) and since that time members who have split off from their party have been said to form a "cave". They refused to accept Gladstone's proposals, and would not vote with him. Gladstone stuck to his principles, for he did believe in enfranchising the working-man, and went on with the Bill. The "Adullamites", joining with Disraeli, de-

feated the new Reform Bill. Lord John resigned, and the Tories came into power.

The new Prime Minister was *Lord Derby*, but the true leader was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Benjamin Disraeli*, who now stood forward as the great opponent of Gladstone. The rivalry between these two men was to give zest and a personal excitement to all Victorian politics. Not often has England had two such outstandingly able men competing to serve her, and never, perhaps, two contemporaries with such picturesque personalities. In some ways Disraeli seems unbelievably exotic,¹ but actually the mid-Victorians were far more exuberant in their dress and way of life than we always appreciate. He came from a family of Italian Jews. His father was a literary man, and Disraeli himself first won fame as a novelist—a contrast with Gladstone, whose first publication had been a book on the principles regulating the relations between Church and State.

Tories in
power:
Disraeli
(1866)

Gladstone had progressed easily from Eton and Oxford to a seat in the House. Disraeli left school at fifteen, went into a solicitor's office at seventeen, and had tried four times for a seat before he was successful in 1837. Where Gladstone had been recognized from the outset as a speaker of extraordinary promise, Disraeli's first efforts were complete failures, and his maiden speech was laughed down.²

Now, however, time had shown his great ability and dexterity, and having won his position through his opposition to Peel and the repeal of the Corn Laws, he was now the recognized leader in the opposition to Gladstone and his policy of reform.

Disraeli was abnormally quick in foreseeing the way

¹ A lady who met him at a dinner party when he was a young man describes him as wearing a black velvet coat lined with satin, purple trousers with a gold band running down the outside seam, a scarlet waistcoat, and white gloves with several brilliant rings outside them.

² He merely said in conclusion, "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me."

Disraeli's
Reform
Bill
(1867)

things were developing; he was said to "have his ear to the ground", and he realized that further extension of the franchise must come. So he decided that his party should have the credit, and though he had brought about Gladstone's defeat on this very measure, he now decided to "dish the Whigs". With some difficulty he convinced his own party. So the new *Tory* party brought in a Reform Bill. Disraeli was sincere in that he had no great love for the rich middle classes, and he had much sympathy for the workers, of whom he spoke as the second of the "Two Nations"¹ into which he thought Britain was divided. His later life was to show his belief in social reform.

He did not intend at first, however, that this extension of the franchise should be as wide as it turned out to be. His move to win popularity was met by his opponents. Gladstone and Bright began a great campaign which swept the thickly populated manufacturing districts. They brought forward amendments in the House, and Disraeli dared not oppose them. So the second *Reform Act* was passed (1867), with far wider changes either than Gladstone's original Bill or than Disraeli's. It gave the vote in the towns to all householders who paid poor rates, and to all lodgers who paid £10 a year in rent and had been in their lodgings for twelve months; and in the counties to all occupiers paying rates on an assessment of £12 a year. This really enfranchised the working-man. The reception given to the Act perhaps showed Disraeli what he had done. His own leader, Lord Derby, called it a "leap in the dark", and *Carlyle*, who was neither a coward nor a reactionary, said it was like "shooting Niagara". The future *Lord Salisbury*, who opposed his leader Disraeli on this point, bluntly called it "a piece of political dishonesty unexampled in our history". Disraeli might remain unmoved by these remarks, but he had more than harsh words to bear. A general election had to be held

¹ His works, especially *Sybil*, show knowledge of and sympathy with the conditions of the workers.

in the next year (1868), and Disraeli had believed that the new voters would show their gratitude by voting for his party. Gratitude, however, does not exist in politics, or, rather, party principles are stronger.¹ The Liberals were returned to power, and Gladstone became the new Prime Minister till 1874.

CHAPTER 66

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY AND REFORMS (1868-1874)

Gladstone had come back as a minister supported by the working-class vote. He was resolved to carry through social reforms, and he began with *education*, for, as Lowe commented, "now we must educate our masters".

Sometimes people have urged that votes should depend upon a test of a certain standard of education, but history has shown that the opposite rule prevails — grant people a vote and improvement in their standard of education follows (*Note 143*).

Up to 1870 children were not obliged to go to school, and, indeed, there were not schools for them all to attend. Education for the working-classes, such as it was, had been provided by the churches, which had raised large sums for the purpose. The Church of England had built many schools, especially in the country districts, the non-conformists had built others, and the Government had given grants to both.

W. E. Forster, a Quaker, was given charge of Gladstone's measure for educational reform. By his Act (*Elementary Education Act*, 1870) England and Wales were divided into districts, and in each district there was to be an elected

¹ Lord Baldwin made the same miscalculation over the "flapper vote" in 1928. He thought the newly enfranchised women, between the ages of 21 and 30, would vote Conservative, but they did not.

School Board. In every district where there was no school, the State would provide one, paid for by special education rates. But in most places where schools were provided by the various churches, they were to continue, and were to receive grants out of public funds. All schools alike were to be inspected. Until the new schools had been built, it was useless to make it compulsory for children to attend, but ten years later (1880) all children were obliged to attend school up to the age of thirteen. Parents had to pay fees, and not till 1890 was education made "free"; that is to say, parents were no longer obliged to pay specifically for their children's schooling. We should note, however, that as all parents are both tax-payers and ratepayers (usually, though not in Scotland, rates are included in rents), they do certainly provide, though more indirectly, for the sums spent on national education.¹

Next came an improvement in university education. Hitherto no one could hold a scholarship or fellowship in or be a member of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, unless he was a member of the Church of England. This "religious test" was now abolished by the Repeal of the Tests Act of 1871.

One of the Chartist demands was realized, when in 1872 the *Ballot Act* made voting for members of Parliament secret, and voters no longer had to fear intimidation or reprisals as a result of voting publicly. This did away with a great deal of the corruption and disorder of elections (such as Dickens caricatured in the *Pickwick Papers*), for it was useless to bribe a man to vote when you could no longer tell how he actually voted. Though opponents of the reform said that the secret ballot would "sap the manly independence of the voter", it really had the opposite effect.

As the State was extending its activities, it needed more officials, and it was perfectly clear that the old system of nomination must be changed. The entrance to the Civil Service

¹ In 1872 a similar Education Act was passed for Scotland.

Service was therefore made to depend on examination, open and compulsory to all applicants for admission to its ranks.¹

Democracy was gathering strength, and Gladstone's ministry carried its influence even into the stronghold of the army. The reforms brought about by *Edward Cardwell*, the Secretary for War, were then called "revolutionary". He adopted ideas from the Continent, where Prussia had just shown the effectiveness of her system in her "lightning" wars against Austria and France. Great Britain had a professional army, recruited on the basis of a twenty-year service with the colours. This meant that the soldiers of her army were often too old for active service, and there were no reserves. Germany and France had the system of conscription, whereby all young men had a period of military training and then went back to civil life. Great Britain, without the need for a great army, would not have accepted conscription. Cardwell aimed at getting some of the benefits of that system by "short-term" service, under which men enlisted for twelve years, and then went into the reserve. He also tried, by abolishing the purchase of commissions, to prevent the army being officered by such incompetents as had mismanaged the Crimea. He tried, too, to meet the special difficulties which our Empire had to face, by the "linked battalion" method. This meant that in a regiment one battalion would serve abroad, while the other trained at home, and each pair came from one special area where the regiment had its depot for recruiting, thus getting the benefit of local feeling. Finally, there was swept away the hopeless system against which Florence Nightingale had raged, of having separate authorities for different departments — one for stores, another for clothing, and so on. There was to be one Army Council, with the Secretary for War at its head.

The
army:
Card-
well's
reforms

¹ Macaulay's Report had long since made this system to be applied to the Indian Civil Service.

During this time the Trade Unions had been going steadily ahead in membership and in organization (*Note 144*). They had given up the wilder policy of the Chartists, and many had struggled to give their members wider interests.¹ As the Unions collected more funds, so they felt stronger, and they now wished to make their legal existence secure. For though the formation of unions was no longer forbidden by law, they were declared by the justices to be "in restraint of trade", and so could not sue dishonest officials who misused their funds. In 1868 the Unions had a great joint meeting, recognized to-day as the first Trades Union Congress. Gladstone decided to meet their grievances. His *Trades' Union Act* (1871) gave them proper legal existence and their funds were safeguarded against dishonest officials.

Apparently in politics it always happens that after a while men tire of any ministry, and what is called the "swing of the pendulum" comes into play. Gladstone had done a great deal, and he wanted to do more. He wished to reform the trade in drink and set to work on a Licensing Bill. He had already vexed many Nonconformists over education, for they disliked paying rates in areas where there was only a Church School. He had upset the Church of England by his Bill disestablishing the Church in Ireland (1869). Now this new Bill, which his opponents said would "rob the poor man of his beer", lost him the workers' votes.

The country was vaguely discontented, too, with what was thought to be Great Britain's loss of prestige abroad. People were dissatisfied with the mild line taken by Gladstone in 1872 in paying the U.S.A. compensation for the *Alabama* (p. 808). Nor were they happy over European politics. 1870 was the year of the Franco-Prussian war. Napoleon III had most mistakenly given Bismarck the opportunity he needed. France had thought herself strong, but she proved to be lamentably weak. The British Court

¹ Various societies "for the diffusion of useful knowledge" were formed, and one man wrote in 1864, "This year I gave up buying beer and took to buying books."

and many others were in favour of Prussia, for Napoleon III was universally distrusted, and Britain sympathized with the union of Germany which followed the war. But as a result of the preoccupation of the great powers in the west, Russia at this point repudiated the Treaty of Paris and opened the Black Sea to her warships (1871). Britain, was always nervous of Russia, and this move seemed to her ominous. So, moved partly by panic, partly by pique, the electorate turned against Gladstone, and in 1874 he went out.

CHAPTER 67

DISRAELI AND "TORY DEMOCRACY" (1874-1880)

Thus at length (1874), Disraeli had triumphed (*Note 141*). His party was in power after twenty-eight years in opposition, and he was Prime Minister. He was jubilant, for he had behind him a party which he had won over to his new programme. He was destined, too, to find his path smoothed in another direction through the personal liking felt for him by the Queen. Victoria had suffered very greatly from the death of her dearly-loved husband. For years she had shut herself up, refusing to come to London or to take her share in public life,¹ and discontent at this attitude had been general. In Disraeli she found, at this stage in her life, a man whom she treated as a friend. He knew exactly how to please her, in a way that the stiffer and more sedate Gladstone had never been able to achieve. She was happy in this friendship with her new Premier, and persuaded by him she began once more to emerge from her retirement. Disraeli was sincere in his admiration for the sovereign. He had a conception of Great Britain as an Empire in which he whole-heartedly believed, and at the head of that Empire, acting as a link

Disraeli
and the
Queen

¹ One newspaper published a mock statement: "The Queen will come to London and stop one whole week."

with all the parts, was the Crown. He wished to emphasize that link and to make the Crown popular, and he used his influence to induce the Queen to take her place amongst her people. Gladstone was every whit as loyal; indeed, his regard for the sovereign was his undoing, for he always alienated the Queen by his stiff and austere respect. Disraeli had a far more human touch,¹ and he was, of course, perfectly aware of his advantage. He knew, and so did everyone else, that the Queen was one of his warmest friends, and that anything he did was sure of her approval.

Policy of
Disraeli

In domestic affairs Disraeli had a policy which he himself called "Tory Democracy". He genuinely wished to improve the conditions of the working classes, and also to strengthen the Empire. He meant, too, to play a more striking part in foreign policy than had Gladstone, and this was the sphere in which he personally most desired to distinguish himself. So he left the details of his social measures largely to Sir Richard Cross, the Home Secretary.

Trade
Unions

Cross guided through the House a Bill concerning the Trade Unions (called the Conspiracy Act, 1875), which declared that no Union could be prosecuted for anything that would not be illegal if done by an individual. This was of immense importance to the Trade Union movement, but workers might not, by use of a strike, cause loss of life or interrupt the supply of gas and water to the community.

Public
Health
Act
(1875)

In this same year was passed the Public Health Act, which gave to county and borough councils power to take measures for public health. The novelists of that period often deal with the frightful epidemics of "cholera" and "typhus" which ravaged town and country alike. This measure was the first attempt to get at one of the causes of such outbreaks by the provision of proper water sanitation. Each district was now to have a Medical Officer of Health.

¹ Comparing his attitude towards Queen Victoria with Gladstone's, Disraeli once said, "Gladstone treats the Queen like a public department, I treat her like a woman." The Queen spoke of Disraeli after his death, as her "dear, great friend."

Another feature of town life in those days was the terrible slums,¹ and the Artisans' Dwelling Act of 1875 gave local authorities power to pull down such places and rebuild them. It is a reflection on our civilization that in all the many years since that Act was passed, slums have not yet been obliterated. Housing

One other bad development of the industrial age was touched upon. Ships, greedy for freight, often went to sea in bad repair and overloaded. In 1876 the Merchant Shipping Act gave the Board of Trade the right to inspect all ships before they went to sea. A mark called the "Plimsoll Line", after the man who introduced it, was from that time painted on the side of every ship to show the depth to which it could be loaded. The Merchant Shipping Act (1876)

All these Acts form part of the efforts to improve the conditions of the working-classes which were really shared by Liberal and Conservative alike. In foreign affairs, however, Disraeli showed where he really differed fundamentally from Gladstone. In one sense Disraeli's policy gave a marked and persistent character to his party, for he deliberately emphasized the idea of *Imperialism*. He believed whole-heartedly in the British Empire, and he wanted to glorify it. Foreign affairs

He was specially attracted by India, and this interest led to one of his successful coups, when in 1875 he bought £4,000,000 of shares in the *Suez Canal* which were being sold by the Khedive. This helped us to control the Canal route to India, and proved in addition a paying investment. Next he arranged for the Prince of Wales to visit India, and finally, in 1876, he put through an Act making the Queen "Empress of India". The Empress was proclaimed at Delhi on 1st January, 1877. Concern with India had again and again made Britain nervous of Russia, disliking the idea of that great Empire creeping down into the Mediterranean, Suez Canal shares (1875)
Empress of India (1877)

¹ Dickens gives an unsurpassed picture in *Bleak House*, of "Tom-all-alone's" slum.



too near her trade route. Britain dreaded, too, lest Russia should push through Asia and come near the Indian frontier. This nervousness Disraeli carried further, with a policy hostile to Russia in the Near East (*Note 142*).

In 1876 the people of the Balkans, who were miserably oppressed by the Turks, burst into revolt. That revolt, especially in *Bulgaria*, was put down by the Sultan with

most appalling ferocity. The stories of the *Bulgarian Atrocities* roused Gladstone to a campaign in which his burning indignation and eloquence evoked the sympathy of the working-classes. The Czar, considering himself the champion of a Slav nation and of his co-religionists, asked Britain, Germany, and Austria to join in a protest to the Turks, against the massacres. Disraeli refused, for he said that we must not weaken the Sultan's authority. The Czar threatened to act alone. In vain did Gladstone write one of his best and most effective pamphlets, in vain did he urge that the Turk should be turned out of Europe "bag and baggage", in vain did vast meetings in the north and midlands support him — the Conservative Party feared Russia and preferred to bolster up the Turks. The Czar finally did take action. In 1877 he sent his troops to invade Turkey, and though the Turks fought well and gained renown by their defence of Plevna, they were defeated and forced to make peace in the Treaty of San Stephano. The Balkans were to be free and the two chief States, Serbia and Bulgaria, were to be independent. But the terms imposed by Russia were such that Great Britain could not acquiesce in them, nor could Russia be allowed to settle the Eastern Question without reference to the other Powers concerned.

The
Near
East:
the
Bulgarian
Atrocities

The
Russo-
Turkish
War
(1877-78)

Disraeli, who had just been made *Earl of Beaconsfield*, intervened. He was determined that no settlement should be imposed by Russia alone, and he declared that as the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Crimean War had fixed Turkey's boundaries, so now all the Powers must be consulted if these boundaries were to be altered. Russia hesitated, but Disraeli sent troops to Malta and the British fleet to Constantinople. Suddenly Russia gave way, and agreed that a European Congress should be called. That Congress met at Berlin in 1878, Bismarck presided, and as he did not want his two friends, Austria and Russia, to quarrel, he had already tried to act, in his own words, as an "honest broker" in facilitating a settlement between Great Britain and these

Congress
of Berlin
(1878)

two Powers. Thus, when the Congress met, the business consisted mainly of carrying into effect decisions already made by means of secret and direct negotiations between the Powers concerned. Disraeli returned from this Congress with the boast that he had brought "Peace with honour", but unfortunately final peace was not to be achieved on the terms of the settlement.

For as the main object of Disraeli's diplomacy was to check Russia and save Turkey, one of the chief measures of Berlin was to put back a large part of the newly freed Bulgaria under Turkish rule. Another measure was that Bosnia, which had also been freed, was placed under Austrian "control". This led ultimately to the fatal intrusion of Austria into the Balkans and her rivalry there with Russia, which in 1914 was one of the causes of war. Disraeli accepted Cyprus for Great Britain, so long as Russia held her conquests in northern Asia Minor, in return for a pledge to support the Sultan's Asiatic Empire by force of arms if necessary, a pledge which she was never asked to fulfil. He had achieved his main object, namely to save the Turks, though he also earned the enmity of Russia. Yet so overwhelming was the dislike of Russia that, on his return from the Congress,¹ he was greeted by his party with the utmost enthusiasm, and the Queen, who openly and ardently agreed with his policy, gave him the Order of the Garter.²

This anti-Russian policy led Beaconsfield into further entanglements. He believed that Russia had "designs" ^{Trouble in India} on India, so he sent his friend Lord Lytton as Viceroy, and (1878-80) instructed him to get control of Afghanistan and so block Russian advances there. Accordingly a British mission was

¹ Bismarck's opinion of Disraeli at the Congress was "Der alte Jude, das ist der Mann!" (The old Jew, he's the man!). Disraeli in a letter described Bismarck thus: "Bismarck soars above all. he is 6 feet 4 I should think, with a sweet and gentle voice, which singularly and strangely contrasts with the awful things he says appalling from their frankness and audacity. He is a complete despot here, and all tremble at his frown and most sedulously court his smile."

² He had been made Earl of Beaconsfield in 1877. Gladstone, when offered a peerage, refused.

dispatched, but within a few months the British agent was murdered in Kabul. A British general, *Sir Frederick Roberts*, was sent (1879) to march to Kandahar, and gained much prestige. But it was clear that a mistake had been made. To control Afghanistan effectively a garrison would have to be maintained. This was not practicable, so Britain, discomfited, had to reverse her policy and to do her best to win over Afghanistan by peaceful friendliness.

Troubles in Africa with the Zulus and the Boers (see p. 895) completed the gloomy story. The time had come for a general election, and to everyone's astonishment Gladstone burst out of his retirement and undertook a campaign against the Government in the autumn of 1879. He was seventy years old, but he went off to Midlothian, which was in those days a "safe" Conservative seat. There, in his famous "Midlothian Campaign", he spoke with all and more than all his former vigour and fire, denouncing Beaconsfield's policy towards the Turks, his stirring up of trouble in Afghanistan, and his failures in South Africa. His indignation and his eloquence chimed in with people's uneasiness, and the Liberals were returned triumphantly to power (1880). And in Africa

Beaconsfield himself did not long outlive his defeat. He died the next year¹ (1881). He must always remain a strange and fantastic figure, not at all typical, in his foreign and flamboyant style, of the party he led. His genuine belief that Great Britain's rule was "beneficent", and that the Pax Britannica brought good to the nations, caused his imperialist ideas to strike deep roots. The other side of his policy, social reform or "Tory Democracy", ceased to exercise so much influence on his party.

¹ Queen Victoria sent primroses to his funeral bier, with the label "his favourite flower", she intended to refer to the Prince Consort, but the idea prevailed that Beaconsfield's favourite was meant. Hence the Conservative body formed to carry out his ideals is the "Primrose League".

CHAPTER 68

GLADSTONE'S LATER MINISTRIES: FOREIGN
POLICY (1880-1885)

2ND, 3RD, AND 4TH MINISTRIES

The "Grand Old Man" found himself responsible for a very troubled country. In one sense he was unfortunate in his successful defeat of Disraeli, for actually he inherited a legacy of troubles, and there was little he could do to put matters right.

In every direction he was to earn unpopularity. First there came Africa. Here Gladstone had utterly disapproved of Disraeli's "imperialism", and he had objected to the annexation of the Transvaal. He was ready therefore to take the resistance of the Boers as a true reason for going back on that policy and to make peace by recognizing the independence of the Boer Republics (see p. 898).

Next came problems nearer home. Ireland had always been in Gladstone's thoughts, and now he devoted his best energies to an attempt to remove the source of so much trouble, the land question. But his whole Irish policy is so momentous that it must be dealt with elsewhere (see p. 864).

Third, the question of *Egypt* came to the front. Here we come to a very interesting development — the gradual arrangement between England and France, which resolved itself eventually into a perfectly amicable withdrawal of the French and the establishment of English influence.

Originally it looked as if France would be the power to control Egypt. She had vast territory in North Africa, she had easy communications, and above all she was responsible for the creation of the Suez Canal. A French engineer, *de Lesseps*, had originated and carried through the scheme,

and the money invested in it was held part by the Khedive (the ruler of Egypt), who was only nominally responsible to the Sultan,¹ and part by French bondholders. In 1863 *Ismail Pasha* was Khedive, and by his senseless extravagance, plunged head over ears into debt. In an effort to raise funds, Ismail, as we have seen, sold his shares in the Suez Canal (1875), Disraeli buying them for the British Government for four million pounds. This, however, was but a drop in the bucket, and a few months later Ismail repudiated the State debts which had risen to over 100 million pounds. This money had been lent directly by British and French investors, and France was eager to act in the interests of her own people. Britain was unwilling to let France act alone, and as a result, after negotiations with the Sultan of Turkey, Britain and France jointly took over the control of Egypt. A puppet ruler, Tewfik, son of Ismail, was set up (1879).

Ismail
Pasha's
debts

The Dual
Control

Gladstone thought poorly of this whole policy, and his apprehensions were soon justified. The Egyptians thoroughly disliked the "Dual Control", and in 1881 the army, led by *Arabi Pasha*, rebelled. The troops had not been punctually paid, though French and British had duly received all interest on the loans amassed under Ismail. The French and British fleets were sent to Alexandria, but Gladstone was very reluctant to order any action. Riots broke out in *Alexandria* and Europeans were killed. Goaded on, Britain determined to act, and though the French drew back, the British fleet bombarded Alexandria. War could not now be avoided. The French were afraid to become entangled, for Bismarck was threatening attack on them, and they decided that it was better to abandon Egypt. So Britain acted alone. In 1882 Arabi's army was defeated by *Sir Garnet Wolseley* at *Tel-el-Kebir*. Furthermore, the army revolt being thus suppressed by British forces, the Khedive

Arabi's
revolt
(1881)

Tel-el-
Kebir
(1882)

¹ He was the independent ruler of Egypt, but still owed a nominal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, Egypt having been originally part of the Turkish Empire.

was obliged to let Great Britain try to restore order in the finances, and *Sir Evelyn Baring* was sent out to act as adviser.

To the south of Egypt lay the vast district of the Sudan. There Ismail's misrule had wrought complete havoc, and discontent had long been acute. Now this broke out into rebellion. The Sudanese were stirred up by the appearance of a preacher, the "Mahdi", whose advent was supposed to mean the conversion of the world to Mohammedanism, and under the influence of whom the Sudan declared itself independent. The Khedive could not himself put down the revolt, and he appealed to Great Britain. Gladstone and his Cabinet decided that it was no part of their duty to reconquer the Sudan for the Khedive. But scattered about in that country were Egyptian garrisons, commanded by British officers who had taken service in Egypt, and it was decided that these garrisons must be rescued and then some course of action decided upon. Most unfortunately the man sent out (1884) to supervise this withdrawal was *General Gordon*. Gordon was a strange man, full of a personal magnetism which won him ardent friends. He had made a great name for himself in China,¹ and he had been Governor of the Sudan under the Khedive from 1874 to 1879. Himself an intensely religious man, he had set his mind on converting the Sudanese to Christianity, and he could not tolerate the thought of abandoning them to the wild priests of the Mahdi. He either did not understand his instructions, or decided to ignore them. He knew that the Khedive did not wish to evacuate the country, and he knew that the British Government had vaguely talked of the "future welfare" of the Sudan. So he advanced right up the Nile to *Khartoum*, instead of withdrawing the garrisons, and from there he began to send back dispatches to England.

The
Sudan
and the
Mahdi

General
Gordon

Gordon at
Khartoum
(1884)

¹ Gordon's most famous exploits were in China. He commanded a force, known as the "Ever-victorious Army", on behalf of the Chinese Government in the formidable Taiping rebellion. His force won thirty-three engagements in under two years (1863-4), and stamped out the rebellion. Gordon led the storming-parties in person, carrying a little cane. His soldiers regarded it as a magic wand, protecting his life and leading them to victory.

He believed that we should "smash the Mahdi", and he asked for more troops to be sent out for that purpose. The inevitable result of this pause at Khartoum was that the Mahdi's troops closed in round him. He and his small force were cut off. At this critical moment the Cabinet in England quarrelled violently. One party had always opposed the policy of withdrawal, and Gladstone felt with anger that Gordon was working with this section to induce him to send out a large force and re-conquer the Sudan. Nothing would induce him to do this. In the end *General Wolseley* was sent, but delays occurred, and when the relieving force arrived at Khartoum, they were just two days too late — the citadel had been stormed, and Gordon killed. The news created an absolute passion of indignation in Great Britain. Pictures were sold everywhere showing the "lonely man" in the tower, watching and waiting for the relief that never came. The full fury was directed against Gladstone, who was treated as individually responsible. He had the self-restraint to accept the blame, and to a certain extent he was bound to do so. For his Cabinet had made a mistake in appointing Gordon at all — he was not the sort of man to carry out this particular mission. Having done so, the Cabinet delayed too long in sending relief. Gordon's own conduct in not withdrawing had contributed to the disaster, but he had died a hero's death and his mistakes were forgiven, while Gladstone's were not.

Death of
Gordon
(January
1885)

Thus in almost every direction, Gladstone met with trouble. He scored only one success. He completed the enfranchisement of the workers by his *Country Franchise Act*, an agreed measure as between the two parties, which gave the vote to the agricultural population, and increased the vote of the town-dwellers. This Act laid down that every occupier and lodger in town or country, paying £10 a year in rent, was given a vote. People no longer had to be in a "borough" to exercise the franchise. Actually, though this Act has received comparatively little attention, it was

Reform
of country
franchise.
(1884)

one of the most practically effective of the Reform Acts. More than two million new voters were added to the register — nearly half the total, for in Great Britain in 1884 there were, including the new voters, a total of five millions on the register. Gladstone also “redistributed” members, limiting towns with less than 50,000 inhabitants to one member each, and transferring the extra members to London and the great cities. Finally, he tried to check corruption by the Act which limited the amount of candidates’ election expenses.

Thus in too many directions Gladstone had achieved little except unpopularity. The “imperialists” resented his lenient policy to the Boers; Gordon’s death had been visited on him; and he could point to no definite advantages gained for the people. In June, 1885, he brought his second ministry to a close by resigning office. No election could be held until new voting lists were ready, so for six months (till December, 1885) Lord Salisbury took office.

Then the general election (November – December, 1885) gave the Liberals a majority, and Gladstone began his Third Ministry. He meant to solve the problem which most weighed on his mind — Ireland. He was by now convinced that Home Rule must be granted (see p. 868), and Ireland have her separate parliament. In consequence there appeared the fatal split which was to ruin the Liberal Party. Many of his followers did not agree with Home Rule, and they were led by one of the most important men in the Party, *Joseph Chamberlain*. Hitherto Chamberlain had been an advanced Radical (see p. 871), but he thought that “union” with Ireland must be maintained, and would not agree to an Irish parliament. He and eighty other Liberals therefore broke away and voted against their leader (June, 1886). In the election which followed, Gladstone was defeated, for the country as a whole would not grant Home Rule. The “Grand Old Man”, now over seventy-eight, was driven from office.

Split in
the
Liberal
Party

Glad-
stone's
Third
Ministry
(1886)

For six years the Conservatives ruled (see p. 869), and then in 1892 Gladstone returned to office once more, this being his fourth ministry. He tried patiently and perseveringly to carry out his Irish policy, but he could not succeed. Once more his Bill passed the Commons, once more the Lords rejected it (see p. 870). He now accepted defeat, and felt that his day was really done — he was past eighty-three years old. He went back to his home at Hawarden, where he died four years later.

The
last
phase:
Glad-
stone's
Fourth
Ministry
(1892-94)

We can see how he had clung all his life to what we would now call "self-determination". His foreign policy had been based on that idea; his colonial policy, especially his handling of the Boer question, had been rooted in it; and so was all his Irish policy. Here he had the great difficulty that Ireland includes two races and two religions. He believed that by granting "Home Rule" to the island as a whole, the two sections might settle down together, but his countrymen did not agree with him and they felt that he did not maintain Great Britain's prestige. They turned instead to what has been called a "forward" policy and "imperialism". Gladstone had, however, done an immense amount to give political power to the working-classes and to improve their social conditions, and he was the greatest exponent of "Liberal" ideals. The effect he produced on his contemporaries was tremendous, and with his death men felt that a great force had passed away.

Perhaps he had been in advance of his time, for the two chief policies for which his opponents blamed him, Home Rule for part of Ireland and self-government for the Boers, have both been conceded in later times though in both cases a legacy of bitterness has poisoned the situation, and so far no permanently happy solution of the problems has been found.

CHAPTER 69

IRELAND (1848-1893)

The years of famine in Ireland, 1846 and 1847, had left that country fearfully exhausted. Yet in 1848, when all Europe was in revolution, the Irish too rebelled. A party was formed called *Young Ireland*, led by *Smith O'Brien*, which tried to win Irish liberty. The people were, however, too worn out with misery for this to be anything but a feeble flicker, quickly put out by the British. Ten years later a more formidable organization appeared in the *Fenian Society*. These men, knowing Ireland was too weak to rebel, believed in using force and outrages to draw attention to her grievances. For example, they sent members over to England with bombs. Thousands of Irish had emigrated to the United States, and the Fenians there planned a raid into Canada. The British Government, by the use of spies, discovered the various Fenian plots, and hundreds were arrested in Ireland and given long sentences of imprisonment. The Canadian raid was easily crushed. In England Fenian bombs were used in an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell gaol, where some Irishmen were imprisoned, and at Manchester the police were attacked and one policeman killed (1867).

This campaign of terrorism frightened and angered the British nation. Gladstone became Prime Minister when the movement was at its height, and he declared that repression was not enough, and that some attempt must be made to remedy the grievances which perturbed Ireland (*Note 139*).

His first effort was to deal with religious trouble. The Irish were, of course, a Roman Catholic nation, with the exception of Ulster, which was largely Presbyterian. But

the Protestant Episcopal Church was by law the "established" one, and the Irish were compelled to pay tithes for its support. Gladstone's own devotion to the Church of England made him feel specially strongly on the religious question. He believed that a church which represented only a tiny fraction (one-tenth) of the population, ought not to be in this privileged position. In 1869, therefore, he brought in his Bill for the *Disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church*. This meant that the Episcopal Church in Ireland was put on an equality with other churches there, that tithes were not to be paid it, and that part of its great wealth was given to other objects, chiefly the relief of the poor.

The *Land Question* next engaged Gladstone's attention. The poverty of Ireland shocked all fair-minded men. The Irish had few manufactures, the people were too poor to be able to develop their land, the Irish system of inheritance meant that a peasant holding was divided and subdivided amongst a family until each part was too small to support anyone. The great landowners were often absentees living in England, and their agents' chief object was to squeeze rent from the peasants. In Ireland the tenant had to be responsible for repairs to buildings and for gates, but he got no compensation for his expenditure on these items. In England the landlord was responsible. Nor had he any security of tenure. He was a "tenant-at-will"; that is to say, the landlord could turn him out at any time, or, if he chose, raise his rent. Thus a decent peasant who improved his farm could, and often did, find the result was that his rent was put up, and if he could not pay he was evicted and the farm, on which he had worked, was let to anybody who could pay more.¹ Gladstone saw clearly that the miserable condition of the agricultural population must be remedied, and his first *Land Act*, 1870, was an effort to rectify this state

The
land
question

¹ Maria Edgeworth's novels *The Absentee*, etc., show the evils of this system at work.

The Irish Land Act (1870) of affairs. It laid down that compensation must be given to any out-going tenant who had improved his farm. Also, any tenant who was evicted for any other reason than non-payment of rent or the refusal to accept "reasonable" conditions of tenure, must also receive compensation.

The Land League More than this Gladstone could not do, for he had to contend with the House of Lords, which stood up for all the privileges of landlords. Yet the need for more action was soon made clear. Tenants were often too poor to pay rent if times were bad, and landlords could, even under the 1870 Act, evict them. In 1871 *Michael Davitt*, who had been a Fenian, started the *Land League*. This aimed at preventing evictions by binding all tenants together in an undertaking not to offer higher rents for a vacant holding, and to adopt a "rent strike" in the case of harsh landlords. Anyone who broke this rule was to be "isolated from his kind as if he were a leper of old", no one was to supply him with food, and, in the case of a landlord, no one was to work for him in any way.¹ Then in 1879 came another potato famine, and the landlords evicted thousands of miserable peasants who were utterly unable, starving as they were, to pay their rents. Driven out of their homes, these desperate men took to violence and murder, attacks on the landlords broke out, and many horrible crimes were committed. It was said to "rain outrages", and it was reckoned that there was a policeman or soldier in Ireland for every thirty people.

Irish Land Act (1881) the three F's When Gladstone came back after his Midlothian campaign in 1880 (p. 857) he resolved to make a further effort to put Ireland on a better footing. With a big majority behind him, he could be firm. So 1881 saw the *Second Land Act*, which has been nicknamed the *Act of the Three F's* (Fair rent, Fixity of tenure, and Free sale). This said that rents were to be the subject of arbitration — that is to say,

¹ This was called "boycotting", as the first person to be treated in this manner was a Captain Boycott who evicted some of his tenants.

a tenant could appeal to an independent tribunal to fix what his rent should be; if he paid that rent he could not be evicted, and if he wished to leave his holding he could sell his "interest". This was meant to allow tenants to plead bad times, and to give them support against harsh landlords. But the Irish were by now too embittered, and they refused to go to these new "Land Courts".

The reason for this lay in the rise of a new leader and a new movement, destined to have very great effects on both Irish and British history. Parnell had organized the demand for Home Rule.

Charles Stewart Parnell was a Protestant and his father was a landowner. He had been educated in England, and, his mother being an American, he had visited the United States. He had great gifts of eloquence and an even greater gift of organization. Himself hard and cold, he had the very quality of iron resolution which was needed to bind together the fiery Irish. Believing that Ireland would never win reforms or proper attention to her grievances from Great Britain, he held that the true remedy for Irish misery was to give her back her own parliament and let her have "Home Rule". Gladstone came to share these views, but the Conservative Party clung fast to "union", and with some Liberals, called themselves "Unionists". Parnell thought that instead of committing outrages in Ireland, the more effective way was to agitate in Parliament in England. So he organized his block of Irish M.P.s and began a policy of "obstruction". The Irish members would "block" every debate by arranging for relays of speakers to take it in turn to make interminable speeches. Hours of time were wasted and it became almost impossible to carry on the business of the House of Commons.

Parnell
and
Home
Rule

The
Unionist

Parnell worked with the Land League, and English public opinion was so infuriated by the troubles in Ireland, coupled with the tactics in the Commons, that against his own judgment Gladstone was induced to try repressive

Coercion
Act
(1881)

measures. "Coercion" was probably the only means of restoring order, at that stage, and, of course, had Gladstone felt that he could not introduce it, he could have resigned office. A Coercion Act was passed (1881). This meant that the ordinary rights of the subject were suspended, the police were given special powers, and magistrates could imprison people "on suspicion" without trial. This roused the Irish members to violent anger and opposition, and finally Gladstone allowed Forster, who was Chief Secretary in Ireland, to imprison Parnell himself, who had committed no "crime", though as head of the party he had great responsibility for what occurred.

Phoenix
Park
murders
(1882)

The mistake of such a policy was soon clear, for outrages at once grew worse and more frequent. Gladstone made a bargain with Parnell, called at the time by the nickname of the "Kilmainham Treaty" after the gaol in which Parnell was imprisoned. Parnell was to induce his followers to stop lawlessness, and Gladstone was to bring in a bill to help peasants who were in arrears with their rent. Any hopes that this pact might have worked, were destroyed by a political murder. Some of the most violent Irish wished to murder one of the political Secretaries, Burke. By mistake they also murdered *Lord Frederick Cavendish*, the Chief Secretary, as he was walking with Burke in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. This roused such a passion of anger in England that, as Parnell (himself horrified at the murder) foretold, all hope of conciliation vanished. A fresh Coercion Bill was the direct result.

Gladstone
and
Home
Rule

Yet Gladstone stuck to his principles. It was clear that repression might punish crimes, but had no effect on the grievances which drove men to commit them. Gladstone saw this, and resolved that the Liberal Party must give Ireland what she wanted. He could not convince all his followers, and his most promising young Liberal, *Joseph Chamberlain*, left the party on this issue (p. 870). Still Gladstone persevered, and in 1886 brought in his Home

Rule Bill. This would have given Ireland her own parliament in Dublin, to deal with Irish affairs, while control of the army, navy, customs duties, and foreign policy, would have remained with Great Britain. It was a return, indeed, to the policy which had existed before Pitt's Act of Union. He could not carry the measure. A block of Liberals voted against it, and the Government was defeated.

Defeat of
Home
Rule
(1886)

The next few years make dreary reading in the history of both countries. The Conservatives came into office, and their remedy was stronger repression. The *Crimes Act* (1888) suspended trial by jury in Ireland (for no Irish jury would convict), and men were tried by special magistrates appointed by the Government. Strict policing of the country and imprisonment of hundreds did something, but, perhaps, more was produced by the collapse of Parnell's party. The leader in 1890 was involved in a divorce action. The Irish, as Roman Catholics, did not recognize divorce, and not only did many of Parnell's followers in the House of Commons break away from him, but the priests in Ireland turned people against him. The party which had been so effective when united, now split hopelessly, and even on Parnell's unexpected death in 1891, it could not be restored. Arthur Balfour became Irish Secretary, and his policy was to repress disorder by coercion on the one hand, but to give relief to economic grievances with the other.

The
Unionists
and
repression

In 1885 a *Land Purchase Act* (Lord Ashbourne's Act) had been passed, under which the British Government lent money at a very low rate of interest to enable small tenants to buy their land, if their landlord would sell. The Conservatives now made a further effort to remedy the eternal land question and in 1891 Balfour was able to pass another *Land Purchase Act*.¹ He also passed such Acts as the *Light Railways Act* and the *Congested Districts Board Act*, hoping thereby to bring greater prosperity to Ireland.

Land
Purchase
Acts
(1885,
1891)

¹ The interest on the loans given under these Acts and the *Land Purchase Act* of 1903 was paid by the Irish, and formed the "Annuities" withheld by the Irish Free State in 1932 and subsequently repudiated.

One last effort was made by the fiery old man who still wished to make one final contribution to peace. In 1892 Gladstone came back to power at the age of eighty-two. He came back with but one object — to carry Home Rule. He passed his Bill triumphantly through the Commons, but the Lords rejected it by an enormous majority. Against that verdict Gladstone himself could not struggle, and he resigned. Southern Ireland was, therefore, by the vote of the Upper House, left to her discontent until twenty years later a Liberal Ministry was prepared to deal with the House of Lords.

Home
Rule again
rejected
(1893)

CHAPTER 70

SALISBURY AND CHAMBERLAIN (1893-1906)

When Gladstone was finally defeated over Home Rule, the power passed into the hands of the party which began to style itself "Unionists" to show its determination to maintain the union with Ireland through one parliament. The party really had three sections — first, the Conservatives proper, led by *Lord Salisbury* (Note 145); then a section of old-fashioned Whigs, led by *Lord Hartington*, who had originally followed Gladstone but had turned back from his more advanced ideas; finally the Radicals, led by *Joseph Chamberlain* (Note 146), who had been ardent reformers but who could not accept Gladstone's Home Rule policy.

The
Unionist
Party

If we first take Ireland, which had originally produced the secession of these last two groups from Liberalism, we shall see how logically things developed. The Unionist Party owed its position to its determination to refuse Home Rule. Yet Ireland was seething with discontent. The course taken by the Unionists was to deal severely with Irish disorders, and twenty years of "resolute government" followed. *Arthur Balfour* (Salisbury's nephew), as has been

Ireland:
resolute
govern-
ment

seen, was sent as Chief Secretary in 1886. He was armed with a more severe Crimes Act, under which trial by jury was totally suspended. With special paid magistrates to enforce this Act, political crime was stamped out. Land purchase was made easier (see p. 869) and for a while peace seemed to prevail. Irish hopes of Home Rule were so dashed that quiescence settled over the country.

This negative policy as regards Ireland was in sharp contrast with the other developments of the Unionist Party. *Joseph Chamberlain* claimed to be the heir to Disraeli's "imperialism", but he breathed new life into the conception. Chamberlain had begun life as a Radical. He was a successful manufacturer in Birmingham, and made his name in local politics. He became Radical Lord Mayor of Birmingham, and as such showed great energy. He advocated public control of essential supplies such as light and water, he was ardent for slum clearance, and under his influence the city acquired an Art Gallery, a Free Library, a Public Park, and a University. Thus, when he first took Government office, it was appropriate that he should be President of the Local Government Board. Yet, after all, the sphere in which he made his mark was not that of home affairs. His interest was drawn to the colonies and especially to Africa. He was a man who radiated energy and enthusiasm, and his personality made an immense impression on the people with whom he came in contact.

Cham-
berlain
as a Rad-
ical

In the first phase of his life he was an ardent admirer and supporter of liberty. Thus he always advocated free education on secular lines, with no religious teaching in State schools. He consistently pressed for the extension of the franchise, wishing to see manhood suffrage. He wanted payment of M.P.s (going back to that old demand of the Chartists) in order to give the poorer men a chance to sit in Parliament, and not leave all power in the hands of the

¹ His appearance, his clear incisive face, sharp nose, monocle, and orchid in buttonhole, made him a godsend to caricaturists.

well-to-do, whom he bitterly attacked in his speeches. He had urged land reform, so that peasant proprietors might own their holdings. He had wished for heavier taxation of unearned incomes, so that more money could be spent on social reforms.¹ Yet as a Unionist he split the Liberal Party, and turned against his leader over the question of giving Ireland the freedom she demanded, and the right to manage her own affairs in her own parliament. His defection had completely alienated him from the Liberal Party.

Probably his attitude over Ireland was connected with the policy which he was now to develop — his belief in imperialism and the supremacy of the British Empire. He threw the whole of his strength into efforts to strengthen the ties of the colonies. The *Imperial Federation League* had been founded in 1884 with the idea of binding the colonies closer to Great Britain, and in 1887 the first Colonial Conference was held in London. But the colonies, now fully aware of their own development, wished to carry out their own policy, and considered nothing further was to be looked for in the way of federation, preferring independence.

Chamberlain's interest in the colonies led directly to the economic policy which he now began to advocate. The nineteenth century had seen the movement for Free Trade. Huskisson, Peel, Gladstone, had all removed customs duties from goods coming into England. Chamberlain now took up what he named *Tariff Reform*. He wished to see duties placed on foreign goods, so that home manufactures should gain, by being "protected" from foreign competition. He also wished, by giving a "preference" to goods from the colonies (i.e. letting in colonial goods either free, or with a lower duty than that charged on foreign goods), to draw the ties between the Empire closer. Many Conservatives did not agree with this policy, and the party was so sharply divided that Chamberlain ended by giving up

¹ He put forward all these points in his "Unauthorized Programme" of 1885.

office, so that he might devote all his energies to converting others. Free Traders opposed him bitterly, declaring that while tariffs might help the "protected" industries, it was at the expense of our export trade, and that the colonies did not offer us large enough markets. They held that tariff "arrangements" would lead to "tariff wars", and embitter both colonial and international relations.

Chamberlain failed to convert the country to his policy, and the General Election of 1906 saw a "landslide" in favour of the Liberals, who returned to power with the largest majority hitherto gained by any party.

Lord Salisbury, who had been Prime Minister during the period of Unionist government (which with very brief intervals had lasted from 1886 to 1906), was a great contrast to Chamberlain. He was a member of the Cecil family, descended from Queen Elizabeth's minister, and was a learned man with a gift for writing. He lacked Chamberlain's remarkable gift for making friends, and was rather a solitary individual, with a sharp biting mode of speech. He had always been of an independent turn of mind (he once said he was an Ishmael, his hand against every man and every man's hand against his), but he showed his great gifts in two directions. He was a great party leader, keeping together the sections which formed his composite party. And he was deeply interested in foreign affairs; the policy he followed was important because of the extraordinary changes now taking place on the Continent.

Salisbury had begun his training in foreign affairs long before, when in 1878 he had gone with Beaconsfield to the Congress of Berlin. There he had been impressed, as all were, by Bismarck, and Salisbury retained an admiration for Germany and a belief in her declaration that she was a satisfied power and needed no further expansion. To Salisbury, France seemed the Power which threatened most trouble, and it began over Egypt. After the crushing of Arabi's rebellion, Great Britain had decided that she must



EGYPT AND EAST AFRICA

remain in "provisional occupation" of Egypt. In strict theory the Sultan of Turkey was overlord, and the Khedive his local administrator. The Sultan was paid an annual tribute, and Egyptians were his subjects. In actual fact, neither Sultan nor Khedive ruled, but Great Britain. The British army garrisoned Egypt, and a British Consul-general, *Lord Cromer*, previously Sir Evelyn Baring, managed all her internal affairs. Cromer has been called the "creator of modern Egypt". In some ways he resembles Dalhousie, for his work was centred in improving the material prosperity of the country, while he did not succeed in winning the support of the people for an alien regime.¹ He first put the finances in order, checking the wholesale bribery and corruption that prevailed, and lessening the burden on the native cultivator. He stopped forced labour, which reduced the fellaheen to what was not far removed from slavery, accompanied by cruel floggings. He set on foot, above all, vast constructive schemes to improve irrigation on which the life of Egypt depended. Land that had been desert was now irrigated and cultivated, and great dams were built to regulate the flow of the Nile. With Egypt itself thus becoming not only solvent, but extremely prosperous, it was possible to deal with the *Sudan*. The lawlessness of the Mahdi's tribal rule made conditions there intolerable. The Egyptian army had now been trained and officered by the British, and in 1896, under the command of *Kitchener*, it undertook the reconquest of the Sudan. The Dervishes were defeated at *Omdurman*, and Khartoum, the capital, was recaptured. What the Mahdi's rule had implied, may be judged from the fact that the population of the Sudan under him had dropped from 8 millions to 4½.

Omdur-
man
(1898)

The French were both jealous and anxious over our progress, and over the consolidation of Great Britain's position in Egypt. They wished to stop the expansion south-

Trouble
with
France

¹ Lord Cromer, when he finally left Egypt after 25 years of devoted service, had to drive through streets lined by armed British soldiers.

Fashoda
(1898)

wards, and accordingly made a bid to secure the region of the Upper Nile. Major *Marchand* had gone to raise the French flag at *Fashoda*. This would have given France power over the waters of the Nile on which Egypt depended. Kitchener, fresh from victory at Omdurman, sent troops and forced Marchand to withdraw. The French Government felt great bitterness at this, and it almost looked as if war might threaten. Salisbury, however, was determined to be conciliatory as far as possible, and the matter was smoothed over.

South
America

He took pains too, to conciliate another Power. A quarrel over boundaries had broken out in South America, between British Guiana and Venezuela (1896). The President of the United States intervened and said that Britain would not be allowed to back her claims, for the *Monroe Doctrine* forbade any European power to interfere in the affairs of the two American continents. Salisbury agreed to arbitration.¹ Great Britain wished for no dispute with the U.S.A. — she was too much occupied elsewhere.

The
"Grab
for
Africa"

The Egyptian question was only a part of the major problems now agitating the European powers — the general development of Africa. This has been called the "grab for Africa", and it is indeed hard to give it any better designation.

Living-
stone and
Stanley

Africa for centuries had been the "dark continent", and had possessed little to tempt the powers. But the wonderful journeys (1840-73) of *Livingstone* had revolutionized men's ideas. He had shown that Central Africa, far from being "sandy deserts into which rivers ran and were lost", was an area of forests, rivers, and lakes.² *Stanley* had continued his work of exploration, and the journeys of these two men caught the general imagination. Their romantic meeting in the centre of the continent won fame, and a new era

¹ A Commission sat which decided in favour of Great Britain.

² "His spirit", said Curzon, "hovers over Central Africa just as that of Cecil Rhodes, of many of whose ideals he was the unconscious parent, broods over the South African regions that bear his name."

began. Individual Europeans of every race swarmed out to Africa. No doubt their motives were somewhat mixed. With some it was the love of adventure; with others, as it was with Livingstone, it was missionary zeal. Some hoped to find gold or diamonds or to make openings for trade; others were inspired by a patriotic enthusiasm to secure for their country, before it was too late, the influence they thought it ought to possess in that vast continent (*Note 152*). The enthusiasm for Africa spread from individuals to governments, and the European powers began a general scramble for more territories and "spheres of influence".¹ It is easy to condemn this invasion of Africa by European people, and its partition by European governments. But the white people were warmly welcomed, at all events at first, by the black people. And it is well to remember what "Africa for the Africans" at that time meant—"the dead, effortless degradation which it represented, broken only by interludes of blood lust, slaughter, slavery, and unspeakable suffering."

Clearly this "partition" of Africa would lead to jealousies amongst the nations, and the ultimate results were strange and momentous, especially in view of Germany's position.

In 1880 Stanley had been sent out to Africa by the King of the Belgians, who thereby secured the vast Congo district, for Great Britain had at that moment no wish whatever for the annexation of territory in Central Africa. She was too much occupied with the first Boer War (p. 896).

After peace had been restored in the south, Salisbury came to office and fully grasped the importance of the partitioning of the north and centre. Accordingly in 1884, the *Conference of Berlin* was held, at which, after much negotiating, each Power received both actual territory and

Partition
at Berlin
(1884)

¹ "When I returned to the Foreign Office in 1885," said Lord Salisbury, "the nations of Europe were almost quarrelling with each other as to the various portions of Africa which they could obtain. I do not exactly know the cause of this sudden revolution. But there it is. It is a great force—a great civilizing, Christianizing force."

a limitation of its "sphere of influence". Bismarck presided over the Conference, and declared that he personally had no ambition to see Germany a colonial power. He had succeeded in bringing about the union of Germany, he had won for her Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein, and he did not envisage Germany as a colonial or naval power. Hence he made no effort to gain for her any great acquisition of territory. On the contrary, he deliberately encouraged the formation of a French colonial empire, hoping thereby to distract France from her losses in Europe, and so soothe the humiliation left by the Franco-Prussian war. France obtained a vast tract of north-west Africa, reaching from Algiers to the Congo, twenty times larger than France herself. In the remaining years of the nineteenth century there were six international agreements over Africa. As a result, France in 1911 obtained control over Morocco. Belgium was confirmed in the possession of the Congo. Spain got territory in the north, opposite her own coasts. Italy was given part of Somaliland on the Red Sea, Portugal got a part of East Africa. Great Britain already had the Cape Colony, to which she added Rhodesia (p. 899). She controlled Egypt, and at Berlin she gained possession of two other areas. She acquired Nigeria in the west, and the "East Africa Company" gave her a protectorate over Kenya and Uganda. Germany, where public opinion had developed, now wished for colonial possessions, and she obtained German East Africa and German West Africa.¹

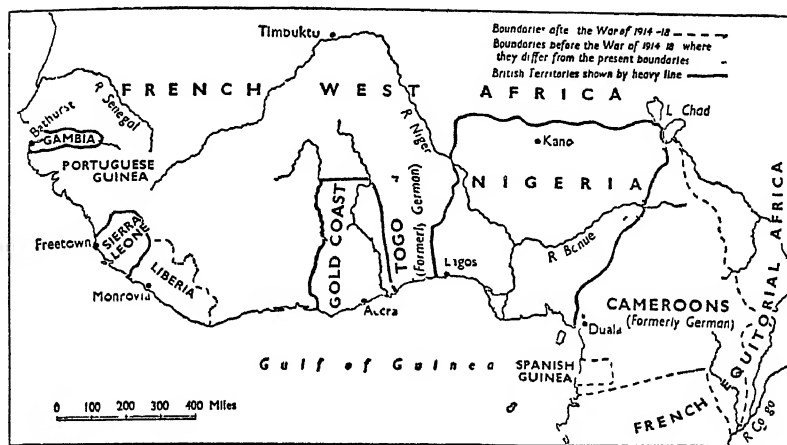
At that time no one could have foreseen the future consequences of these arrangements. France, for example, has so developed her African territories that they have not only shown her success as a colonizer, but have given her a vast reserve of native troops on which she can draw. Germany,

¹ In the course of this division of Africa figures show the acquisitions:

Great Britain,	5000	million sq	miles with	90	million inhabitants.
France,	3500	"	"	40	" "
Germany,	1000	"	"	17	" "
Belgium,	1000	"	"	30	" "

on the other hand, later became jealous and sore at her comparatively small share, and declared under her later ruler that she had been denied her "place in the sun". Italy's entry on to the African scene also caused her to embark on the policy which led to her conquest and annexation of Abyssinia in 1936.

The extension of Great Britain's possessions was not confined to Africa. This period, in the last part of the



WEST AFRICA

nineteenth century, is sometimes called the time of the creation of her "Third Empire". Her earlier acquisitions seem to have come about incidentally in the course of her great wars with European Powers. Now, stimulated by Chamberlain's theories, Britain began to talk of her "Imperial destiny", and her "Empire on which the sun never sets"¹.

She tightened her hold on the Straits Settlements, and the Federation of Malay States was created in 1896. She obtained a protectorate over North Borneo and Sarawak.²

¹ Kipling's writings sum up this phase more completely.

² Till 1946 was ruled by descendants of Brooke, the Englishman who made himself Rajah of Sarawak. In 1946 became a colony under the Crown.

She acquired the Fiji Islands and various others in the South Seas. Finally in China, where she already had Hong-Kong, she obtained a lease of the port of Wei-hai-wei.

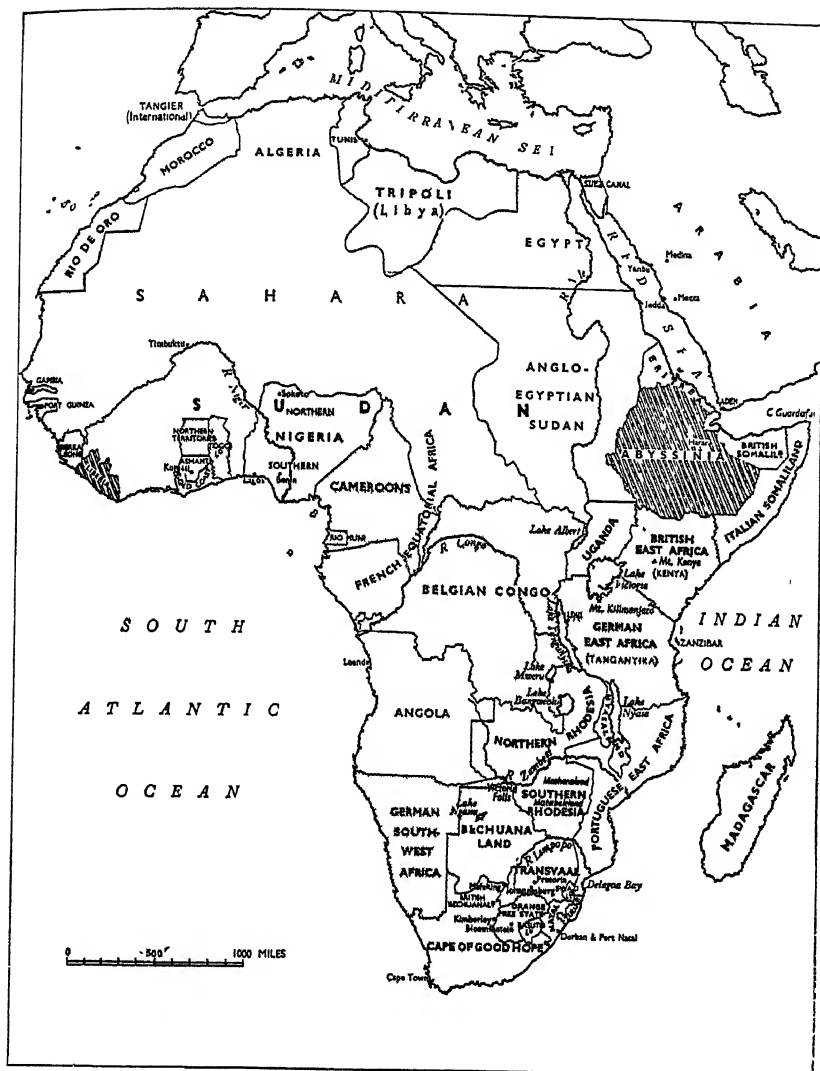
Exten-
sion of
British
Empire









Thus, in the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, Great Britain increased her Empire by 5 million square miles and added 90 millions to her population. Other nations gained too (see p. 934), but when Britain's acquisitions were added to her previous possessions, she became one of the greatest Empires the world had ever seen. By 1914 her territory included more than 13 million square miles, inhabited by 410 million people. We must recognize that this imperialism implied several things. Britain believed that her rule was beneficial. She believed that she brought peace, order, and material prosperity to the peoples in the Empire. She used her capital to develop backward lands, and she tried to give justice to all citizens — and all this was summed up in what was called "the civilizing mission of the Anglo-Saxon race".

The immense prestige which she enjoyed was given expression in the "Diamond Jubilee" held in 1897 to celebrate Queen Victoria's sixty years' reign. Representatives came from every part of the Empire, and joined in a pageantry which united all in rejoicing.

Working-
class
discon-
tent

Yet, side by side with all this outward expansion and success, there existed a less happy state. The "trade cycle" as we now call it, had resulted in the prosperity of the mid-Victorian period being followed by a depression. The Franco-Prussian war dislocated trade, and from 1870 onwards there was great industrial distress. All this coincided with the spread of education and the extension of the franchise. The working-classes suffered, and their criticism of their condition was now directed into new channels. The unskilled workers, the poorest of all, united to struggle for better conditions. A new form of Trade Unionism was to appear. And, above all, British Socialism, and a Labour Party, were to arise.



	British		German		Belgian		Spanish
	French		Portuguese		Italian		Independent

AFRICA IN 1914

In 1865 *Karl Marx*¹ published *Das Kapital*, the book which has had such immense influence on the history of the modern world. Marx taught that "capitalism" as a system whereby individuals own one of the main factors of production, was wrong. Capital should be collectively owned by the workers. A class war must inevitably be fought and the workers must seize industrial power and create a State controlled by workers. Marx's ideas spread, and when the *Socialist movement* came into being, men took it up all over the world. In Great Britain Socialism as a political force was to develop later, and its first victories were won in industrial life. Trade Unions had been steadily going ahead, but the fact that weekly contributions had to be paid by members, meant that the poorest class of workers and those in casual employment, could not afford to belong.

Some of the workers' leaders, stirred up by the ideals of Socialism and egged on by the distress which was general in 1889, organized one large section of casual labourers, the *dockers*. *John Burns*, who was to be one of the first Labour men elected to Parliament, led them. Public feeling supported them, for their erratic hours and low rates of pay won them universal sympathy.² Their demand was for a wage of 6d. an hour, but the employers would not even meet them for discussion. After one of the most celebrated strikes in industrial history, they won the day. From then on a new form of Trade Unionism sprang up. It flourished amongst the poorer-paid workers, and it was immensely influenced by the ideals of Socialism which had not appealed so much to the better paid and highly skilled workers of the older Unions. The leaven had begun to work. The Trade Union movement decided to use part of its funds to send working-men to Parliament. When Chamberlain's

Karl
Marx:
"Capital"

The
great
dock
strike

Trade
Unions
and
Parlia-
ment

¹ He was a German Jew who was exiled from Germany under Bismarck's repressive regime, lived in London, and used the British Museum Reading-room when collecting material for his writings.

² Cardinal Manning supported them warmly. In their processions they carried poles on which were stuck bad onions and rotten fish heads, to show the food on which they subsisted.

Tariff Reform policy split the Unionist Party in 1906 a General Election was held, no less than twenty-
 "Labour" members took their seats.¹

CHAPTER 71

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

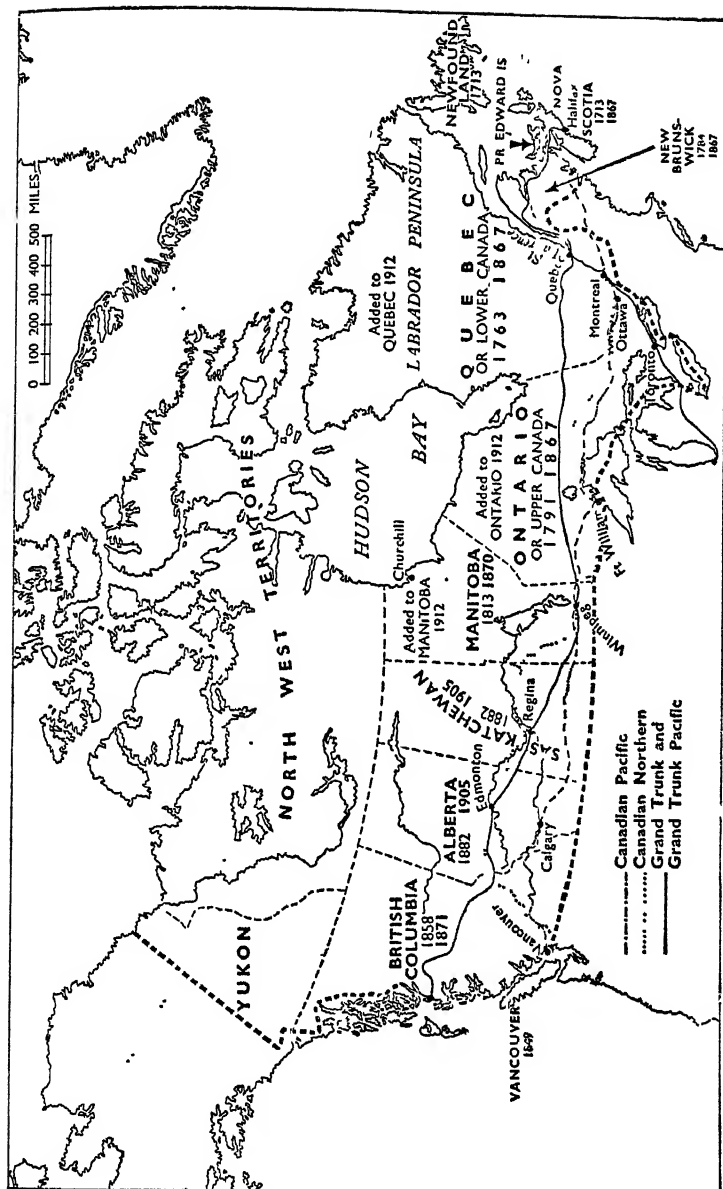
1. CANADA

The grievances felt by the Irish had been made n bitter because they declared that they were refused the r of self-government given to other parts of the Empire. must turn now to see what had indeed been happenin our colonies and lands overseas. For the developm of the nineteenth century really altered not only own conception of Empire, but the standard for poli developments all over the world.

The idea of self-governing colonies traces its origin events in *Canada* (*Note 147*). As far back as 1791 that g country had been divided into two provinces, *Upper Can* and *Lower Canada*. Each had a Governor sent out f Britain and a Council nominated by the Crown, and each an elected assembly. Discontent grew, because this ele body had no control over finance. In addition, each p vince had its own grievance. The Upper or English prov resented the fact that all the chief posts were invari given to members of a certain few families. The Lowe French province disliked the British settlers and quarre incessantly with them. Grievances were also to be fo in the great grants of land which the Government mad British settlers, and in the territory given to the Episc Church, which was not the church of the majority. In 18 when Queen Victoria came to the throne, both provin

Rebellion
of 1837

¹ The first working-men ever to enter Parliament had been elected in They were both miners and their names were Thomas Burt (Morpeth) and ander Macdonald (Stafford).



CANADA SINCE 1783

Dates in thinner numerals show foundation of colonies, dates in heavier numerals show entry into Dominion.

rebelled, the French Canadians being led by *Papineau*, and though the revolts were easily put down, the Government saw that something must be done. Accordingly they sent out *Lord Durham* to inquire into the state of the provinces and report what was wrong.

Lord Durham Lord Durham was a very able man, but unfortunately for himself, a very impetuous and violent one. He decided that the last traces of the revolts must be completely stamped out. So, brushing aside the law, he deported the leaders of the late revolts, without trial, sending them off to Bermuda. This created such a storm, not only in Canada but in Britain, that the Government had to recall him. He brought with him back to England, however, his famous Report on which the Government acted (1839).

His Report *Lord Durham's Report* has been called "one of the classics of constitutional history",¹ for it started the British Empire on a new and immensely important phase, namely self-government for the colonies. The chief point in that Report was that Lord Durham advocated that the colonial elected assembly should be given control of the internal affairs of the province. This really meant that Great Britain was to grant what we might call "Home Rule" to her colonies. Durham also thought that the division of Canada into two parts had been a mistake, and advised that the two should be joined.² This principle again was important, for in all the great colonies (now the self-governing dominions) the idea of federating the different sections has spread and enabled each country to develop through union. In 1847

Lord Elgin *Lord Elgin* was sent to the united province as Governor. He was Durham's son-in-law and had all his liberal ideas without his difficult disposition. He made self-government a reality. He left the Assembly the power of choosing its

¹ "It recommended the cutting off of King Charles' head . . . for it recommended that the Canadian assemblies be given power over the King's representative similar to that secured by the English Parliament as the result of the Civil War."

² This was done in 1840.

own ministry, and to that ministry he left the conduct of affairs. He, as Governor, only gave advice.

So far, Upper and Lower Canada had been joined together, but as the century advanced, so the great outlying regions of the country were developed. In 1867 by the British North America Act, the *Dominion of Canada* was created, and the old Upper Province (now called Ontario) and the old Lower Province (now called Quebec), were federated with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Three years later the Hudson's Bay Company sold to the new Dominion its vast lands, part being formed into the province of Manitoba, and in 1871 British Columbia was joined. In 1905 the two last provinces to be created, Alberta and Saskatchewan, became members. This enormous region, therefore, was now united in one federal self-governing dominion. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway both joined the territories and helped to develop their resources. Canada with her vast wheat areas, her forests, and her orchards, began a career of increasing prosperity.

Various disputes with the United States over frontier questions were settled by compromise and arbitration, and the peoples of North America can proudly boast that while their common frontier is one of the longest in the world, it is also one which it is unnecessary to fortify.

2. AUSTRALIA

In Australia, also, the idea of self-government developed, though on rather different lines (*Note 148*).

In 1770, *Captain Cook*,¹ after exploring New Zealand, sailed along the east coast of Australia for more than 2000 miles. He saw the fertile areas there and reported on them,

¹ Cook, the son of an agricultural labourer, first came into notice through his successful pilotage of the British fleet up the St. Lawrence in 1759. His primary duty in his famous expedition was astronomical — to observe the transit of Venus in the Pacific — and this being accomplished he proceeded on his famous voyage of discovery.

but Britain in those years was not anxious to add to her territories. She had lost the American colonies, and the general belief tended to be that expansion was not needed.

Botany
Bay
founded
(1788)

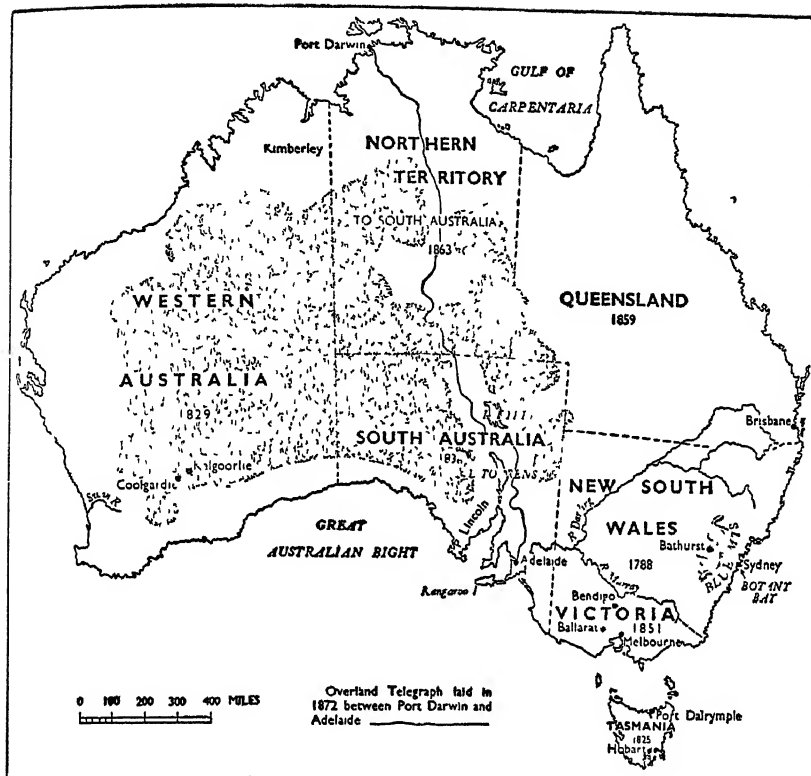
Still, in 1788 a small settlement called *Botany Bay* was made in what was to become New South Wales. Then came the French Revolution, and in Britain the Government feared revolution and began a campaign to stamp out possible "sedition". Political prisoners were sentenced to transportation¹ and together with long-term criminals were sent out to Botany Bay. It should be noted that the early Australian settlements were thus in part formed from political offenders, rather than from felons. The ships carrying the first convicts landed at the harbour later called Sydney, after the Home Secretary who had arranged this transportation.

Political
prisoners

In the early nineteenth century *Gibbon Wakefield* began to develop his ideas on colonization, which had great influence. He was a well-educated man but he ran off with an heiress who was a ward in Chancery, and was sent to prison. His career in England being ruined, he decided to emigrate (though in fact he did not leave England for some years), and this led him to study the idea of colonization. He became so enthusiastic that he founded the *Colonization Society* (1834) and set to work to popularize his views. He saw that the empty colonies could give living-room to the growing population of Britain, and he believed that the colonies could grow raw materials and take our manufactures in return. This was no new idea — it had been the basis of our trade with our American colonies — but Gibbon Wakefield had the advantage of dealing with quite undeveloped territory which, above all, needed agricultural settlements. The difficulty was, then as now, that there was no labour available on the spot, and that the poor and unsuccessful, if sent out from Britain, had naturally no capital, and most of them no skill, with which to make a start. Nor

Gibbon
Wakefield
(1796-
1862)

¹ Thomas Muir, one of the "Scottish Martyrs", was sent to Botany Bay for having bought a copy of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*.



AUSTRALIA SINCE 1788

Dates show foundation of each colony. Desert areas are shaded.

would good-class settlers willingly go to a country which had been given such a disagreeable reputation through the convict settlements.

Also, during the early years of settlement, it was not at all clear for what Australia was best fitted, as the climate and lack of labour made arable cultivation impracticable. In 1797, Captain Macarthur, one of the officers of the British garrison, had imported to Australia some sheep from the Cape. These were merino sheep, originally sent by the King

Sheep
farming

of Spain to the Dutch. They proved ideal for the Australian climate, and soon their acclimatization was made easier by the discovery of the "gap" which proved that beyond the Blue Mountains behind Sydney lay vast pastures, ideal for sheep ranges. This possible supply of wool was discovered just when a great demand had arisen, for the early years of the nineteenth century were exactly those when the industrial revolution was producing machinery for the woollen industry, and when Yorkshire manufacturers were requiring vast supplies that the merino sheep could provide. This is another instance of the economic law that when industry develops, demand stimulates supply.

Wakefield, finding that the prejudice against mixing with the term-expired convicts of New South Wales still checked his emigration plans, wished to start a fresh colony. He succeeded in bringing about the founding of *South Australia* in 1836, with its capital *Adelaide*, called after the wife of William IV. Then came *Victoria*, called after the new young Queen, and its capital was named *Melbourne*, after her first Prime Minister. *Victoria* became a separate colony in 1851. Finally *Queensland* in 1859, completed the eastern group. Far away in the west the first free settlement was made of *Western Australia*¹ in 1829. It was, however, terribly difficult to find sufficient labour. During some years convicts were sent out to supply this need, and this cheap labour, added to free Government grants of land, made Western Australia more attractive to settlers than the colonies where Wakefield's policy prevailed. Real expansion came when the British Government abolished transportation of convicts. In 1853 this was done in the eastern colonies though it lingered on in the western areas. The bad times which marked the "hungry forties" in England drove men to try to find work elsewhere, and emigration really set in. By 1850 the population of New South Wales alone had risen to a quarter of a million.

New
Settle-
ments

¹ First called the Swan River Settlement.

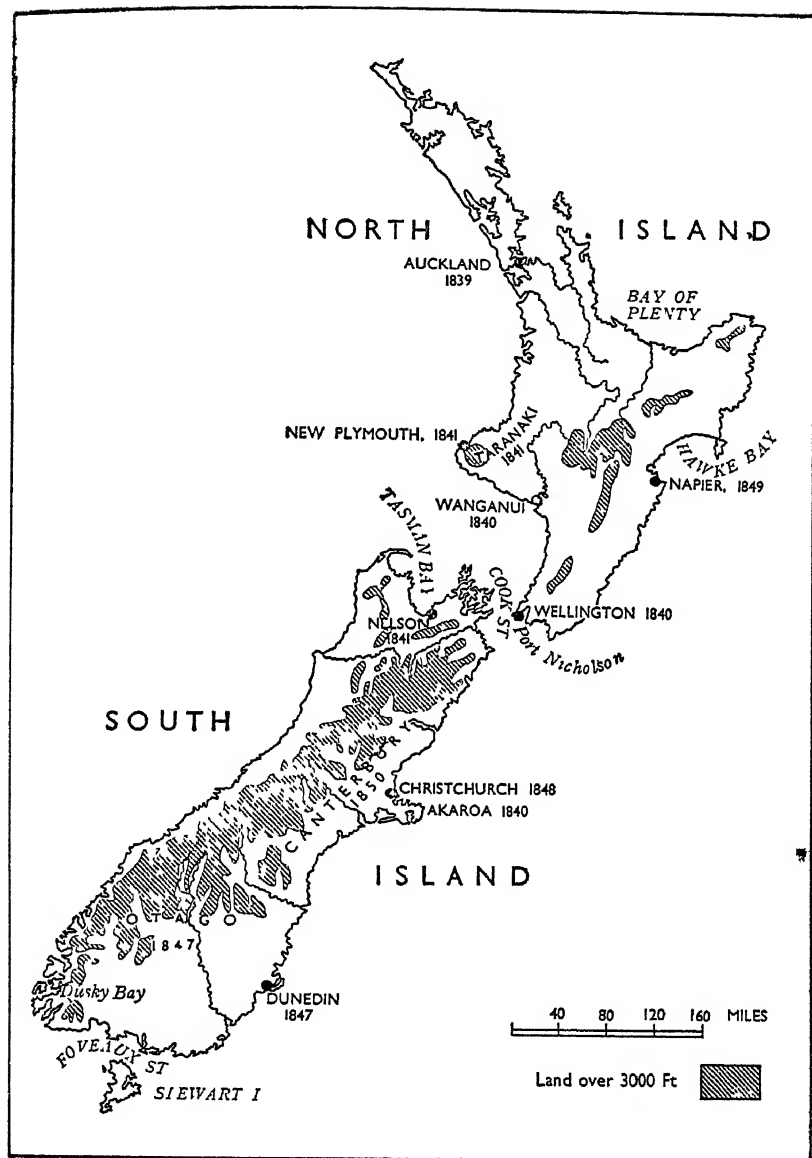
Then (1851) came the discovery of gold in Victoria. A "gold rush" set in and men poured out to the new fields.¹ Gold. Though the gold discovered did not prove as permanent a source of wealth as in South Africa (for the bulk of Australian gold was not in a solid reef, as on the Rand), yet the immense increase in population meant that the colony needed, all sorts of supplies, and industries grew up in response.

By 1850 the policy of self-government had been proved successful in Canada. It was decided that the same principle should be applied to Australia. Self-government was granted to the settlements, and Australia began to follow the lines which seemed to be those of healthy growth. Each of the various provinces first developed its own State, and then gradually the wish for federation appeared. The continent clearly formed a whole, and in 1900 the final step was taken. All the provinces, while retaining local assemblies for local affairs, united to form the Commonwealth of Australia, the capital of which was ultimately built at *Canberra*. Self-government
The Commonwealth founded (1900)

3. NEW ZEALAND.

In Australia the chief obstacle to settlement was the difference in climate and conditions from those to which the early settlers were accustomed. But across the southern sea lay the islands of New Zealand, where climate and soil were both more like those of Great Britain. There a different, and in some senses a more difficult, problem awaited solution. The original inhabitants of Australia were so primitive and so low down in the scale of native culture, that they could not in any way oppose the white man. They simply faded back into the barren regions, and all the efforts of later administrations have been directed towards trying to save the remnants of the race by helping them to survive in changed conditions. New Zealand

¹ Only two policemen were left in Melbourne — the rest had gone to look for gold.



NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1769
 Dates show foundation of each settlement.

Maoris had direct representation, and in 1872 two Maori chiefs became members of the Upper House. Since 1874 the native population has increased in numbers.

CHAPTER 72

SOUTH AFRICA

Less happy was the history of the third great sphere of colonial life, South Africa (*Note 149*). There, the problems centred round racial difficulties.

Early history of Cape Colony The Cape has a very interesting history, bound up with great events in Europe. It was first discovered by the great Portuguese navigators when they sailed out to find a route to India. The Dutch settled there when they rose to maritime greatness, because they needed a "half-way house" on the route to their Eastern possessions. Then came the French Revolution, followed by the Napoleonic era, and Holland passed under the control of France. Great Britain, therefore, having command of the seas, took the Cape, needing it herself as a naval station. When peace came in 1814, part of the general settlement made at Vienna was the restoration of colonial possessions, and Britain bought the Cape from Holland for six million pounds.

The country was largely colonized by settlers of Dutch descent, the *Boers*, who were an extremely tough and self-reliant people. In addition, many of the natives of South Africa were most warlike, and under some great leaders were to fight a whole series of campaigns. Britain, therefore, from the outset had to deal with hostile races who fought each other and were prepared to fight her as well.

The Boers The Dutch at the Cape, or Boers as they came to be called, had altered little in character since their first settlement in the country. Upon them, as upon the Puritans of the seventeenth century in England, whom indeed they

resembled in many respects, it was the teaching in the Old Testament rather than that in the New that had the greater hold. They had the same intense conviction as the Puritans that God was with them in all their decisions, and the supreme self-confidence and self-righteousness that such a conviction engendered. The rugged, obstinate, simple Boer farmer, incurably suspicious of everything new, and ardently tenacious of his rights, had little in common with the eager sympathies, progressive ideas, and, it must be added, the somewhat ignorant sentimentality which characterized a large portion of the British public during the nineteenth century.

There was also an enormous coloured and semi-barbarous population in South Africa; part belonged to the *Hottentot* race, but the great majority of tribes, such as the *Kaffirs*, *Zulus*, and *Basutos*, belonged to the race of the *Bantus*. Even at the present time, in the territories comprising the Union of South Africa, the Kaffirs outnumber the people of European descent by nearly five to one, and, of course, a hundred years previous to the Union the disproportion was much greater, the total number of Europeans in South Africa in 1815 being only some thirty thousand.

This question of the natives led to friction between the British and the Boers. In the nineteenth century Great Britain definitely took up the cause of the negroes, and in 1833 slavery was abolished throughout her dominions. This affected the Boers of the Cape who had slaves, and though compensation was paid to the owners, they declared that the amount was quite insufficient and really only represented a third of their value.

A greater shock was felt to be the granting of political rights to natives in Cape Colony on the same terms as to white men. The Boers could not tolerate this. The final touch was given when the Kaffirs threatened invasion from the north. *D'Urban*, Governor of the Cape, drove them back and took some of their territory to form a "buffer" province.

The Home Government considered this unjustified, and gave the Kaffirs back the land. The Boers resented this and felt themselves both threatened by the Kaffirs and deprived of protection by the British.

They decided to move out of the territory, and in 1836 thousands of them set out on the *Great Trek*. They moved in their wagons across the veld, in a movement resembling the migration of the Biblical patriarchs, until they came to unoccupied spaces, and there they settled. The first new territory was called *Natal*, but the British followed them, and as the Home Government wished to keep access to the coast from the Boers, Natal was annexed in 1843. The Boers moved on again and formed a State on the other side of the *Orange* river, with a capital, *Bloemfontein*, and others went still farther across the *Vaal*, and called that territory the *Transvaal*, with a capital at *Pretoria*. These new settlements consisted mainly of scattered farms, and were weak in defence against the Kaffirs and Zulus. Great Britain declared, therefore, that the new territories must be annexed to give safety to the Cape, and this was done in 1847.

Then, however, came a change of policy. In Europe Britain was becoming concerned with the Near Eastern question, and the Crimean War was not far off. South Africa was felt to be troublesome, and the Government therefore tried to lessen its obligations. In 1852 the Boers were given independence, and their two States recognized as republics, Great Britain saying that she "had no desire for responsibility beyond the Orange River" (*Sand River Convention*).

Two circumstances led to that policy being abandoned, and again we can see how a mixture of motives led us on. First came endless difficulties over the natives. Bordering the Orange Free State lay *Basutoland*, and there trouble began when the natives of that district attacked the Boers. The Free State was not strong enough to deal adequately with this war-like tribe, and in consequence Britain stepped

in, put down the Basutos, and annexed their territory (1868).

Basuto-
land
annexed
(1868)

Meanwhile, a whole series of campaigns against the *Kaffirs* went on, lasting almost continuously till 1878. This meant that the territory from the Cape right up to the Orange River, became, after conquest, consolidated with the Colony. Moreover, the Cape government prospered, and when diamonds were found at Kimberley (1871) thousands flocked out to the diamond fields. The country round Kimberley was annexed by the British Government, wealth increased with numbers, and at last the Colony, in 1877, was given self-government in accordance with what was now recognized as Britain's policy towards her colonies.

The
diamond
fields

In contrast with these advances made by the Cape were the misfortunes which had overtaken the Boer republics. They were poor, with a very scattered agricultural population. The district round Kimberley, where the diamond fields lay, had not been incorporated with the Orange Free State, and now danger threatened from the most formidable of all the native races, the *Zulus*.

This race of magnificent warriors was full of vigour and vitality. The men were of wonderfully fine physique, and with their great painted shields and their assegais, were truly formidable as fighters, whilst their *impis* (bands of trained warriors) were severely disciplined, and thus formed an army in the strict sense of the word. They were now ruled over by a great man, *Cetewayo*, who collected his army of over 40,000 fighting men and threatened to invade the Transvaal. Such an invasion was not likely to be beaten off by the Boers, and fearing general danger to all the white populations of South Africa, Britain once more intervened, and in 1877 annexed the Transvaal.

The
Zulus

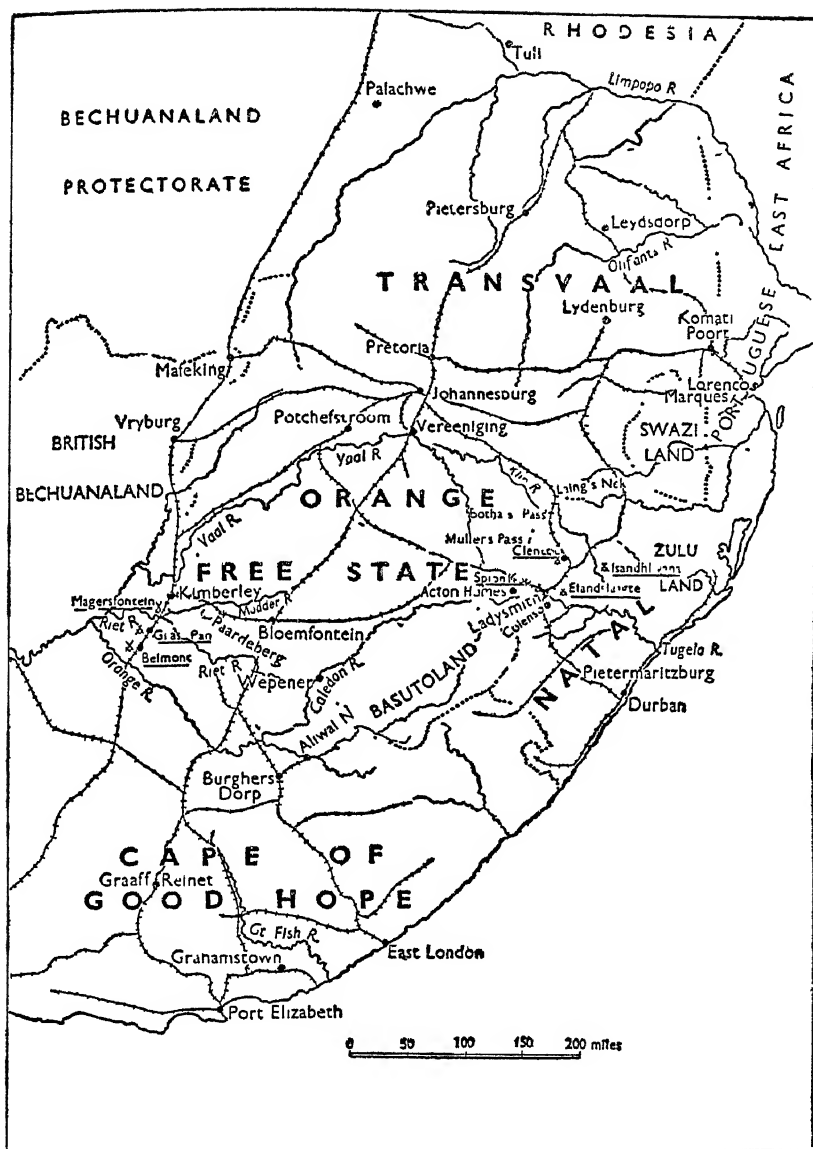
Trans-
vaal
annexed
(1877)

Actually this step brought about the very war it was intended to avert. The *Zulus* had up to this point been on good terms with the British, though they disliked and despised the Boers. They took the annexation of the Trans-

vaal as an insult to themselves, and said "the English cow has neglected her own calf, Zululand, and given her milk to a strange calf, the Transvaal." In the war which followed The Zulu War
(1879) (1879), the Zulus at first won successes, largely through the incompetence of the British generals who underestimated their enemy and made no effort to reckon on the nature of the country. At *Isandhlwana*, a British force was cut off and massacred. In another ambush the Prince Imperial, son of the late Emperor Napoleon III, was amongst the killed. He had insisted on going out to fight for Britain, which had given refuge to him and his mother. His detachment was surprised by the Zulus and he was killed by their assegais.

At *Rorke's Drift* a tiny British force won fame by holding out behind barricades of biscuit tins till rescued. Finally, the Zulus were defeated at *Ulundi* (1879). Cetewayo was captured and sent as a prisoner to the Cape. Later he came to England and an agreement was made whereby he was to have a large part of his country returned to him. But he could not win back control over his own fierce people, and a brief civil war ended in his defeat and death. Continual fighting in Zululand and raids into the Transvaal went on, until in 1887 the last chief, Dinizulu, was defeated, and the country annexed.

While this struggle with the Zulus was raging, the British found themselves with another war on their hands. The The first Boer war
(1881) Boers had naturally resented the annexation of the Transvaal, but they had gloomily acquiesced, believing that they, like the rest of South Africa, would be given self-government. When they found that this was not the case (for Disraeli, and Gladstone who came into office in 1880, did nothing in the matter) they decided to rebel. As soon as the victory of Ulundi made the collapse of the Zulus certain, the Boers rose. They first repulsed a British attack at *Laing's Nek* (1881) and then themselves stormed and took *Majuba Hill*, a place with a top shaped like a saucer, the rim of which was held by the British. The Boers stormed



THE EASTERN PART OF SOUTH AFRICA

Republic
of the
Transvaal
(1884)

up the hill, forced the British down into the hollow, where, being surrounded and under fire from above, the remnants of the force surrendered. Gladstone had not liked the war; he believed the Boers should have self-government, and with a moral courage which made him disregard the outcry at "accepting defeat", he came to terms. The Boers were to be independent (1881), and three years later this was fully accepted with the recognition of the independence of the Transvaal as the *South African Republic* of the Transvaal (1884). Britain was to be able to veto any treaty with foreign powers, and there was to be free trade throughout Africa and freedom for all Europeans to reside. It was this last clause which was to lead on to further trouble.

Rhodes
and
Kruger

There now came on the African scene two personalities, opposed in themselves and in their aims, *Cecil Rhodes* and *Paul Krüger*. Nothing could be more dramatic than the contrast between these two and the extraordinary mingling of their lives. In a sense both failed, in another both succeeded, and the modern Union of South Africa represents the fusion of the ideals of both.

Krüger was the first to rise to fame. He was the son of a Boer farmer who had taken his young son with him on the Great Trek. Paul Krüger had actually fought, too, at the age of thirteen, in the battles with the Zulus in Dingaan's day. He was immensely tough and strong¹ and filled with the idea of himself as a prophet "chosen by God to lead his people". In 1883 he was recognized as the foremost man in the South African Republic, and was elected President. He wished to extend Boer territory, and dreamed of a Boer Empire to dominate South Africa.

His vision was matched by that of Rhodes, a very different type of man. Cecil Rhodes was an Englishman, and

¹ Many tales were told of his prowess; how, for instance, for a wager, he had run for a whole day against the fleetest Kaffir runners — he had started at dawn, been soundly thrashed by his father for disobedience on his visit home for a cup of coffee at midday, had then resumed his race, shot a lion in the course of it, and finally outdistanced all his Kaffir competitors at sunset.

the son of a country clergyman. He was sent to South Africa as a boy because of his delicate health, and though he managed to return to Oxford, he always spent his long vacations in Africa.¹ He was that rare combination, a visionary who is also a superb man of business. He believed passionately in the idea of "imperialism", which was then, filling the minds of men in England, and he took as his ideal the extension of British influence from "Cape to Cairo". Like Krüger, he envisaged a great dominion of South Africa, where Boer and Briton would combine, but he meant it to be part of the British Empire.

The hard, practical side of his nature drove him on to seek power through wealth, unlike Krüger who remained a simple farmer. Rhodes went into the diamond market, and so outstanding was his ability that he succeeded in forming a great combine controlling the output of diamonds, and in amassing for himself an income which was said to reach the fabulous sum of a million a year. He used the influence which this gave him to further his political ideals. He urged the Cape Government to annex *Bechuanaland*, knowing that the Boers had their eye on the territory. When his arguments failed, he induced the Home Government to declare it a Protectorate. This went against the grain with him, for he disliked rule through the Colonial Office. Then he went on to a greater achievement. He created the Chartered Company of South Africa, and took up the development of that vast region now called after him, *Rhodesia*. He settled men there, Boers and British, built railways and roads, and made schemes for the development of agriculture and mines (1895).

Rhodesia
(1895)

Then fate seemed to play a trick upon him. He had done all he could to thwart the Boer Republic, and now gold was found in the Transvaal in such quantities that clearly here was to be one of the great gold-producing countries of the

Gold
and the
Transvaal

¹ His love of Oxford persisted all his life, and when he died he left part of his vast wealth to found the Rhodes scholarships there. These are held by young men from all parts of the Empire and the U.S.A. and from Germany.

world. The reef of the *Rand* was inexhaustible, and yet its control was in the hands of the Boers, a government of "backward" farmers. Moreover, the Boers were determined to keep that power in their own hands. People poured into Johannesburg in thousands upon thousands. The income of the State from taxation rose from £150,000 to over £3,000,000 and almost the whole of that taxation was paid by the foreigners or *Uitlanders*, as they were called. The Boers specially altered their constitution so that it was practically impossible for these newcomers to acquire votes.

The Jameson Raid (1895) Rhodes thought he saw his chance. If the Boers would not allow taxation and residence to qualify for representation, then he considered it justifiable to overthrow the government. He was then himself Prime Minister of the Cape and he was Chairman of the Chartered Company of Rhodesia. The *Uitlanders* planned a rising, and Rhodes promised to send a force from Rhodesia under the controller of that district, *Dr. Jameson*. To us the wrongheadedness and folly of such a plan seems obvious, for even had it succeeded, the disgrace of such methods would have been great. Rhodes actually knew himself to be a dying man, and impatience and illness urged him on. Yet at the last moment he drew back, and sent word to Jameson to abandon the whole scheme. But Jameson made an even greater error. He did not wait for the *Uitlanders* to rise, which would at least have given a semblance of reason to the proceeding, but started his "raid" and crossed the frontier of the Transvaal with 600 men. Of course he was easily defeated and had to surrender with all his men. Rhodes was too clearly implicated and he had to resign the Premiership and retire from all public life.

The second Boer war (1899-1902) The Jameson Raid roused dreadful bitterness. The Boers naturally resented the plot, and, triumphing in its failure, were more harsh than ever against the *Uitlanders*, who, finding conditions unbearable, appealed to Great

Britain for help. The British Commissioner in South Africa was *Lord Milner*, and the Colonial Secretary in England was Joseph Chamberlain. Both were strong imperialists, and both thought the position intolerable. Besides utterly refusing to do anything to meet the grievances of the Uitlanders, Krüger had opposed Britain in other ways, and held up the progress of all South Africa. He had refused to join a Postal Union, and he had also refused to join in common railway developments and had favoured the line made to the Portuguese harbour in Delagoa Bay. Moreover, since the Jameson Raid, he had clearly prepared for war, buying munitions and bringing in foreign soldiers, especially Germans, as instructors.

Britain had always retained certain rights, even when she had recognized Boer independence (p. 898), and she now declared herself "paramount". Krüger sent an ultimatum, and in October 1899, war was declared.

The idea of the British Empire at war with two very small republics, was not a popular one in Europe, and most continental powers sympathized with the Boers. The Kaiser had shown his support of the Transvaal, at the time of the Jameson Raid, by sending a famous congratulatory telegram to Krüger. Now Germany, Holland, and France all condemned Great Britain. Nor did the early course of the war do anything to raise our prestige. The Boers fought heroically and adapted their methods to the country. The British on the other hand, made many mistakes. We were far from our base, and at first too few troops were sent, with insufficient munitions. The Boers surrounded and besieged small British forces in the three towns of *Ladysmith*, *Kimberley*, and *Mafeking*, and they then invaded Cape Colony, where they believed the Dutch population would rise. In this they were deceived. They also made two other mistakes. They hoped that some of the European powers would come to their help, but none would go so far. They also, remembering their victorious peace at the end of the

first Boer war, believed that Britain would not persevere. But now Britain felt that more was at stake. After a series of reverses (December, 1899) the Government at home saw that serious measures must be taken, and in consequence fresh troops were poured out, including colonial contingents of volunteers from Canada and Australia and New Zealand. *Lord Roberts* and *Lord Kitchener* were sent to direct operations. As a result, by February, 1900, Kimberley and Ladysmith were relieved, Pretoria was captured in June, and the Orange Free State and the Transvaal declared annexed. For two years the Boers continued to fight, but at length they gave up the hopeless struggle and peace was signed in June, 1902, at *Vereeniging*.

Annexa-
tion of
Boer
Republics

The British Government may be said to have done its best to allay the anger and bitterness left by the war. The Dutch language was to be used in schools and in the law courts. The native question was to be decided by the States, and as it turned out, the two Boer States both refused to enfranchise their native populations. Self-government was promised for the future. Five million pounds were spent on helping the Boer farmers to return to their homesteads, and forty millions lent to develop the countries. Actually, in less than five years, the promise made in the peace treaty was fulfilled, and self-government was given in 1906.

Self-
gov-
ernment
and the
Union of
South
Africa
(1909)

A few more years passed, and then the dreams of Krüger and Rhodes were fulfilled, for South Africa decided on federation. In 1909 the provinces of the Cape, Natal, Orange River, and Transvaal united to form the Union of South Africa, and the first united Parliament met in 1910. The first Prime Minister was *Botha*, one of the Boer generals who had fought hardest against the British. Federation actually gave much power to the Boers, who preponderate in numbers over the British settlers, but the Union itself remains part of the British Empire. The *Statute of Westminster* (p. 961) gave it absolute self-government and "dominion status".

CHAPTER 73

RELIGION; ART; LITERATURE IN THE
VICTORIAN AGE

The great Russian, Tolstoy, once wrote a beautiful story, *What Men Live By*, to illustrate the theme that men's lives depend on living "not by bread alone" but by the things of the spirit. So, when we read of the prosperity of the Victorian age, we must realize that besides the material side of life, men of the day woke to a stronger spiritual life as well (*Note 151*).

The Church of England has always included men of different shades of belief. The settlement of Queen Elizabeth tried to include both those who clung to the old ritual, and those who wanted Puritan simplicity. So, when the Victorian age saw men stirring and wakening from the apparent deadness of the eighteenth century, these two streams of religious life appeared once more. The *Evangelicals*, as their name implies, revived the simplicity of the Gospel. Great men such as Wilberforce and Shaftesbury believed in, and lived their lives in accordance with, the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. One large section of the Church was inspired to fresh life and activity in this direction. What people called "philanthropy" sprang to life through this movement, and efforts were made along these lines to help the poor. Bible Societies, "ragged schools", orphanages, foreign missions, all sprang up, and besides the practical results achieved, there was something perhaps more useful—an awakening of the public conscience to general ills, and the responsibility of men towards each other. In that period the time was not ripe for the State to undertake many of the activities which private persons performed, but the Evangelicals forced into the limelight the bad conditions which needed attention.

In the other direction, the *High Church* movement, as it was called, appealed to a different side of man. The *Oxford Movement* was led by *Keble* and *Pusey* and *Newman*. It began by the writing of the famous *Tracts for the Times* at Oxford, and aimed at revivifying religion by reviving the ceremonies and some of the doctrines of the early church. More ritual and greater beauty were brought to church services. This roused opposition from those who saw in it a return to Roman Catholic beliefs. Great heat arose in controversy, especially when *Newman* (in 1845) and later *Manning*, went over to Rome, both of these great men eventually becoming cardinals. *Newman's* fame rested chiefly on his writings, especially his *Apologia* or story of his spiritual life and conversion. *Manning* showed his great ability as an organizer, and the work he did amongst the poor and his sympathy with working-class movements won him great respect and were emphasized by the vast crowds of working people who attended his funeral. He took a prominent part in settling the great Dock Strike in 1889.

All sections of religious belief, indeed, shared in this recognition of Christian duty "towards one's neighbour". A party called the *Christian Socialists* carried on a regular campaign to secure better conditions of life for the poor. Their chief exponent was *Charles Kingsley*, who wrote many of his novels to show the need for such practical reforms as sanitation, and described the miseries suffered by "climbing boys" who used to sweep chimneys.¹ Another clergyman, *F. D. Maurice*, worked for the education of working-men, and went on to be one of the pioneers of education for women.

So, when we look back on the mid-Victorians, we can see that besides the growth of England in riches and her advance in all material things, all classes were showing signs of an advance in intellectual and spiritual ways. There were real changes in the attitude of man to man, and this rise in

¹ As in the famous *Water Babies*.

"social consciousness" is one of the main characteristics of Victorian England.

It is always interesting to notice that vitality in a nation in one respect, such as trade and commerce, often seems to coincide with vitality in other, and very different, ways. Thus, while the Victorians traded and made money, and incidentally built streets of Victorian houses which they filled with solid Victorian furniture, they also produced a remarkable outburst of literary and scientific activity. It was really an age when men respected and appreciated letters and art, though we may not at present think their standard of taste good. Standards vary, and we now consider that the Victorians had a totally different idea of beauty from ours. They had a marked style, in houses, clothes, furniture, and ornamentations, and to-day some think it ugly and inartistic.¹ The Victorians themselves were completely self-confident. They felt themselves to be rich, and strong, and they expressed their wealth and vitality in their surroundings. Thus their houses and their furniture were well and solidly built, Victorian workmanship was excellent, and they aimed at, and obtained, solid comfort. Where some think they failed was in their lack of simplicity, and their fussy ornament.

Yet they were keenly interested in art, and the rich Victorian business man patronized painting with enthusiasm. Crowds visited the exhibitions held at the Royal Academy, and celebrated paintings had regular "mobs" seething round them and won renown not equalled to-day. Vast sums were earned by the popular painters of those days, and not only did the original paintings of *Landseer*, *Leighton*, *Millais*, *Alma Tadema*, sell for thousands of pounds, but engravings and reproductions made those same pictures familiar all over the land. Landseer's dogs and stags may seem very meaningless, and we think Leighton's mock classical scenes, with men and women in Grecian draperies, and great stress laid on marble and its bright reflecting

¹ There is, however, a revival of interest in Victorian taste.
(1938)

surface, very artificial. Nor do we all admire Millais' narrative picture "The North-West Passage" or his renowned "Bubbles". Yet these pictures had an immense appeal at the time, such as few modern paintings have. Scarcely a home but had its copy of "Dignity and Impudence" or "Wedded Love" or "A Summer Shower".

- Some may think that enthusiasm misplaced, and fail to see artistic merit in those works, but we ought to recognize and respect the fact that the immense success of Victorian painters was at least a tribute to the importance which that age attached to art. A few men still stand out, whom moderns recognize as great. *Whistler's* influence was profound, and his portraits of his mother, and of Carlyle, are famous.

Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Millais, and Watts, form a separate and distinctive group. In 1848 when political revolution broke out all over Europe, a little band of men tried to produce an artistic revolution in England. Led by *William Morris*, Rossetti, and Millais, they formed a "Brotherhood", which they called the *Pre-Raphaelites* because they wished to go back to the period before Raphael, considering that since his day art had gone off on to wrong lines. They aimed at simplicity of line and form, and opposed the "fussy" elaboration of mid-Victorian decoration, much of which was meaningless. They tried, too, to restore a love of pure colour, and their pictures glowed brilliantly with vivid tints. Morris was very successful, for he applied his ideas to the home, and his designs for wallpapers and stuffs had great influence and are still used. He inspired one man, *Arthur Liberty*, to search for and discover the secret of clear dyes for silks. Burne-Jones and *Holman Hunt* also won larger favour. Though the paintings of the Brotherhood later lost popularity, yet certainly their destructive attacks did rid the world of a mass of Victorian ugliness. They also represented a genuine and conscious attack on machine-made things; they stood for the hand-

made work of the craftsman, and they succeeded in keeping alive the craftsman's beautiful work in printing, painting, decoration of furniture, weaving, and pottery.

We must admit, then, that the Victorians were interested in art, and believed they were encouraging beauty, but to us they were astray in their standard of taste, and all their vigour and vitality were wasted by false values.

But when we turn to literature, we have the curious fact to face that whereas the Victorian writers were just as prolific, and just as popular as the artists, we still admire the writers, though we condemn most of the painters. The nineteenth century novelists form a band of whom we are still proud. *Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, the Brontës, George Eliot*, remain giants in the land, and their books are read not only in English-speaking countries, but are recognized as classics and studied by people of other races all over the world. They show to perfection not only the vast energy of the Victorian age, but its many-sidedness, for these writers of course differ completely in their contribution to the novel. Scott the romantic, Thackeray the satirist, George Eliot the unsurpassed portrayer of English rural life, the Brontës, claimed as the forerunners of modern realistic and "passionate" novels, all gave the Victorian world a richness and variety which makes it a splendid period.

Poets, too, attained very great influence. *Tennyson* became the most popular poet England had ever produced, while another group, the *Rossettis* and the *Brownings*, represented, we may say, the cult of "intellectual" poetry.

Ruskin had immense influence in trying to improve artistic taste on sound principles. His famous dictum was, "have nothing but what you know to be useful and believe to be beautiful." He fought a tremendous battle for good workmanship and design, though here again some deplore his dislike of "classical" influence and his belief in what he thought to be "Gothic" tradition. Ruskin in one sense is the epitome of the cultured Victorian, for while he was a

skilled art-critic, and gave half his energies to preaching on behalf of beauty, he was also keenly interested in social questions. He advocated the importance of the education of women, and his interest in economics and his desire to improve the conditions of the working-classes was profound.

This intellectual wish to "popularize" culture touched all classes, and *Carlyle's* immense vogue as lecturer and writer showed the wide-spread interest in the philosophical ideas which he himself had derived from Germany.¹

Science *Science* was on the verge of a spectacular advance, and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, published in 1859, is recognized as a book which marks an epoch.

Altogether, when we look at this flowering of intellectual life, and realize how many-sided it was, we may agree that "there were giants in those days", and that the Victorian epoch takes its place among the great periods of English development.

Women One interesting point to notice is that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, women begin to take a prominent place as writers. In the early part of the century it was still considered "unwomanly" to show the possession of brains, much more so to use them in writing and making money by the pen. "George Eliot" took a man's name to conceal her sex, and the Brontës at first wrote under pen-names taken to represent men. This attitude had entirely altered by the end of the century, and women novelists had become a commonplace. Better education and, more important perhaps, wider opportunities, later enabled women to advance beyond "fiction", and in sociology, travel, religion, and art, modern women can win recognition on their own merits.² Indeed, women writers actually outnumber men to-day, but they must still admit, like the men, that they have not yet surpassed their Victorian predecessors.

¹ It is interesting to read *Heroes and Hero Worship* or *Frederick the Great*, and see how German theories of the dominant super-man were put forward then.

² A list of a few writers to illustrate this particular aspect might include Mrs Webb, Freya Stark, Evelyn Underhill, and so on.

CHAPTER 74

EDWARD VII (1901-1910)

REFORMS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

In 1901 Queen Victoria died. She had reigned for over sixty years, and her reign had been one during which Great Britain had made the most immense strides forward. The Queen was herself a great personality, in a period which was very rich in notable men and women. Perhaps her greatest gift to her people was that she did create a definite link through the Crown between the widespread territories which formed her Empire. She proved that Burke's contention was true: "Kindred blood and common memories are ties which, though light as air, are yet as strong as links of iron."

With the new century a fresh phase began. *King Edward VII* succeeded his mother, and many of the chief personalities of the reign now vanished. Lord Salisbury retired from politics in 1902, Chamberlain in 1906. The Unionist Party was hopelessly divided, and in 1905 the Liberals, revived by their battle for Free Trade, came into office determined on a great policy of social reform (*Note 153*).

This was made inevitable by the advance in the organization of the working-classes, and by the spread of the new ideas. The removal of social injustice was the theme of the new *Socialist Party*, and the immense growth of *Trade Unionism* and the formation of a *Labour Party*, clearly challenged both Conservatives and Liberals. New conditions and parti

The ministry which took office in 1905 was composed of men whose abilities fitted them for the accomplishment of what proved to be a minor revolution. *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman* (Prime Minister, 1905-8), *Asquith*, *Sir Edward Grey*, *R. B. Haldane*, *David Lloyd George*, were all conspicuous for brains and for energy.

The problem of poverty therefore had to deal with the problem of poverty, and they therefore had to consider how best to help people suffering from unemployment, ill-health, or the failure to earn simply because of the onset of old age. Some reforms were carried out during the short period of Campbell-Bannerman's premiership, and when *Asquith* became prime minister in 1908 the ground was prepared for a great advance in what we call "social reform".

Old Age Pensions (1908) The first reforming measure was the *Old Age Pensions Act* (1908) which gave a weekly pension to men and women over seventy. This enabled many old people to leave the workhouses and live with their families.¹

The problems of ill-health and unemployment were next tackled. Germany had tried to suppress her socialist movement by force, and at the same time to conciliate her working-classes by improving their conditions. Great Britain now adopted some of the Germans' best ideas. So far, people who were out of work or in distress had either to seek help given under the Poor Law, or to rely on the Trade Unions and Friendly Societies. The Liberals now introduced the idea of insurance, which was first applied to workmen who lost their employment through illness. In 1911, Lloyd George brought in his National Health Insurance Act. By this Act practically all manual workers and many non-manual workers paid a weekly sum (while in work) which was supplemented by weekly contributions from the employer and by the State.² In return for these payments, an insured worker who fell ill was entitled to free medical attention and to sickness benefit. Maternity benefit was also included to help working-class women with the expenses of child-birth.

The National Health Insurance Act also included a similar contributory scheme enabling workers in certain industries

¹ Age later lowered to 65. For later developments of pensions legislation see p. 980.

² The slogan was "9d. for 4d.", as the worker paid 4d and the total weekly amount was made up to 9d. A great campaign was launched against the scheme on the grounds that people would object to "sucking stamps" or a card

to insure against unemployment. In 1921, this scheme was extended to include practically all industries.

(b) Unemployment Insurance

There remained the Poor Law itself, which had come to be associated in the minds of the working-classes with harshness and the " stigma of the workhouse ". Reformers, such as the Webbs, agitated for the " break-up " of the Poor Law, and a Royal Commission was appointed, which presented its report in 1909. The commissioners did not agree, the majority asking for certain reforms, the minority being much more drastic in its proposals. Both sections, however, agreed in the many evils of the system under which those in distress and needing help, suffered. Thus the Report unanimously recommended the abolition of the Boards of Guardians, and the transference of their duties to the County and Borough Councils.

Poor Law

Yet no action was taken by the Government, beyond the adoption of the Unemployment Scheme contained in the Act of 1911. It was not till twenty years later that the Guardians had their duties regarding workhouses and relief of distress taken from them, by the Local Government Act of 1929. An effort was then made to get rid of the old miserable associations by naming the new committees of the Borough and County Councils which dealt with these matters *Public Assistance Committees*.

Before entering on its programme of social reform, the Liberal Government had dealt with a point of great importance to Trade Unions. In 1901 by a famous legal decision (the Taff Vale Case) it was laid down that the funds of a Trade Union could be made liable for damage done by its members during strikes. The *Trade Disputes Act* of 1906 stated that action could no longer be taken against a Union in " a corporate capacity " — that is to say, only an individual could be sued for illegal actions.¹

Problems of workers

Trade Disputes Act (1906)

¹ In what is known as the " Osborn " case (1908) the appeal court decided that Trade Unions could not use their funds for political purposes, and this decision was confirmed by the House of Lords in 1911. The Trade Unions overcame the difficulty by having two rates of contribution, one for industrial and one for political purposes — but no member was obliged to pay the political contribution.

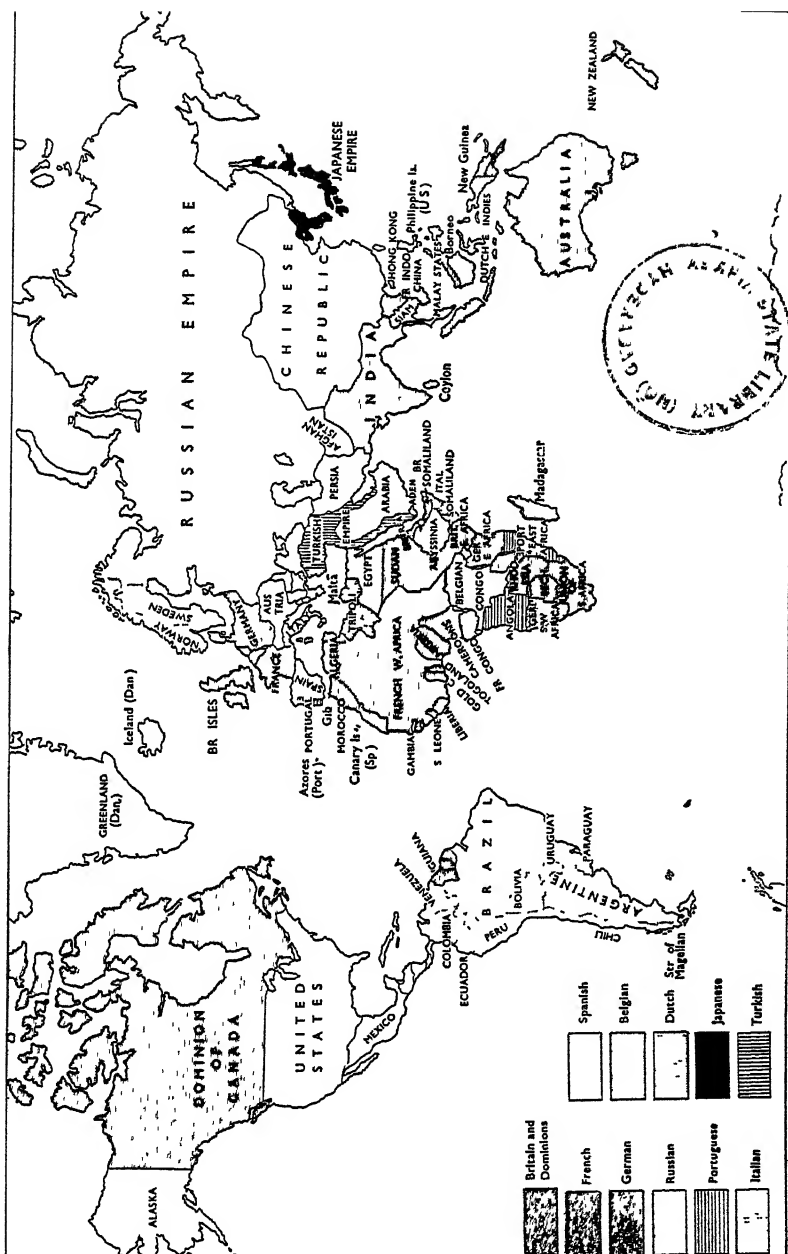
Other reforms carried out by the Liberal Government before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 included the reorganization of the army by *Haldane*, who embodied his ideas in the constitution of the *Territorial Army (Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907)*. Another measure of importance was the decision by Parliament in 1911 that members of the House of Commons should be paid; it was thus made much easier for a poor man to enter Parliament.

All these and other reforms were carried through the House of Commons with the greatest of ease, for the Government had an enormous majority of Liberals and in its social legislation it had also the support of the Labour members.¹ They could also often reckon on the support of the eighty Irish members. When, in 1908, Campbell-Bannerman resigned, Asquith became Prime Minister and Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer. At once he brought in a Budget which became famous. It was called the *People's Budget* because it was openly defended by Lloyd George as being meant to "take money from the rich in order to help the poor"; in other words, it meant that more money was to be raised by direct taxation to finance the Government's social measures.²

The Government's majority could ensure the passage of the Budget through the Commons, and what is called the "custom of the constitution" made it usual for the House of Lords not to touch a money bill, the underlying principle being the famous one that taxation is the concern of representatives elected by the people. But so fierce was the opposition of the wealthier classes to what they called "confiscation of wealth", that the Lords threw out the Budget. At once the Liberals took up what was a true challenge. They went to the country (January, 1910) on

¹ John Burns was given office as President of the Local Government Board. This he held from 1905 till 1914. He then became President of the Board of Trade, but resigned on the outbreak of war.

² Income Tax was to be 1s. 2d. in the £ for incomes over £3000; incomes over £5000 were to pay an additional super-tax of 6d. in the £.



EMPIRES AND COLONIES IN 1914

the question whether the Lords could over-ride the elected Chamber in finance. The country sent them back again to power, though with so reduced a majority that they were dependent on either the Irish or the Labour members. The Lords passed the Budget (April, 1910).

The agitation over the Budget had scarcely begun to die down, before King Edward's sudden death (May, 1910) took the country by surprise. His short reign had seen the great flowering of the Liberal policy of social reform, and it had seen, too, a notable change in our foreign policy, in the friendship with France, of which King Edward had been a warm champion (see p. 919).

King George V became King, and at once the constitutional conflict was intensified.

Liberals had long suffered from the rejection of their bills by the Upper House, which now was predominantly and permanently Conservative. Such measures as Gladstone's famous Home Rule Bill had been twice passed by the Commons only to be rejected by the Lords. With the advent of a social policy which might be perpetually fought by the Upper House, it was clear that not only would trouble arise, but that the Conservatives, even if defeated at the polls, could keep power through the Lords.

The
Parliament Act,
Reform
of the
Constitution
(1911)

The rejection of the Budget made the position impossible, so the Liberals now brought in the *Parliament Bill*. This Bill sought to deprive the Lords of their power to destroy the work of the Lower House, and give them the power only to delay. Any measure brought in by the Commons and passed by them in three successive sessions, was to become law, even if the Lords threw it out each time. Moreover, the House of Lords was to be deprived of all power to reject a money bill. A terrific battle took place over this bill, and the Lords would not accept it. Another General Election was fought (the second within the year 1910) and the country showed its feelings by sending the Liberals back with a majority again. Yet, still the Lords threatened to

wreck the Bill, and introduced amendments which quite altered its scope. Now recourse was had to one of the odd but useful expedients of our Constitution. Any Bill must receive the consent of the Lords, therefore the Parliament Bill itself must do so. It seemed unlikely that the existing House of Lords would pass it, but it was possible for the Crown to create peers from amongst men who supported the Bill. (This procedure had last been threatened in the case of the Reform Bill of 1832).

King Edward VII had died in May, 1910, just when the Bill was introduced. His successor, King George, now had to act. The Prime Minister announced that he had assurances from the Sovereign that, in accordance with the will of the people, which had been fully shown by the recent election, the King was prepared to create enough Liberal peers to secure the passage of the Bill. The House of Lords now recognized that nothing could be done.¹ The Parliament Bill was therefore accepted by them and became law.²

Votes for
women

Constitutional reform being thus made prominent, it is not surprising that another movement sprang to life at this time — the demand that women should be given the vote. Hitherto women were classed with "infants, criminals, and lunatics", and, though they might be property-owners and tax-payers and citizens, had no votes. For many years reformers, both men and women, had urged the injustice of this, and now various influences combined to strengthen the campaign. Gradually the various professions had been thrown open to women on the same terms as men; Socialism made no distinction in its demands for equality; and the stress laid on the connection between payment of taxes and political power which the struggle with the Lords had emphasized, now recoiled on the Liberals. For the Govern-

¹ The creation of about 600 new peers would have wrecked the House, for it would clearly be a ridiculous assembly, and as a result, more drastic "reform" might follow.

² It also reduced the duration of any parliament from 7 to 5 years

ment refused to listen to the women, and bills brought in by private members were rejected.

Hitherto all the agitation had been carried on by peaceful methods, such as meetings, processions, petitions. Now a new organization which used "violence" was created, the Women's Social and Political Union, headed by *Mrs. Pankhurst*. This society meant primarily to force the women's claims on public attention. To obtain "publicity" its members broke shop windows, attacked prominent members of the Government with whips, chained themselves to railings in front of the House of Commons and to the Strangers' Gallery in the House. They were imprisoned for their actions, and this led to unforeseen results. In the first place, they went on "hunger-strike", and had to be "forcibly fed". This proving very dangerous to life, the Government fell back on an extraordinary measure. A Bill was passed, nicknamed "Cat-and-Mouse", under which a prisoner in danger of dying from hunger-strike would be temporarily released, and when sufficiently recovered, taken back to prison. The other effect produced was more beneficial. Many of the women who went to jail were influential persons, and all had a most active and intelligent organization behind them. The state of the prisons, and the bad conditions under which women prisoners lived, was so emphasized that prison reform had to be undertaken.

Opinions will always vary as to whether this "violent" agitation would have achieved its object. For just as the movement was swelling, everything was interrupted by the advent of war in 1914. The immense part played by women in that war induced the Government to grant them the franchise in 1918. At first the vote was given only to women with a property qualification, and over the age of thirty. Later this was altered, and to-day women are on an equality with men and all alike receive the vote at 21, on the sole qualification of six months' residence in one place.

Besides the political troubles, the Liberals also had to face industrial strife. Great Britain, after the South African War, once more had to endure a period of depression. People now began to realize that trade went in "cycles" of "boom followed by slump" and that war accentuated depression. Unemployment increased, and trade fell off. In consequence the workers suffered, and their discontent led to a series of strikes. The great Trade Unions, being the workers' organizations with funds behind them, largely financed the Labour Party. They provided the funds for election campaigns, and they helped to pay the expenses of members in the House.¹ But the small block of Labour members could not achieve any very great result, and more "direct action" was demanded by the workers. Hardly had the country recovered from the political battle over the Parliament Act, when it found itself faced by great strikes. First came a railway strike (1911). The Railway Companies refused to recognize the right of the men's Unions to negotiate for them. This meant that the workers would lose the advantage of collective action, and they fought for their claims and won. Then came a miners' strike, to obtain a minimum of 5s. a day for men and 2s. a day for boys. This lasted so long and was so ruinous to our coal export trade, that at last the Government took action, arbitrated between the two parties, and regulated the trade by Act of Parliament, machinery to fix a minimum wage being set up.

Finally, a climax was reached in the conflict over Ireland. The Liberals had a majority in the House over the Conservatives only when the Irish block of eighty members voted with them. The Irish, seeing that they controlled the situation, now demanded Home Rule. The Liberals believed in this measure and were prepared to grant it, and a Bill was accordingly introduced; an Irish Parliament was to sit at Dublin, to deal with purely Irish affairs. This

¹ The £400 (see p. 935) a year salary did not by any means cover the total expenses of members.

Bill passed the Commons. It was thrown out by the Lords, re-introduced, and passed a second time by the Commons. If passed a third time (as it was in 1914), it must, under the Parliament Act, become law, for the Lords could not stop it. Racial and religious differences and antagonisms were, however, so long-standing and so bitter that Ulster refused to accept the Act which the Protestants there believed would put them under the domination of a Roman Catholic Parliament. They declared that they would rebel rather than agree.¹ The Conservative Party in England warmly supported them. Feelings rose to fever pitch, and a climax was reached when most of the officers at the garrison at the Curragh camp let it be known that they would rather be dismissed from the army than undertake active operations against the Ulstermen. This "mutiny" caused Asquith, the Prime Minister, to take over the office of Secretary for War. But the Ulster "rebellion" never came to a head, for a great European war was imminent.

Ulster
(1914)

CHAPTER 75

GEORGE V (1910-1936)

CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1914-1918

Prussia, throughout the nineteenth century, had been rising to the position of a great power. Under *Bismarck* the States of Germany had been united into the German Empire. He had (see p. 878) declared her a "satiated" power, with no wish for expansion, but the next generation did not share these views. *Kaiser Wilhelm II* succeeded his father in 1888, and Bismarck fell from power. Bismarck had humiliated France and annexed Alsace-Lorraine, but he did not wish

Rise of
Germany

¹ Their supporters said, "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right".

to take more from her, and he wished to preserve peace in Europe through alliance between Germany, Russia, and Austria. The Kaiser's policy did not follow these lines. He fell out with Russia and showed hostility to France. These two powers therefore began to draw together. On the face of it, friendship between Czarist Russia and Republican France was extraordinary, but fear drove them to form the *Dual Alliance* in 1893. Each was to help the other, if either were attacked by Germany or Austria. Against this union stood Germany and Austria, who, being joined by Italy, formed the *Triple Alliance*.

Here, it seemed, was that source of uneasiness and insecurity, a "balance of power"; for a balance can easily be upset. Great Britain stood aloof. She had deliberately wished for "splendid isolation", and actually up to 1900 she seemed more in sympathy with the German bloc. She had always feared and disliked Czarist Russia, and her Egyptian policy had caused her to quarrel with France. Her Royal Family's close connection with the Hohenzollern dynasty of Germany might have been expected to strengthen the ties between England and Germany,¹ and Salisbury had supported a pro-German policy. (For this chapter see *Note 155*).

The new century showed that all was changing. The most potent single cause of trouble was the building of a German navy. That navy could not possibly help German efforts directed against France or Russia. Land forces would be decisive there, and Germany was already far the most formidable military power on the Continent. A German navy could be aimed only at Great Britain, and in fact we know now that it was so aimed. At first Great Britain tried to come to terms. She offered to negotiate alliances with Germany in 1891, in 1901, and again in 1912. Her offers were refused.

Moreover, Britain became rather uneasy over the East.

¹ The Kaiser's mother was Queen Victoria's daughter.

Germany obtained the concession to build the great railway to Baghdad. This gave her influence in Near Eastern Europe, and she began to lay the foundations for her alliance with the Turk.

Germany
and
Turkey

Britain meanwhile felt herself "isolated" in the wrong sense. The Boer War showed her most plainly how unpopular she was on the Continent, and she began to think that she had better seek for friends. Germany was most clearly formidable, and she was also unfriendly.

Great Britain, therefore, made the momentous decision to join the other side. In 1904 she embarked on what was known as the *Entente Cordiale* with France. That is to say, she became friendly with France, though no definite alliance was made. This was perhaps intended to warn Germany what hostility to England might involve.

Policy of
Great
Britain

Entente
Cordiale

Then came the Russo-Japanese War (1904), which again had an unforeseen effect. Britain had been pro-Japanese, but the total defeat of Russia removed fears of Russian aggression. So Britain accepted Russia as a friend, while herself making a treaty with Japan (1905). Thus the beginning of the century saw Europe divided into two "armed camps", and never has there been a greater demonstration of the untruth in the saying, "if you wish for peace, make ready for war". European powers all began to arm, but their efforts for peace were not to succeed.

So angry and threatening was the situation, that when the Liberals came into power in 1906, they began to accentuate the "race for armaments". Germany had voted unheard-of millions for her naval budget, and now Great Britain followed suit. Threats of war began to be bandied about, the Kaiser making his famous speeches as to Germany's "shining armour" and "sword rattling in the scabbard". Looking back, we must think that Germany was deliberately provocative, though we cannot now tell whether she wished for war, or thought she could gain her ends by threats and bluff.

The race
for arma-
ments

The
Agadir
Incident

At first it looked as though France were again to be attacked. She was twice involved in "incidents". In 1906 Germany quarrelled with her over Morocco, and insisted on the French Foreign Secretary, Delcassé, being dismissed. In 1911 the Kaiser sent a German warship to Agadir, a Moroccan port. France was desperately anxious to avoid war, and in the negotiations which followed, she gave up large stretches of the French Congo in return for German acceptance of French control over Morocco.

German
com-
plaints

The Germans, on the other hand, have always put forward two points in justification for their policy. They had moved on from Bismarck's position, and they now wanted a colonial empire, a "place in the sun" as they put it, for they felt that their African colonies were not worthy of the prestige of what was now a very great power. They wanted room to "expand" with their growing population, and spoke of "living-space"¹. Yet only a tiny proportion of Germans settled in the colonies they already had. Their economic grievances could not be reckoned acute, for the British Empire was then based on free trade, and not only could every country then, as now, buy raw materials freely from any part of her dominions, but they could also at that time send their goods free of duty into Great Britain.

One complaint which the Germans put forward was that owing to the "entente" of Britain, France, and Russia, Germany was now "encircled", for with France on the one side and Russia on the other, she had enemies on two fronts. It should be noticed, however, that with Austria, Italy, and Turkey as friends, her road into the East was clear.

Austria
and the
Balkans

Finally, and here was where the true occasion for the war was to arise, she wished to "push towards the East".²

Austria

Germany's partner, almost her subordinate, was Austria-Hungary, but the Austro-Hungarian Empire had fallen on evil days. It consisted of a number of States, alien to one another in race and religion; Bohemia (part of what later

¹ *Lebensraum*.

² This policy was called the *Drang nach Osten*.

became Czechoslovakia), Hungary, Austria, and the southern Slav provinces (Styria, Carinthia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina). All were united only by the tie of the Imperial Government. Austria dreaded lest Russia should expand into the Balkans. That storm-ridden peninsula, after centuries under Turkish rule, and many efforts, at last freed itself in the Balkan wars (1911-13). Austria had many Slavs in the southern part of her Empire, and, though she kept them in check, she was afraid lest the Balkan Slavs should call in the help of the greatest Slav power of all, Russia. Afraid of revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, afraid lest Russia should acquire undue influence with the Balkan League, she decided that "attack is the best form of defence".

In 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne, while on a tour in Bosnia, was assassinated at Sarajevo. Even now people dispute as to whether this was the genuine action of rebellious subjects of Austria (the actual murderer was a Slav living in Austrian territory) or action influenced by Serbia, or even deliberate action by Austrian intriguers who disliked the heir's policy and wanted a pretext for war. In any case, the effects were the same. Austria accused Serbia of having instigated the deed, demanded outrageous terms of compensation, and, when Serbia refused, declared war.

Serbia

The murder at Sarajevo

Instantly, Serbia appealed for aid to Russia. Russia was perfectly willing, and, despite all the appeals which flew across Europe, mobilization began.

Germany was bound by treaty to assist Austria, and she may have urged and wished for moderation. Austria would not draw back. Russia called upon France to fulfil the obligations which bound her too. France and Russia prepared for war with Austria and Germany.

Russia

What would Great Britain do? She was not bound by any treaty to fight for either France or Russia. The country and the Cabinet were divided. The action of Germany herself brought Britain in, for one treaty did exist by which Britain *was* bound. When Belgium had been declared an

Belgium

independent kingdom in 1839, her neutrality had been "guaranteed" in the Treaty of London, by Germany, France, and Great Britain. That neutrality had been respected in the Franco-Prussian War, but Germany now prepared to break it. German army plans were based on an invasion which should sweep through Belgium and on into France.

Great Britain had a solid tradition behind her in demand-
Belgian
Neutralitying that Belgian neutrality must be respected. She would not tolerate the armed forces of another great power in the sea-coasts opposite her shores. When the Germans broke the Treaty of London and invaded Belgium, Britain made up her mind. She called upon the Germans to withdraw, but they declared it folly to make war "for a scrap of paper", and refused to give way. War between Great Britain and Germany was then declared on 4th August, 1914.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) in a speech said: "If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. First to fulfil a solemn international obligation . . . second to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering great Power."

NOTES ON PERIOD ELEVEN (1867-1914)

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS

VICTORIA (1837-1901)

EDWARD VII (1901-1910)

GEORGE V (1910-1936)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: NAPOLEON III, Emperor (1852-1870)

THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC (1870-)

AUSTRIA: EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH (1848-1916)

GERMANY: WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA proclaimed Emperor
of Germany (1870-1888)

FREDERICK I Emperor (1888)

WILLIAM II, Emperor (1888-1918)

RUSSIA: ALEXANDER II (1855-1881)

ALEXANDER III (1881-1894)

NICHOLAS II (1894-1917)

BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS

DERBY-DISRAELI: (1866-1868)

1ST DISRAELI: (1868)

1ST GLADSTONE: (1868-1874)

2ND DISRAELI: (1874-1880)

2ND GLADSTONE: (1880-1885)

SALISBURY: (1885-1886)

3RD GLADSTONE: (1886)

SALISBURY: (1886-1892)

4TH GLADSTONE: (1892-1894)

ROSEBERY: (1894-1895)

SALISBURY: (1895-1902)

BALFOUR: (1902-1905)

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: (1905-1908)

ASQUITH: (1908-1916)

NOTE 139. — GLADSTONE AND IRELAND

1867. Fenian movement created trouble in Ireland and England. Gladstone determined to remedy grievances.

1. Causes of Irish Discontent.

- (a) *Church*. Irish forced to pay tithes to Church of Ireland. Irish majority were Roman Catholics; Church of Ireland Protestant.
- (b) *Land*. No security of tenure, landlords rack-rented their tenants, many absentees, as many landlords were English. Irish peasants sub-divided farms, till too small to be efficient; lack of capital made farms poor.
- (c) Ireland depended on agriculture, and had no alternative industries.
- (d) Population was very large for poor resources of the country. Holdings could not support families (Hence dependence on potatoes, and terrible result of famine.)

2. Gladstone's Irish Policy.

- (a) Disestablished Irish *Church* (1869).

(b) *Land Acts*.

- (i) 1870 Compensation for improvements to be paid by landlords. Evicted tenants to be compensated if had paid rent. But landlords still might evict tenants by raising rents so that tenants could not pay.

Land League (Davitt's league) to organize rent strike.

- (ii) 1881. Second Land Act ('Three F's'). Fair rent; free sale; fixity of tenure. Act not accepted by Irish, who were now too embittered and wanted political independence.

(c) *Political*.

Parnell headed movement for *Home Rule*.

- (i) i.e. Irish Parliament to manage Irish affairs. Gladstone converted to Home Rule. But

- (a) Disorders in Ireland led to first *Coercion Act* (1881). Parnell imprisoned. Gladstone came to terms with him (*Kilmainham Treaty*, 1882).

- (b) Phoenix Park murders (1882) roused hostility of people in England.

- (ii) 1886. 1st *Home Rule Bill* introduced by Gladstone. Failed to pass; many Liberals against it. (Chamberlain left Liberals on this issue.)

- (iii) Conservatives in power (1886) — more Coercion. In 1890 Parnell's disgrace ruined the "Nationalist Party". Conservatives passed *Land Purchase Act*, to lend money to enable peasants to buy land.

- (iv) Gladstone brought in *2nd Home Rule Bill* (1893). Passed by Commons. Rejected by Lords. Gladstone retired from public life (1894).

NOTE 140. -- GLADSTONE

1. Finance. A great financier and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

- (a) Britain became a Free Trade country. (Abolished taxes on paper, "tax on knowledge".) Completed Peel's policy of abolishing duties on goods (1862-55).
- (b) Trade Treaty with France (1860).

2. Parliamentary Reform.

- (a) *2nd Reform Act* proposed (1867) to give vote to working-class householders by lowering property qualification. Thrown out — and Disraeli then carried a Bill based on Gladstone's. Gladstone forced wide amendments on Disraeli.
 - (b) 1884 gave vote to *all* occupiers and lodgers in town and country paying £10 in rent. Enfranchised *agricultural* labourers.
 - (c) *Ballot Act* (1872) made voting secret.
 - (d) *Corrupt Practices Act* (1883) limited amount of money a candidate could spend.
 - (e) *Redistribution Act* (1885) disfranchised boroughs under 15,000 inhabitants and merged them into counties; gave boroughs of less than 50,000, one member; redistributed these seats to new constituencies.
- This measure made electoral districts more equal.

3. Social Reforms.

- (a) *Education. Forster's Act*, 1870, provided for schools in every area and for education rate.
 - (i) 1880, education made compulsory.
 - (ii) Religious test at Universities abolished (1870).
- (b) *Civil Service* entrance made to depend not on nomination but on examination.
- (c) *Trade Union Act* (1871) gave Unions legal existence and safeguarded funds.

4. Army Reform under Cardwell (1871).

Note: Gladstone's "Reform" ministry lasted from 1868-74. Most of his measures came in this period, and were only rounded off in his later ministry.

5. Gladstone's Foreign Policy.

- (a) Supported Italian freedom and unity and opposed Austrian rule in Northern Italy (1860).

- (b) Advocated arbitration with U.S.A. and paid compensation over *Alabama* (1872).
- (c) Opposed Turkish misrule. Bulgarian "atrocities" agitation (1876). Opposed Disraeli's "backing" of Turkey and maintained Balkans should be freed.
- (d) In *Egypt* objected to Disraeli's policy of control in Egypt. But responsible for "provisional occupation". Ordered withdrawal from *Sudan*. Thus held responsible for death of *Gordon*.
- (e) In *South Africa* objected to attacks on Boers, so made peace with Boers and recognized the *independence of Boer Republics* (1881).

Summary. Gladstone's policy was based on belief in right of small nations to self-government and reluctance to interfere. Based also on belief in peace, and objection to war of intervention.

NOTE 141. — DISRAELI

1. Policy of Imperialism, or extension of British Empire
2. Policy of Popularizing the Crown, as a personal tie between Empire.
3. Policy of Converting Tories to "Tory Democracy", i.e. reforms.

1. Foreign Policy of Disraeli.

- (a) *Russia*. Strongly opposed to Gladstone's ideas of peace and non-intervention. Disraeli was aggressive and therefore opposed Russia and favoured Turkey.
 - (i) In Near East, 1876, supported Turkey against the Bulgarians.
 - (ii) Sent British fleet to check Russians at Constantinople (1878)
 - (iii) At *Congress of Berlin*, 1878, thwarted Russian plans and supported Turkish power.
 - (iv) Sent Afghan expedition to check Russian designs on India (1878).
- (b) Obtained share in control of Suez Canal, to give Great Britain control of route to India, and check French in Egypt (1875).

2. Imperial Policy.

- (a) Queen Victoria, Empress of India (1877).
- (b) Fought Afghan War to secure safety of India (1878-80).
- (c) In Africa dealt with:
 - (i) Annexation of Transvaal (1877).
 - (ii) Zulu Wars (1879-80).

3. **Home Policy.** "Tory Democracy". Carried through reforms supplementary to those of Gladstone
- (a) *Parliamentary Franchise*. Thus, in 1867, he took over Gladstone's Bill and was obliged to widen its provision. Vote given to "lodgers" who paid £10 a year. (This Act enfranchised the working-man)
 - (b) *Combination Act (Trade Union Act)* (1875) making strikes legal and legalizing "peaceful picketing".
 - (c) *Public Health Act* (1875).
 - (d) *Artisans' Dwelling Act* (1875) — improved houses and started clearance of slums.
 - (e) *Enclosure of Commons Act* (saved public land from enclosures) (1875).
 - (f) *Merchant Shipping Act* (1876), causing "Plimsoll Mark" to prevent over-loading of ships

NOTE 112 -- BRITAIN AND RUSSIA (1815-1878)

1. 1827, Canning joined with Russia in helping Greek Independence, for once overcoming British fear of Russia.
Growing hostility to Russia, due to Russia's tyranny in Poland, her aid in suppression of the revolution of 1848 in Austrian Empire, and fear of her interference in India. All combined to create feeling which led Britain to contemplate war
 2. *Crimean War*, to prevent Russia gaining influence, and to bolster up Turkey (1854-56)
 3. In 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, Russia repudiated peace terms made after Crimea, and restored her warships to Black Sea. Britain could not oppose Russia single-handed.
 4. 1878 Disraeli opposed Russia's attack on Turkey, and at *Congress of Berlin* thwarted Russia. "Peace with honour" was claimed by Disraeli; as no European war followed. Disraeli considered he had checked Russia
 - (a) Bulgaria, though part of it now forced back under Sultan's suzerainty, did in the end get free.
 - (b) Britain accepted Cyprus.
 - (c) Bosnia put under protectorate of Austria to check Russia, and this led to Austria's attitude in the Balkans and helped to cause war of 1914
- Summary:** Disraeli's policy was based on the idea of extending the power and prestige of the Empire. Also wished to reform social conditions. Strong interest in the Near East, also in India. Helped to restore the popularity of the Crown.

NOTE 143. -- EDUCATION (1815-1914)

1. Education at first carried on by voluntary societies, the *National Society* (Church of England) and the *British Society* (Non-conformist). In 1833 State grants given to these societies, and inspectors appointed
2. 1870 **Forster's Education Act** (Gladstone's ministry).
 - (a) Schools to be set up in every parish.
 - (b) Existing schools to have State grants.
 - (c) Elected boards to manage schools
3. 1880 **Attendance at Schools Compulsory**. Schools had now been built in areas where formerly had been none.
4. 1890. **Education made Free**. That is, parents no longer charged fees. (But parents pay for education through payments of rates.)
5. 1899. **Board of Education Set Up**. A government department now responsible for education of children.
6. 1902. **Education placed under Control of Town and County Councils**. (Old school boards abolished.)

Secondary education encouraged by provision of "places" for children from elementary schools, in return for State grants

NOTE 144 -- DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS

1. After *Combination Acts* repealed (1824), Robert Owen forms Grand Amalgamated Union. *Trade Unions* could be formed, But
 - (a) Magistrates often punished leaders for "intimidation".
 - (b) Trade Union funds could not be protected from dishonest officials
 - (c) A strike might still be a "conspiracy".
2. 1871. Gladstone passed *Criminal Law Amendment Act*. Trade Union officials could be prosecuted for dishonesty, so *funds protected*
3. 1875. Disraeli passed *Employers' and Workmen's Act*. *Strikes made "legal"*, and unions could not be prosecuted for doing anything collectively that would be legal if done by individual.
4. 1901. *Taff Vale Judgment* struck at Unions, for judges decided that Unions were liable for all losses to employers caused by illegal acts of members.

This removed by *Trade Disputes Act* (1906), saying that Unions not liable for losses caused by such acts.

5. Trade Unions, to protect their interests, used their funds to send members to Parliament (before members were paid, no means to send working-man to Parliament). This declared illegal by judge in *Osborne Judgment* (1909). Hence *Trade Union Act* (1913) said Unions could use funds for political purposes if (a) such funds kept separate from industrial funds, and (b) any members objecting, need not pay.

Note 145 -- LORD SALISBURY (1830-1903)

Leader of Conservatives (1881-1902) When Gladstone's Home Rule policy split the Liberals, a joint Conservative-Unionist party formed, Conservatives under Salisbury (1885), "Liberals" led by Hartington, and "Radicals" led by Chamberlain.

(Salisbury had been in Disraeli's ministry, 1866, but would not accept his Reform Bill.)

1. Ireland. 1886. Salisbury advocated "resolute" government as opposed to Gladstone's Home Rule.

(a) *Balfour* sent as Chief Secretary.

(b) *Crimes Act*, suspending trial by jury. Special resident-magistrates to crush disorder (1887).

(c) *Land Purchase Act* to lend peasants money at very low rate, to purchase land (1887).

2. Colonial Policy -- dominated by Chamberlain (see Note 146).

3. Foreign Policy.

(a) In 1878 had gone with Disraeli to Congress of Berlin. Had shared Disraeli's hatred of Russia and his support of Turkey.

(b) Impressed by Bismarck and friendly to *Germany*.

(c) Feared *France* and her growing African Empire.

(d) *Egypt*.

(i) Lord *Cromer* administered Egypt excellently, British influence supreme (1883-1907)

(ii) *Sudan* reconquered (Kitchener) (1898).

(iii) French tried to check this *Fashoda*, triumph for Britain (1898).

(e) *South America*, quarrel with *Venezuela* -- Britain accepted U.S.A.s intervention, and Salisbury conciliatory (1899).

4. African Policy. Conference at Berlin (1885) to settle division of Africa. Salisbury worked with Bismarck. Secured for Britain Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda. France given northern areas, to console her after Franco-Prussian war.

5. "Splendid Isolation". Salisbury would not interfere in the continental quarrels raised by Germany, but kept Britain in isolation. He shared opinions generally held then:

(a) That France was dangerous.

(b) That rise of Germany was a good development; and

(c) That the struggle on the continent did not concern Britain.

NOTE 146 — JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (1836-1914)

Started life as an extreme Radical and Republican.

1. **Municipal Career.** Began public career in Birmingham. Carried through series of municipal reforms.
2. **Radical M.P.** under Gladstone. Left the party over Home Rule, and split it (1885). Many "Liberals" joining the Conservative party which now called itself "Unionist" as maintaining union with Ireland.
3. **Accepted office as Unionist** under Salisbury (1895). Now developed true interest of his life as Colonial Secretary.
4. **Imperialism.**

(a) Desired extension of British territory. Thus encouraged "Empire on which sun never sets". Straits Settlements acquired 1896.

(i) North Borneo and Sarawak Protectorates, Fiji Islands.

(ii) Encouraged Rhodes in creation of *Rhodesia* (1895).

(iii) Supported *2nd Boer War* and conquest of two Dutch Republics, 1899-1902.

(b) Desired tightening of colonial ties, hence promoted Colonial Conference (1897). Colonies not very anxious for further federation, preferred greater independence.

(c) Started campaign for "Tariff Reform" (1903), i.e. wished duties put on foreign goods entering Britain with a *preference* for colonial goods. Aim, to make trade relations with colonies closer.

Note: Colonies and dominions being independent, could and did impose own tariffs, and tariffs against Britain.

Policy defeated at Election of 1906, and Liberals returned to power. "Tariff Reform" split the Conservative party now, just as Peel's Corn Law Repeal had split it earlier. In both cases, the Opposition returned to power.

NOTE 147 — CANADA (1791-1906)

In 1791 Canada divided into two provinces (Pitt's Canadian Act) — Upper Canada (English), and Lower Canada (French). Each had local elected assembly.

1837. *Rebellion* under Papineau, due to discontent over grant of land to Englishmen, and to grant of land to Episcopal Church. Rebellion crushed.

1. 1838. *Lord Durham* sent out to inquire into revolt.
 - (a) Deported leaders of revolt without trial.
 Opposition to this caused his recall.

- (b) *Famous Report* issued. Advocated:
 - (i) Union of two provinces once more (1840)
 - (ii) Grant of colonial assembly and full control in internal affairs
- 2. 1847. Lord Elgin made governor, and under him, *responsible self-government* was fulfilled
 Lord Elgin governed through a *Ministry* which was responsible to the *Assembly*, and depended on a majority there.
- 3. *Federation of Canada.*
 - (a) 1867 *Dominion of Canada* created, by federation of provinces Ontario (Upper), Quebec (Lower), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.
 - (b) 1870 Part of Hudson Bay territory formed into province of Manitoba
 - (c) 1871 British Columbia added.
 - (d) 1905. Alberta and Saskatchewan added.

NOTE 148. — AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

1. Early Developments.

- 1. (a) 1770 Captain Cook explored Australian coast
- (b) 1788. First settlement in New South Wales.
- (c) 1789. During repression of the French Revolution, political prisoners transported to Australia, as well as convicts, to Botany Bay
- (d) In 1797 Macarthur had imported *sheep*, which gave Australia a great industry. Helped by discoveries of *Gap in Blue Mountains* with great pastures beyond

2. Development of States.

- (a) *New South Wales.*
 - 1788 First convict settlement.
 - 1823. Made Crown Colony.
 - 1810. *Transportation abolished.*
 - 1812. Granted representative government.
- (b) *Victoria* (originally part of N. S. Wales).
 - 1851. Separated from N. S. Wales.
 - 1851. Gold discovered
 - 1854. Granted responsible government.
- (c) *Queensland* (originally part of N. S. Wales).
 - 1859. Separated from N. S. Wales
 - 1859. Granted responsible government.

(d) *South Australia*

- 1836 Founded by *Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, through his *Colonization Society* 16,000 "Free" colonists settled there
- 1836 Adelaide founded.
- 1854 Granted responsible government.

(e) *Western Australia*

- 1829 "Free" settlement.
- 1849-68 Convicts sent
- 1868 *Transportation abolished*
- 1850 Granted representative government
- 1890 Granted responsible government.

3 Federation.

- 1855 Federation of N S Wales, Victoria, and South Australia
- 1897 Convention held at Adelaide to discuss federation of all the States.
- 1900 *Australian Commonwealth Act*
- (i) Commonwealth Parliament created
 - (ii) State Parliaments continued in each State
 - (iii) Commonwealth Capital to be created at Canberra.
- 1926 Australia became a *Dominion*.

NEW ZEALAND

- 1817 Early settlements founded
- Maoris resisted settlement and fought *Lord Glenelg* championed Maori cause. Quarrelled with Gibbon Wakefield's settlers.
- 1839 Annexation proclaimed.
- 1840 *Treaty of Waitangi* — Maoris accepted Queen Victoria's rule and New Zealand becomes Crown Colony.
- Sir George Grey* preserved native lands. Sheep introduced — "Canterbury lamb" trade.
- 1852 New Zealand granted *self-government* with assembly at Wellington.
- 1867 Maori representatives elected.
- 1907 New Zealand (which had refused to federate with Australia) given title of Dominion of New Zealand.

NOTE 140 - SOUTH AFRICA

Cape Colony acquired from the Dutch (1814).

1. Large *Dutch* population. In addition, numerous native races. Friction between British and Dutch, over the natives. Boers turned them into *slaves*, and resented Britain's abolition of slavery (1833).
 - (a) This led to *Great Trek*, 1836. Boers migrated to Natal (1838). In 1843 Britain annexed *Natal*, and Boers trekked again to Orange and Vaal districts.
 - (b) 1852. *Sand River Convention*. British recognized independence of *Orange Free State* and *Transvaal*.
 - (c) Representative institutions granted to the Cape (in 1853) and to Natal (in 1856).
2. Great Britain by series of wars acquired:
 - (a) *Basutoland*, and by war against Kaffirs, controlled Cape Colony up to Boer portion (1868).
 - (b) 1877. *Transvaal annexed* — on grounds that Boers could not protect territory against warlike Zulus.
 - (c) *Zulus* provoked war and Zululand conquered. Later annexed (1887).
3. Wars with Boers.
 - (a) *First Boer War*.
 - (i) 1881, Boers rose against British. Won Laing's Nek and Majuba. Gladstone made peace and recognized *Boer independence as South African Republic* (1884).
 - (ii) *Cecil Rhodes* acquired Rhodesia for Britain (1895) checked Boer attempt to expand.
 - (iii) Quarrel over *Uitlanders* in *gold mines* of *Transvaal*. (1895.) Jameson Raid, provoked Boer hostility.
 - (b) *Second Boer War*, 1899-1902. *Transvaal* and *Orange Free State* annexed.
4. *Union of South Africa* (1909). All 4 provinces (except Rhodesia) united (Orange Free State, Transvaal, Cape Colony, Natal) and given *self government*.

NOTE 150. -- DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. SUMMARY

1. Canada federated in 1867. *Dominion of Canada*.
2. Australia federated in 1855. Completed by joining of new provinces in 1893. *Commonwealth of Australia* in 1900.
3. New Zealand given self-government in 1852 and called a *Dominion* in 1907.
4. South Africa federated and *Union of South Africa* formed, with grant of self-government in 1909.

NOTE 151. — RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
AND ITS EFFECTS

1. **Evangelical Movement ("Low Church")**

Started in Church of England partly owing to the influence of *Wesley* (1703-91), whose followers left the Church. Took practical view of "brotherhood of man", based on Bible teaching, so active members were active philanthropists.

Most eminent members, *Shaftesbury* (1801-85) (Factory Acts, etc.), and *Wilberforce* (1759-1833) (Abolition of Slavery).

Also encouraged education (*Funnah More*) (1769-1833).

2. **"Oxford" or Tractarian Movement ("High Church").**

Founded by a group of men at Oxford (1833), published "Tracts for the Times" emphasizing continuity of Church of England with the Catholic Church. Revival of ritual.

(After Tract 90 which tried to prove that the 39 Articles of the Church of England had nothing contradictory to the Roman Catholic Church, many left and joined the Roman Church.)

Most prominent men, *Newman* and *Manning*.)

Encouraged work in poor parishes, encouraged founding of nursing and teaching sisterhoods, and encouraged building of Church schools.

3. **Christian Socialists.**

Led by a group of writers, *Charles Kingsley* (1819-75), and *F. D. Maurice* (1805-72). Encouraged working-class education, founded working-men's college. Very active in hygienic reforms -- sanitation, and so on. The writers used their novels to forward their views (c. 1854).

General revival of religious life, which led on to movement to encourage "philanthropy" and work for, and amongst, the poor.

NOTE 152.—THE "GRAB FOR AFRICA"

Exploration of nineteenth century showed Africa vast continent.

1. *Burton* and *Baker* discovered the great lakes, Tanganyika and Victoria. *Speke* discovered the source of the Nile (1857-64).
2. *Livingstone* explored Zanzibar, discovered Victoria Falls and Lake Nyassa (1849-73).
3. *Stanley* explored the Congo (1874-79).
4. *European powers* decided to divide up Africa.

Begun at Conference of Berlin (1884) and continued in a series of conferences and agreements down to 1906.

(a) *France* got north-west Africa, Algeria, French Congo, Tunis, and control of Morocco.

(b) *Spain* got Spanish Morocco.

- (c) *Belgium* got Congo.
- (d) *Italy* got Somaliland, Libya (and in 1911 Tripoli)
- (e) *Portugal* got Portuguese West and Mozambique (on West).
- (f) *Germany* got German East and West.
- (g) *Britain* got Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda. Already had Cape Colony, and Rhodesia, and protectorate over Egypt and Sudan.

NOTE 153 -- SOCIAL REFORMS OF THE LIBERALS (1906-1913)

Rise of Socialist party led all parties to take greater interest in social reform

Liberals introduced:

1. Social Reforms:

- (a) *Old Age Pensions* (1908)
- (b) *Reform of Poor Law* Workhouses to be classified and efforts made to keep people out of them, by finding them work if able-bodied, and other reforms took many people out of the work-houses, e.g. pensions led old people to live with relations.
- (c) *National Health Insurance* (1911).
- (d) *Children*.
 - (i) Provision of meals for children in need (1906).
 - (ii) Medical inspection in schools (1907).
 - (iii) *Children's Charter* set up special Children's Courts for crime (1908).
- (e) *Labour*
 - (i) *Trade Disputes Act* (1906), protected funds of Trade Unions.
 - (ii) *Sweated Industries Act*, set up minimum wage boards in low-paid trades (1909).
 - (iii) Labour exchanges set up, to enable men and women to find work (1909).
 - (iv) *Shop Hours Act* to limit hours (1911).
 - (v) *Trade Unions Act*, enabled Trade Unions to use funds for political purposes (1913).

2. Army Reform. Haldane reorganized Army, and created Territorial Army (1906-13).

3. Political Reforms.

- (a) "People's Budget", to pay for cost of social reforms led to disputes with House of Lords (1909).

Result, *Parliament Act* of 1911, abolished power of Lords to veto bills for more than a limited period..

- (b) Payment of Members (to enable working-men to sit in Parliament) (1911)
- (c) *Home Rule Bill* passed 1912 Never put into operation owing to resistance of Ulster and to war of 1914.

NOTE 154 — INDIA — MOVEMENT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

1. Demand for Self-government on same lines as Dominions.

Obstacles: (a) Differences of race and religion in India. Clash between Hindus and Mohammedans.

(b) Poverty and illiteracy of Indians, making self government more difficult. Illiterate population difficult to organize politically, and poverty makes provision of education difficult.

2. Growing Discontent in India. Outbreaks of disorder, especially in Bengal, where terrorists used firearms. Objection to partition of Bengal under Curzon (1905).

3. Liberal Proposals for Reform (1906)

Morley (Secretary of State for India in England), and *Minto* (Viceroy), introduced "Morley-Minto Reforms" (1906-10).

(a) Elected representatives to sit in Imperial Legislative Council.

(b) Elected representatives to be in majority on the Provincial Legislative Councils

(c) Indians to sit on Viceroy's Council and Council of State in England.

4. Montague - Chelmsford Reforms (1918-1919) — "Dominion Status" promised. *Montague* (Secretary of State) and *Chelmsford* (Viceroy).

(a) Certain departments in provincial governments placed under Indian ministers, responsible to elected assemblies (responsible government).

But, this not applied to all departments. Some were "reserved" for officials appointed by Britain (hence called *Dyarchy*) "Reserved" departments include *finance* and *maintenance of rule*

If system worked well, then after 10 years extension to be granted. Rise of opposition movement, headed by *Gandhi*, has led to dis-sension and no further grant yet made.

(a) Council of State for all India, Legislative Assembly for all India

(c) Provincial Legislatures to have wide powers, but certain powers to be reserved for Governor, and if Legislative Council refuses to act, the Governor can take over.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD ELEVEN (1867-1914)

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great and Greater Britain	Dates	Other Powers	Dates
Queen Victoria (1837-1901)	RUSSELL DERBY DISRAELI	<p>Dominion of Canada formed, Second Reform Bill</p> <p>Transportation to W. Australia stopped</p> <p>Irish Church Disestablished.</p> <p>First Irish Land Act, Education Act</p> <p>Universities opened to Non-conformists, Trade Union Act</p> <p>Ballot Act</p>	<p>1867</p> <p>1868</p> <p>1869</p> <p>1870</p> <p>1871</p> <p>1872</p> <p>.</p> <p>.</p> <p>.</p>	<p>Opening of Suez Canal</p> <p>Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), Republic in France, Formation of Empire of Germany</p>	<p>.</p> <p>1869</p> <p>1870</p> <p>1871</p>
	1868-74 GLADSTONE				
	1874-80 DISRAELI	<p>Suez Canal shares purchased.</p> <p>Queen becomes Empress of India</p> <p>Second Afghan War</p> <p>Zulu War; Dual Control in Egypt</p>	<p>1876</p> <p>1877</p> <p>1878</p> <p>1879</p>	<p>The Bulgarian Atrocities.</p> <p>Russo-Turkish War.</p> <p>Treaty of San Stephano, Treaty of Berlin</p>	<p>1876</p> <p>1877</p> <p>1878</p>
	1880-5	<p>First Boer War, Battle of Majuba</p> <p>Bombardment of Alexandria, Battle of Tel-el-Kebir</p>	<p>1881</p> <p>1882</p>	<p>Alexander III becomes Czar</p>	<p>1881</p>
	GLADSTONE	<p>Third Reform Bill</p> <p>Annexation of Upper Burma; Fall of Khartoum.</p>	<p>1884</p> <p>1885</p>	<p>The "Grab for Africa" begins.</p>	<p>1884</p>

Sovereign	Prime Minister	Great and Greater Britain.	Dates.	Other Powers.	Dates.
Queen Victoria (1837-1901)	SALISBURY GLADSTONE	First Home Rule Bill Jubilee of Queen Victoria Local Government Act	1886 1887 1888	William II German Emperor.	1888
	1888-92 SALISBURY		.	Fall of Bismarck	1890
	1892-94 GLADSTONE.	2nd Home Rule Bill.	.		.
	1894-95 ROSEBURY.	Jameson Raid	1893	Nicholas II becomes Czar.	1894
	1895-1902 SALISBURY.	The "Diamond Jubilee" of Queen Victoria Re-conquest of Sudan, Battle of Omdurman	1895	War between Turkey and Greece.	1897
Edward VII (1901-1910)			1897 1898 1899	Peace Conference at the Hague.	1899
	1902-05 BALFOUR	Federation of Australia Treaty of Vereeniging.	1900 1901 1902		.
	1905-08 CAMPBELL- BANNERMAN.	Anglo-French Agreement. Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Anglo-Russian Convention.	1904 1905	Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05	1904
		South Africa Act; Indian Councils Act; Union of South Africa	1907		.
	1908-16 ASQUITH.	Parliament Act; National Health Insurance Act 3rd Home Rule Bill	1909 1911 1912	Portugal becomes Republic. War between Turkey and Italy. First Balkan War Second Balkan War	1910 1911 1912
George V (1910-1936)		Britain declares War on Germany.	1914	Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Germany declares War on Russia and France.	1913 1914

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD ELEVEN

1867-1914

1. Describe Gladstone's attempts to remedy Irish grievances.
(NUJB 1935)
2. Give an account of the foreign policy of Gladstone (LGS 1936)
3. State the services of Disraeli (a) to his party, and (b) to the improvement of social conditions.
(LGS 1937)
4. Describe the principal achievements of Disraeli (NUJB 1936)
5. Trace the growth of British power in Egypt and the Sudan from the establishment of the Dual Control in 1876 to the end of this period.
(NUJB 1938)
6. Describe the main reformers in England of Gladstone's first ministry (1868-74).
(NUJB 1937)
7. State the services to the British Empire of *two* of the following Lord Dalhousie, Lord Durham, Joseph Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes.
(LGS 1936)
8. Give an account of the work of *either* Joseph Chamberlain or Cecil Rhodes
(LGS 1937)
9. Give a brief study of the foreign policy of Disraeli.
(LGS 1923; NUJB 1930, 1932)
10. What was the attitude of this country towards the Eastern Question?
(OC 1932)
11. Discuss the contributions of Disraeli to the development of the Conservative party.
(LM 1926)
12. Relate the course of events in Egypt leading up to the death of Gordon.
(LGS 1922, 1925; OL 1929, UW 1931)
13. Compare the aims and methods of O'Connell with those of Parnell
(LGS 1923)
14. Compare the Evangelical and the Oxford Movements (OC 1935)
15. Sketch in outline the history of the English novel between 1815 and 1914.
(LGS 1935)
16. Describe society in the Victorian age as it appears in the works of any Victorian novelist.
(OC 1932)

17. What were the main contributions made by Englishmen to the advancement of science between 1815 and 1914? (LGS 1935)

18. Give a brief account of the relations between England and France from 1870 to 1914 (NUJB 1935)

19 Write a brief account of two of the following (a) the Introduction of Railways in England; (b) the Rochdale Pioneers, (c) the Irish Famine of 1845-7; (d) the Women's Suffrage Movement. (NUJB 1933)

20 What part did Britain play in "the scramble for Africa"? (Illustrate with a map.) (CWB 1931)

21 What is meant by "Responsible Government"? Show how and when it was gained by either Canada or Australia. (UW 1932)

22 Outline the principal measures affecting education in England during the nineteenth century (LGS 1922, 1924; OL 1932)

23 Trace the development of Trade Unions during the latter part of the nineteenth century (LGS 1922, 1924, LM 1924, OL 1930; D 1931)

24. Outline the course of franchise reform during the nineteenth century. (LGS 1924, 1925, UW 1932,; OL 1932)

25. Outline the development in England of factory legislation (LM 1924; CL 1930)

26 Outline the relations between England and Turkey during the latter half of the nineteenth century. (LM 1924)

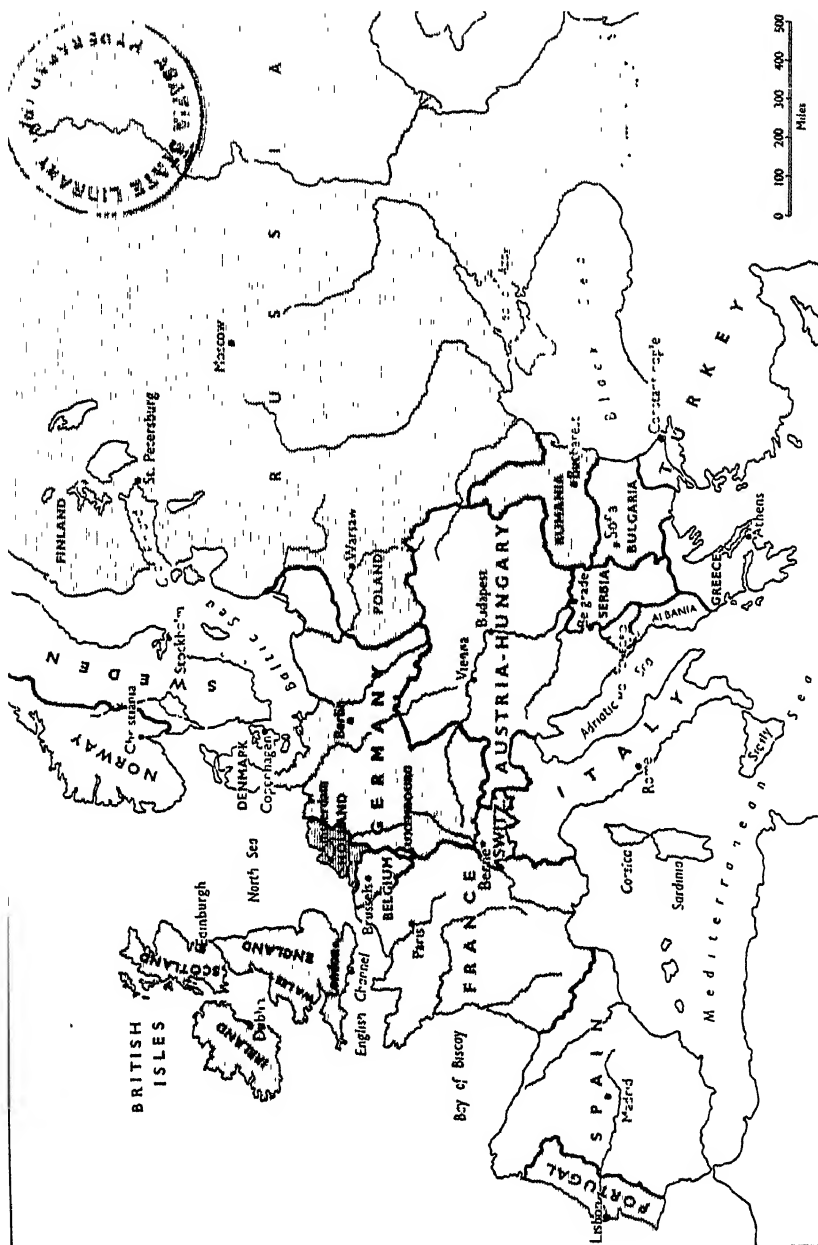
27 Describe some of the improvements in communications effected during the nineteenth century. (LGS 1924, LM 1931)

28. Discuss the growth of British power in India during the second half of the nineteenth century. (LGS 1925)

29 In what dangers was Great Britain involved at the end of Victoria's reign by her isolation from continental affairs? (LGS 1925)

30 What efforts were made by legislative means to improve the conditions of the people between 1900 and 1914? (OC 1930)

31. Between 1815 and 1915 the conditions of life of the working classes improved enormously. What were the chief factors that brought about this improvement? (LGS 1937)



PERIOD TWELVE

WAR AND AFTERMATH (1914-1939)

CHAPTER 76

WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

The World War (*Note 156*) was fought on a scale unapproached in any previous century. For the first time, "Nations in Arms" fought one another, and instead of tens of thousands, millions faced one another — altogether the war saw the employment of no less than 50 millions of armed men. Moreover, not only were old weapons transformed and multiplied beyond measure,¹ but the war was fought in new elements and with new weapons. War in the air and under the water was developed enormously. Air forces — aeroplanes or airships or balloons — were used, for instance, for scouting and for obtaining information, chiefly by means of photography, of the hostile dispositions; for assisting artillery by checking and registering; for bombing hostile forts and railway stations; and for attacking the enemy on the march. The under-water weapons, again, as we shall see, transformed the conditions of naval warfare. As the war progressed, weapons became more and more deadly and diabolical; hand-grenades, gas, artificial fog, liquid fire, and tanks were all gradually brought into operation. The result was that the strain on men's nerves in the later stages

Modern
warfare

¹ The British had on the West front at the beginning of the war 486 guns and howitzers, of which 24 were of medium calibre, at the end they had 6137, of which 2211 were of medium and heavy calibre.

of the war was of a kind incomparable with that in any previous warfare.

The Germans had to fight on two fronts; on the west against France and Great Britain, and on the east against Russia. They hoped by a "knock-out blow" to concentrate their army in the west, sweep through Belgium, thus getting round the French line, and reach Paris.

They nearly succeeded. Though the Belgians fought hard, they could not stand against overwhelming force, and in three weeks the Germans reached the French frontier. They then wished to get between the allied Franco-British armies to Paris. The French sent all the troops they could get,¹ and the Germans were driven back to the River Aisne. They were then aligned facing the French and British armies, and from September, 1914, for the next four years, the lines reaching from Rheims to the Vosges scarcely shifted. Trenches were dug, barbed wire entanglements put up, and "trench warfare" began.

Meanwhile, in the east the Russians met with disaster. They advanced into Germany, and at *Tannenberg* amongst the lakes, were totally defeated (1914). The next spring the Germans followed this up, drove the Russians far back, and established themselves on Russian territory.²

There was now a difference of opinion between military commanders and statesmen. The soldiers wished to confine the war to these two long-drawn frontiers. The statesmen believed that trench warfare meant "stalemate" and that we should seek to pierce the Austro-German defences in other areas. So one attack was planned on *Gallipoli*, held by Germany's ally the Turks, and another on *Mesopotamia*. The object of the landing at Gallipoli was to get in touch with hard-pressed Russia, to defeat Turkey, and thereby to induce Bulgaria to join us. A naval attack was first planned, but the Turkish floating mines sank some of our ships, and

¹ Many were sent from Paris in vehicles hastily commandeered.

² The Germans conquered all Russian Poland and Lithuania.

it was decided that the attempt must be given up. After an interval, a land attack was resolved upon, and the troops used for this largely came from Australia and New Zealand.¹ The Turks, however, warned by the earlier effort, defended the peninsula strongly, and after most amazing bravery in landing, the British troops could not advance beyond the "beaches". Nine months after the first storming of the shore, the British troops were recalled (December, 1915).

Kut (1916) The advance into Mesopotamia was even more disastrous, for a British army was surrounded at *Kut* (and later forced to surrender, April, 1916.)

Central Europe (1915) Bulgaria joined Germany, and a great joint attack was made by the Central Powers on Serbia, which, by the end of 1915, had been completely overwhelmed and occupied by hostile forces.

The only advantage gained by the Allies was that Italy came in on their side. This coincided with a change in the political situation at home. It was realized that one party could not effectively carry on such a struggle, and a Coalition Ministry was formed, in which all the parties united, Liberal, Conservative, and Labour. (May, 1915.)

The situation now presented (May, 1915) was that Germany and Austria with their allies, had complete control of all Central Europe, had asserted their influence in the Balkans, and, through their alliance with Turkey, controlled the Near East. Russia still had her armies in the field, and thereby kept large Austro-German forces engaged.

Conscription (1916) By January, 1916, it was decided that greater efforts must be made. Up to this point, Britain had fought with her original small army of regulars, and with the large army of volunteers which had been called for by *Lord Kitchener*. The fearful losses in man-power, however, and the need of the French for greater help, caused Great Britain to introduce conscription (1916). This involved radical changes in

¹ Thus the name "Anzac" from the initials of Australia and New Zealand Army Corps.

industry With man-power drawn off to the armed forces, and with the increased and always increasing demand for munitions, women had to take the place of men. They were admitted to the factories, and the Trade Unions agreed, in the interests of the nation, to "dilution". This meant that unskilled labour was allowed in industries and occupations hitherto reserved for skilled workers. Women also worked on the land, drove trams, acted as postmen, and in every way helped to set men free for work women could not do.

The Western Front throughout this period was the scene of continuous bombardment. As such a form of warfare had not been foreseen, there were no proper "dug-outs" or trenches, and the men suffered greatly from cold and above all from mud in the winter. Yet it was in this area that both sides hoped for decisive victory.

First the Germans made a violent attack on the French at *Verdun* (February to August, 1916), and to the French this was the great struggle of the war. They held out against all the massed attacks of the Germans, despite appalling casualties. Over 400,000 Frenchmen were killed in the defence of Verdun, but they showed that the Germans could not batter their way through.

War in
France

Verdun

Then the Allies launched their attack along the river *Somme*. Again thousands upon thousands of men were killed, and gigantic quantities of munitions were used up, but small advance was made. Indeed, as became clear later, such terrific bombardment of any ground by high-explosive shells reduced the terrain to such a condition that no army could advance across it. The Germans were, so Ludendorff reported, "absolutely exhausted" by these struggles, but they withdrew their lines and were thus able to continue the war.

The
Somme

The Russians at this time made one final effort to help their allies; they attacked the Austrians in the east and won some successes, while the Italians harassed them by

Russia

an attack from the south. Rumania joined the Allies (August, 1916), only to be defeated.

This period, mid-way through the war as it proved, was one of crisis. It was marked by the replacement of Asquith by Lloyd George as Prime Minister. As the land war became more and more one of great forces camped immovably against each other, the Germans began to fix their hopes on victory through sea power. Great Britain had, at the very outset of the war, driven German shipping off the oceans. A few German warships had remained on distant stations. These had, in the first months of the war, defeated and sunk a weaker British squadron at *Coronel* (1914), only to be themselves, one month later, defeated and sunk at the *Falkland Islands*. But the navy had many duties to perform. First, it had to protect the shores of Great Britain from German raids or invasions. A few raids were made, as for instance on Lowestoft and Scarborough, but the Germans were able to make no attempt at invasion.

Second, the navy had to transport and convoy all the soldiers and munitions and supplies of all sorts to the many fields of war — twenty million men were conveyed to and from France alone during the four years of war, and without the loss of a single soul.

Third, the navy had to sweep the enemies' merchant flags from the sea, and to strangle their foreign trade. The strangulation of their trade and the stoppage of their imports were among the most important of the factors which brought about the final downfall of the enemy Powers.

Fourth, the British navy had to protect and encourage British and allied commerce. Great Britain's very existence depended on her imports — and if the navy had failed, Great Britain would have been starved into surrender in a few weeks.¹ At the beginning of the war the navy had to

¹ Two-thirds of the foodstuffs eaten in the United Kingdom came from abroad, as did all the cotton and three-fourths of the wool, and the available supplies in the United Kingdom, at any one time, would not have lasted more than five or six weeks.

stop hostile cruisers escaping from German ports, and to clear the seven seas of the cruisers already there.¹ Later, the navy, in its protection of commerce, had to meet a more formidable menace in the submarine -- but of that we shall say something shortly.

The paramount duty of the navy, however, on which all else depended, was the fifth. This was to look after the German High Seas Fleet, to confine it to port, and to bring it -- or any portion of it -- to action if it put to sea. That, in the first two years of the war, was the business of our Grand Fleet, under the command of Admiral Jellicoe² till November, 1916, and later under that of Admiral Beatty. But, of course, the conditions of naval warfare since our last great sea fight in Nelson's time had in many ways altered. It was not only that steam or oil-driven ironclads had displaced sailing vessels, or that the vessels themselves were much larger, and the range of their guns enormously extended,³ but also that entirely new factors had been introduced. One was the underwater torpedo, discharged either from a submarine or a destroyer or a battleship. Another was the mine, laid under the sea, which exploded when brought into contact with a ship. Our battle-fleet had always to beware of being drawn over prepared minefields, and the torpedo, with its extreme range of 15,000 yards, was still more to be feared. Again, in the old days, ships could not slip away unperceived

¹ At the opening of the war there were five German cruisers in the Pacific. These destroyed, off Coronel in Chile, two British ships of an inferior squadron. The Admiralty immediately dispatched two battle-cruisers to the Falkland Islands. The day after their arrival the five German ships, unaware of danger, appeared, and before evening they were all, except one, at the bottom of the sea. Of the other German cruisers, the *Emden* had the greatest fame, one of her exploits was to sail with an additional false funnel, so as to resemble a British cruiser, to Penang, an island off the Malay Peninsula, and there to destroy a Russian cruiser and a French destroyer.

² "Jellicoe", it has been said, "was the only man on either side who could lose the war in an afternoon." This gives some measure of his responsibilities.

³ Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, was of 3100 tons, and her whole broadside only weighed 1160 lb., with a range of 1760 to 2500 yards. The *Iron Duke*, Jellicoe's flagship, had a displacement of 25,000 tons, and could throw a single projectile of 1200 lb., with a range of 18,000 to 20,000 yards.

except in a fog or at night — but artificial smoke screens enabled a modern fleet to conceal its movements.

The
Battle of
Jutland
(1916)

The British fleet could no longer, under the new conditions, be kept, as in past ages, outside the enemies' ports. For the greater part of the war it was either in *Scapa Flow* or the Firth of Forth; and when it did come out, it had to be protected and flanked by large numbers of destroyers and by cruisers, and often preceded by mine-sweepers. Although there were minor actions, for nearly two years the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet fought no great battle. But on the last day of May, 1916, came the *Battle of Jutland* — the only encounter of the two main fleets. Poor visibility, perhaps, robbed the British fleet of what appeared to be a splendid chance of victory. As it was, both sides expressed themselves satisfied. The German fleet maintained that, though met by a force superior in the ratio of eight to five, it inflicted twice as much damage as it suffered, and destroyed three British battle-cruisers; whilst Great Britain maintained that the German High Seas Fleet was so much battered that never again would it risk another fight.

"Unre-
stricted"
submarine
war

If the Germans had thus failed as regards fighting our battle fleet, they had formidable weapons still to use. They could attack our merchant shipping, and that of neutrals trading with us. From 1915 they used their submarines to destroy commerce, and in 1917 they declared that they would wage *unrestricted* submarine warfare; that is to say, all ships of whatever nation proceeding to or from a British port, would be sunk. This campaign proved terribly effective; in April, of every 100 ships leaving England, 25 were sunk, and over a million tons of shipping lost.

Various results unexpected to Germany followed. The Admiralty started the *convoy system*, which reduced our losses. It also equipped "Q-boats", that is, ships disguised in various ways, but really armed to destroy submarines — which proved very effective. Rationing was introduced in

Great Britain, to conserve our food supplies. America, first perturbed by the sinking of the British liner, the *Lusitania*, when 1200 lives were lost, including 120 American citizens (May, 1915), then inflamed by the sinking of her own ships and the breach of international law, declared war on Germany (April, 1917).

This actually marked the turn of the tide, though at first it was not apparent. Gradually the British got the better of the submarines, yet before troops began to pour across the sea from the United States, one further dramatic event occurred.

Russia had struggled on in the east, but the incompetence and corruption of her leaders had led to a total breakdown in the supplies of her armies. Men were sent to fight against the Germans and Austrians with no munitions, no guns, no rifles. The casualties became a slaughter. At length the nation could stand no more. Revolution broke out, and the Tsar abdicated (March, 1917). So utterly was Russia at the mercy of Germany that she had to accept the *Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*, giving up to Germany vast areas of her territory, including all her western provinces.¹

Russian
Revolution
(1917)

The collapse of Russia was a great blow to the Allies, and 1917 brought them no corresponding gain. The French made great attacks on the Aisne, which failed totally, and so frightful were the French losses that there were mutinies and great discontent in their armies. This necessitated attacks by the British to draw off the Germans. An attack was made on the Germans at *Messines* which was a great success, and repeated attacks, lasting over a period of five months, for the possession of *Passchendaele* which were most terribly costly in men, gained little. Italy suffered a crushing defeat at *Caporetto*. Finally, the use of the tank, a new weapon invented by Britain, was tried at Cambrai. It proved a marvellous success, and the German line was broken. But this was not followed up, and by the end of the year it was

The
West,
1917

¹ These included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russian Poland:

known that not only had these offensives gained us relatively little ground, but had resulted in losses far outweighing any we inflicted on the Germans.

Even *Allenby's* success in *Palestine* did not appear to offer much hope. He took Jerusalem, and another British force took Baghdad, but the Turks remained full of fight.

So 1918 opened with apparently not much hope of change. Yet really the war was to enter a different and a decisive phase.

Germany had not succeeded in starving Britain, but she was herself starving. Though she controlled the Balkans, and though her ally Turkey had access to the East, she could not get supplies for her people. Her leaders resolved to make one final violent effort, in the hope that they could win a victory in the west before the American troops arrived. Every available man was transferred to the west, and in March she began a massed offensive on the British. So terrific was her onslaught that the British lost 400,000 killed and wounded, and 80,000 taken prisoner; all the hard won gains of the previous year were lost (including Messines and Passchendaele Ridges), and the Germans threatened Amiens, the great centre of our railway communications.¹ Then the attack was halted — the Germans could win no more ground here.

To hearten the British, on St. George's Day there was a brilliant attack on *Zeebrugge*, when a smashing raid was made on the mole, and the canal through which the submarines came was partially blocked.

Hard on this, the Germans struck at the French. All during May, June, July, wave after wave was flung on the French lines, which were pushed back to the Marne, and

¹ The Germans held for part of one day the village of Villers-Bretonneux from which they could command Amiens. Hindenburg writes in his memoirs. "We ought to have shouted in the ear of every single man 'Press on to Amiens! put in your last ounce. Perhaps Amiens means decisive victory. Capture Villers-Bretonneux whatever happens, so that from its height we can command Amiens with masses of our heavy artillery.' It was all in vain, our strength was exhausted."

once there the Germans were within forty miles of Paris. But on 18th July the Allies in their turn attacked. American troops had poured in since April, munitions had been provided in overwhelming quantities, and in March *Foch* had been given unified command of the Allied forces. All along the line, in different places, French and British attacked. The German line was pierced, and in every part all through August, the Allies went steadily forward. By 8th August, Ludendorff decided that Germany must make peace. He tried to hold the field a little longer, but behind his back the German allies were collapsing. First Bulgaria gave in, then Turkey, then Serbia was recovered by the Allies, and in October the Italians smashed the Austrians at the battle of *Vittorio Veneto*. It was hopeless for Germany to struggle on. Her troops had been beaten and driven back everywhere, her allies had all been forced to surrender. Now the civilian population in Germany could bear no more. Revolution threatened, and the Kaiser fled from Berlin. The German army chiefs resigned, and on 11th November, Germany was granted an armistice. The war was over.¹

Armistice
(11th November,
1918)

CHAPTER 77

THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

The armistice which ended the war was signed on 11th November, 1918; there followed a great Conference, held in Paris during many months, and finally, in June, 1919, peace was signed at *Versailles* (*Note 157*) and later treaties followed. The faults of those Treaties have been so loudly proclaimed, and so many of Europe's subsequent difficulties

¹ The war cost 50,000 million pounds and led to the enlisting of 50 millions of armed men, there were 30 million casualties and not far short of 9 million deaths. In France alone 21,000 factories, 630,000 houses, and 1659 townships were completely destroyed. The National Debt was in 1914 before the war 25 billion francs—in 1921 it was 302 billion francs. The National Debt of Great Britain was in 1914 before the war £708 millions—it was £7435 millions in 1919.

have been attributed to them, that they have to be clearly examined.

Influence of U.S.A. First, we must notice the great influence which the United States of America exercised through *President Wilson*, who came to Europe himself. The U.S.A. was not exhausted by the war, they were not so tainted by the bitterness left by the struggle, and Wilson's "Fourteen Points" were held to represent the ideals of the Allies. (See note on p. 998.) Wilson was inspired by two great beliefs. He held that democratic forms of government must be established in every country, and he believed in "self-determination"; that is, in the right of each racial group to independence or to decide as to its form of government. Now, this principle led at once to difficulties. Small States were to be set up and given "self-government", but the idea could not be logically carried out, for Europe is filled with "racial groups" too small to live alone.¹

'Self-determination' Acting, however, on this principle, Europe was now "reformed".² Taking the territorial changes in Europe, Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine which was restored to France (on the basis of being primarily French in race), and she had to hand over her eastern or Polish provinces to the Republic of Poland.³

Poland As the newly-formed Republic of Poland needed an outlet to the sea, they created the "corridor", a strip of land running between East and West Prussia, and ending in the port of Danzig. Danzig was to be "free", that is to say neither Polish nor German. This corridor revived the position in old days long before Poland had been divided up in the eighteenth century, and it was hoped thereby to

¹ Thus the State of "Czechoslovakia" was formed, which actually contained people of opposed nationalities -- Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Ruthenians, who were all grouped together because Czechoslovakia did form a geographical whole, and occupied an important position as a buffer between Russia and Germany, and as a "bastion" or outpost between Germany and Austria.

² In Eastern Europe the number of States rose from 7 to 14.

³ Since the partitions of 1799 the Polish Republic had ceased to exist. It was now revived.

let Polish trade flow down its natural route, the river Vistula, while the Germans were to use trains running across the "corridor" and giving them access to their eastern province.

Austria-Hungary disappeared as an empire. She was broken up into her component parts, and a series of small independent republics were created, of which Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were the chief. In addition, the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia was formed by giving to the original Serbia more parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the southern borders which were inhabited by Slavs, and Montenegro. Rumania gained a slice of former Russian territory, which was inhabited by Rumanians (Bessarabia), and also obtained Transylvania from Hungary, thus almost doubling her territory.

The
Break-up
of
Austria-
Hungary

Turkey lost nearly all her European territory and some of her outlying provinces, and Syria and Palestine became independent States under the guardianship of France and Britain respectively, who ruled under mandate from the League of Nations. (See p. 1000.)

Turkey

Russia, which by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had great fragments of her territory torn off by Germany, now had most of that land restored, but she had to cede her Polish provinces back to Poland, and to recognize the independence of the little Baltic republics of Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

Russia

Italy gained the provinces to her north, Trentino, Trieste, Istria, and part of Tirol, though here "self-determination" did not prevail, for a large block of the inhabitants of Tirol were Germans.

Italy

So far, the motives actuating the peace-makers are clear. They meant to give liberty to these small States who desired it, and they meant as far as possible to group races together. These measures were intended to be constructive.

"Security
against
aggression"

The other provisions of the Treaty raised very different problems. The French wished to prevent the possibility of further German aggression. They insisted, therefore, on

very severe terms. Germany had to pay a vast indemnity; surrender her fleet, give up all her colonies; and accept her "war guilt" as an aggressor.

Finally, the *League of Nations* was created, and the "Covenant of the League" drawn up (*Note 158*). This was intended to provide a means for ensuring peace by setting up a body to prevent disputes degenerating into war. Three-quarters of the nations of the whole world joined as members, but the U.S.A. herself refused to join.¹ All these nations were to meet in an annual Assembly held at Geneva, which represented, as it were, a "parliament of nations". The business for that Assembly was to be regulated by a Council, which was to meet three times a year. It was originally intended that this Council should consist of representatives of the U.S.A., British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan who were to have permanent seats, together with representatives of four other member-States to be selected from time to time by the Assembly. The failure of the U.S.A. to join the League reduced the permanent seats to four,² and later the number of non-permanent seats was raised to nine.

The highest hopes were felt that through the League war would really be prevented, but the decade that followed saw these hopes gradually fade. For that we can now see certain reasons more clearly. The actual territorial arrangements at Versailles were imperfect. Many "minorities" were included in the new States, and thus fresh grievances were created. Germany was embittered by her humiliation, and, most potent of all, the economic consequences of the war and of the peace led eventually to widespread depression and misery, and in the end to the collapse of the German Republic and the rise of the Nazis. When we judge the Treaty of Versailles, therefore, we can see that the men who made it tried to solve different problems in different ways.

¹ Wilson's policy was repudiated by his country when he went back after the Conference.

² When Germany joined the League of Nations in 1926, she was given a permanent seat on the Council.

They tried to give liberty to small nations; they tried to secure the world against future wars; but they tried to make Germany pay for the damage she had caused. They did not foresee the economic consequences of their actions, and still less how out of that misery political consequences would ultimately follow.

CHAPTER 78

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE

A General Election held in 1918 returned Lloyd George to power at the head of another Coalition ministry. The whole country hoped now for peace and prosperity, but peace did not bring prosperity. The vast economic waste caused by war always leaves an aftermath. Capital had been destroyed, trade terribly damaged. Those who insisted on vast *reparations* from Germany were warned by the economists what would be the result. "Reparations" mean payments, but payments on a huge scale from one country to another must give rise to a dilemma (*Note 160*). Economic
conse-
quences

Either the reparations would take the form of goods, and then the countries receiving them (in this case Britain, France, and U.S.A.) would be flooded with the manufactures and such goods as coal, of their defeated enemy. Or they must be paid in gold, in which case the countries receiving payment would be filled with gold and the effect would be a disastrous rise in prices. These results did indeed follow. On the other hand, the financial ruin of Germany meant the ruin of a country which had been amongst our best customers; they could not buy from us, so our export trades were bound to suffer. Repara-
tions

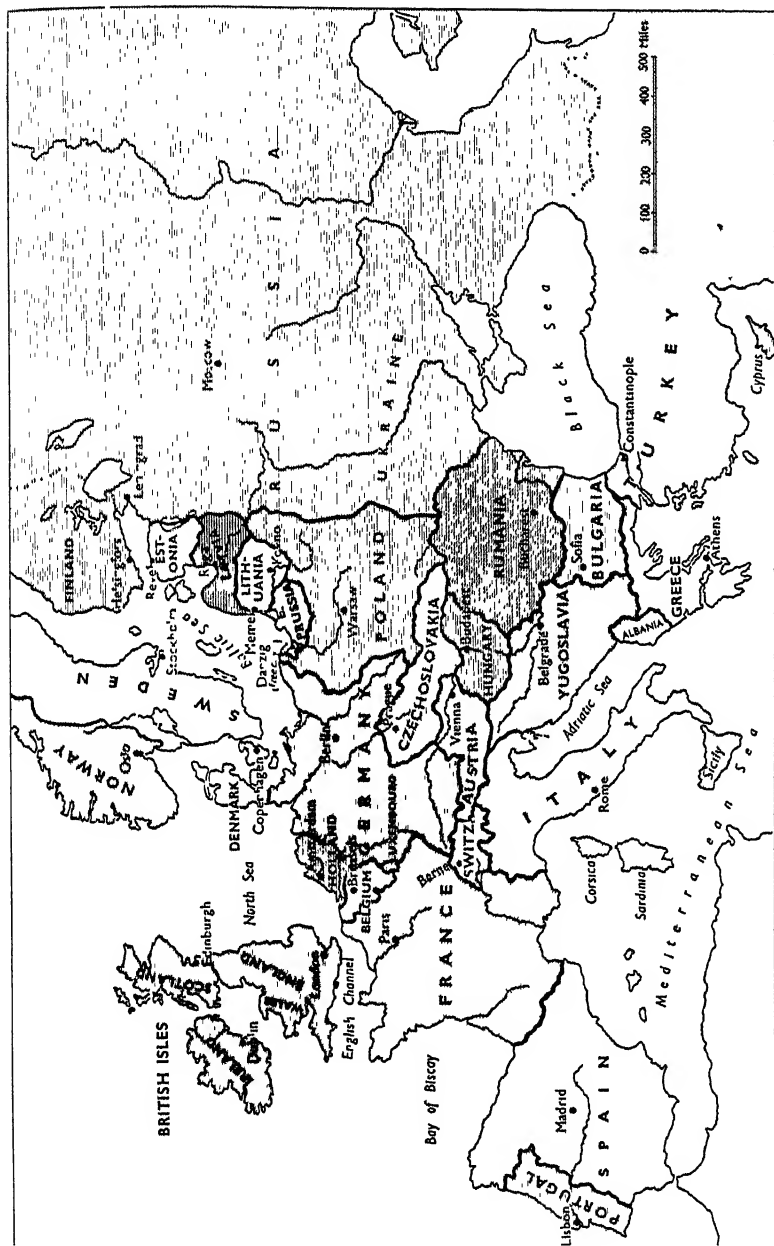
The economic clauses of the peace treaties were therefore in the nature of boomerangs, coming back to injure us. Two other factors were to add to our troubles. Great Unem-
ployment

Britain had borrowed largely from the U.S.A., and she had used her credit to obtain goods for her allies, whose credit was not as high as hers. She was now bound herself to repay the money borrowed from the U.S.A., while as time passed her debtors ceased to pay her. In addition, the demobilization of the armies and the cessation of work on munitions, dislocated employment. Hundreds of thousands of munition workers lost their jobs, while the returning soldiers could find none. The cost of living had doubled during the war and did not fall to its original level, while employers wished to reduce wages from their very high war levels.

Changes in industry, strikes and tariffs
 Government changes

Modern developments have hit most hardly what were once our most flourishing industries. Coal-mining and railways have obviously suffered from the advance of petrol-using motor-cars, from the substitution of oil for coal in the navy and in industry, and from the growing rise in the use of gas and electricity. So trouble became acute in these industries. The miners first threatened to strike, and a Commission appointed to inquire into their grievances, advocated that the State should take over the mines. This the Coalition Government delayed to do, and then other events swept it from power. In 1922 the "uneasy partnership" between the Lloyd George Liberals and the Conservatives broke down, and the Conservatives won the General Election and took office under Bonar Law. When Bonar Law retired in 1923, Baldwin became Conservative Prime Minister, and he wished to introduce a "full-blown" tariff. During the war, in order to save space in our ships, heavy duties had been put on a few categories of goods which were considered "luxuries" to a country fighting for its life.¹ Now the Conservatives wanted a general

¹ These included motor-cars and clocks. The duties were known as McKenna Duties from Mr. Reginald McKenna, the Chancellor of the Exchequer who introduced them. In 1921, by the Safeguarding of Industries Act, certain "key" (i.e. vital) industries were protected by the imposition of import duties. The purpose of this and of similar Acts was to establish in Great Britain industries which were vital to the nation both in peace and in war, and to make the country independent of imports of such things as scientific glassware, fine chemicals, dyestuffs, magnetos, etc.



EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE SETTLEMENT, 1919-1923

tariff, but a general election at the end of 1923 showed that the country did not accept this policy. The Conservatives still formed the largest party in the House of Commons but they had not a majority over the combined Labour and Liberal members, and when Parliament met in January, 1924, the defeat of the Government and the resignation of Baldwin followed almost as matters of course.

The *Labour Party* was then called on to form its first Government, and this it did with *Ramsay MacDonald* as Prime Minister. As it was only the second largest party in Parliament, it had to rely on the support of the Liberal members, and this it did receive at first. This advent of the Socialists to power was regarded with great apprehension by the propertied classes; they feared "confiscatory taxation", and there was much vague talk of the influence of Russian Bolshevism on English Labour. Actually, as the Government depended on the Liberal votes in the House, it undertook nothing startling in the way of legislation. Right from the beginning, however, it was clear that its position was precarious, and in the autumn of 1924 trouble arose over its Russian policy. The Labour ministry was defeated in the House of Commons and the general election which followed (October, 1924) gave the Conservatives an absolute majority over all other parties. Stanley Baldwin then formed his second Conservative Government. The result of this 1924 election was possibly greatly influenced by the publication in the newspapers, five days before the polling date, of a letter which was said to have been written by Zinoviev, one of the Bolshevik leaders, and which contained instructions to persons carrying out subversive activities in Britain.

The
First
Labour
Govern-
ment
(1924)

The
Zinoviev
Letter

Six years had now passed since the war ended, and it might have been expected that trade would have revived and the world been given what it most wanted — work and food. Actually the position had become steadily worse, as the economists had predicted that it would. The evils of

“reparations” had become so clear, and the condition of Germany as a debtor was so hopeless, that now the nations began to try to rectify their mistakes. ‘The *Dawes Plan* (1924)¹ greatly lowered Germany’s contributions, though those of Great Britain to America continued. Thus Britain’s debtors did not pay her, while she continued to pay her debts.

The
Dawes
Plan

But more constructive efforts were not attempted. No measures of reform were brought in, and in Great Britain unemployment continued and discontent grew. ‘The miners who were suffering increasingly from the decline in the demand for coal, were faced with reductions of their wages, for the new Conservative Government gave up the control of the mines, which had been in Government hands since 1917. The Government subsidy, which had reached very large proportions, was withdrawn. The mine-owners decided, in view of the depression in the trade and the rise in cost of production, to lower wages or lengthen hours.

Dis-
content
in
Britain

Against this the miners struck, and they were soon supported by the two other great Unions, the railwaymen and the engineers. All Labour rallied to their support, and a ‘*General Strike* of all Trade Unionists was declared (May 1926). It failed, and very quickly. The Government could not allow the existence of the country to be threatened, and took steps to provide transport and food. Motor transport brought supplies to the towns; the workers themselves with funds depleted by years of unemployment, could not stand the strain; and the general feeling of the public told against this resort to industrial war. After a week, the Unions recognized their defeat — all but the miners, who struggled on all summer and then had to accept the owners’ terms.²

The
General
Strike
(1926)

¹ The Dawes Plan was drawn up by a committee of the Powers, under the chairmanship of the American General Dawes.

² The outcry against the General Strike also led to protests that the Union used their funds for “political” purposes. Hence the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927 was passed, which made any “sympathetic” or “general” strike illegal.

The "General Strike" was a symptom of the unrest and discontent due to falling trade, growing unemployment, and all the misery and suffering these involve for the workers. When, after three years, no improvement came, and no legislation, the workers used their votes, and in 1929 the Labour Party was returned the largest party in the House of Commons, but still without a majority over all other parties combined (they had 289 seats representing over 8 million votes). They accepted office, however, and Ramsay MacDonald formed his second Government, again relying on Liberal support. It proved a bad moment for Labour to assume power. Economic conditions were unfavourable and the burden of reparations prevented the revival of prosperity. Efforts were made to deal with this, but these measures did not prove effectual. Germany again had her reparations reduced by the *Young Plan* of 1929 and the *Hoover Plan* of 1931. Great Britain was still paying the U.S.A., her industries had suffered from the strikes, and her unemployment continued to grow.

Second
Labour
Govern-
ment
(1929)

In 1931 the whole world was struck by a terrible "slump" in trade. Great Britain had her scheme of unemployment insurance, and now the immense demands on the Unemployment Fund meant that its money could not meet the weekly payments, and it had to borrow from the Treasury. At the same time, naturally, as trade was universally bad, our "balance of trade" suffered, and our revenue decreased. The Budget, therefore, would not balance, and a demand was made for drastic economies. A financial crisis created a panic, and gold began to drain out of the country. (In one week, 25th July, 21 millions in gold were withdrawn to France.) The Labour Government could not, by itself, deal with so serious a situation, and the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, accordingly asked Conservatives and Liberals to join him and form a "National Government". Some of the Labour Cabinet resigned rather than accept the programme put before them, objecting in par-

The
financial
crisis
(1931)

ticular to the proposed reduction in the rate of unemployment benefit, and thus Labour, like the Liberals, was split into groups. At the election which followed, the new National Government secured 554 seats, the Labour Party only 52.

The National Government had first to restore confidence, and this it did by very drastic measures. Taxation was increased sharply, wages of all government officials (including the judges) and employees were reduced, and unemployment benefit was cut down. In this way, and also owing to the psychological effect of a "National Government", panic was checked.¹

Tariffs imposed (1932)
A very far-reaching change was now made in our financial and economic policy. Great Britain abandoned Free Trade. Tariffs were put on many goods coming into the country, with the idea of checking purchases from abroad which had tended to upset our balance of trade.

Hopes of recovery
Gradually the panic subsided and trade began slowly to revive. A *World Economic Conference* was held in 1933 to try to solve financial problems. One of the most useful of the activities of the League of Nations was its efforts to tackle economic problems. The nations met at Geneva to consider the best ways to check trade depression and to stimulate prosperity. It might have been hoped that common sense would show that all have common interests. If one nation prospers, others who sell to it will also prosper; if one is impoverished, others will suffer from loss of markets. Moreover, it was most clearly recognized that war was the worst enemy of prosperity. Therefore it might have been anticipated that the nations would work together, not only in limited ways, but in the supreme effort to preserve peace. These hopes were all frustrated, and to understand what happened we must turn to the events which had been passing in other nations and in other parts of the Empire.

¹ Britain also "went off the Gold Standard"; that is to say, gold could not be used as currency.

CHAPTER 79

THE "THIRD EMPIRE"

The war had a great influence on the constitution of the British Empire (*Note 159*). In the first place, the great Dominions had entered the war and attended the Peace Conference as equals with the mother country. Then, new territories were attached to Great Britain under conditions different from any that had hitherto existed.

Thus, at the Treaty of Versailles, each of the self-governing Dominions had its own representatives, each signed that Treaty separately, and each signed the Covenant of the League separately. It was recognized that the Dominions had attained control over their own foreign policy, and could make treaties as independent States.¹ This led to an *Imperial Conference* in 1926, when it was declared: "Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate to each other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". This declaration was embodied in the *Statute of Westminster* (1931), which recognizes the "independent nationhood" of the Dominions.² "The Crown is the golden link" that now holds the Empire together.

"Independent nationhood"

The Statute of Westminster (1931)

As a result, the Dominions were free to act as they chose in every respect. Thus, when King Edward VIII abdicated

¹ This was emphasized in 1925 when the Dominions refused to sign the Treaty of Locarno. Canada would not sign because in that Treaty Great Britain guaranteed the frontier between France and Germany, and Canada (like the U.S.A.) objected to "guarantees" in Europe being binding on her.

² The British Government cannot veto any Dominion legislature, cannot control foreign policy, and the Governor-Generals representing the King are not nominated by the British Government, but by the Sovereign on the advice of the Dominion government concerned.

(in December, 1936), each Dominion accepted the abdication and recognized King George VI through its own Parliament. When war broke out in September, 1939, each Dominion again was free to join in the war or not. The solidarity of an Empire based on such freedom was in point of fact brilliantly demonstrated by the fact that every Dominion, but not Eire, ranged itself voluntarily by the side of Great Britain.

The British Empire, therefore, shows what the world has not seen before, an Empire whose members are in some cases completely self-governing, and in others are progressing towards that stage. We may think that this characteristic is our unique contribution to the art of governing. But all parts of the Empire have not reached that point.

Many of the colonies and dependencies now have all their government departments staffed by local people and responsible to elected assemblies. Others are so backward that they must still be governed by Britain. Yet here, again and again, the British Government stresses the idea that it is a "trustee" for these backward peoples. Modern policy, too, tries definitely to preserve what is good in native civilization, so that each dependency shall contribute what is characteristic to its culture, while at the same time Britain can give them what is most helpful in hers, such as medical services, agricultural knowledge, better communications. In 1923 Parliament laid down the lines on which Britain considered her colonial policy must be based; "The interests of the native must be paramount, and if and when these interests and the interests of the immigrant race (i.e. white settlers) should conflict, the interests of the natives must prevail."

There remains another group of territories, whose position has caused much heart-burning, namely the "mandated" territories. This is a group of what were formerly German colonies or Turkish provinces, taken from these countries after the Great War. They are mostly in Africa (formerly

German East and German West), and are held under a "mandate" from the League of Nations, which calls for reports on their government and progress. In accepting the mandate for Palestine, taken from the Turks after its conquest by Great Britain, we involved ourselves in much trouble. We promised to give the Jews a "national home" there, and accordingly many Jews emigrated, especially after the Nazi persecution started in Germany and Austria. But Palestine had its Arab inhabitants, who bitterly resented these entrants, and as a result, trouble between Jew and Arab led the Arabs to revolt against the British. The problem of reconciling the two claims has been extremely difficult, and the warfare and bloodshed involved led to much bitterness. It was not found possible to give self-government to a country so divided, and Great Britain incurred a great deal of blame and hostility.¹

The mandate system led to trouble in another direction. During the war *Lawrence of Arabia* had devoted himself to stirring up the Arab "Revolt in the Desert" against the Turks. He had succeeded marvellously, and he believed that as a result an independent Arab State could be formed to include Syria and Mesopotamia ('Iraq). The French, however, were given a mandate for Syria, and they drove out Lawrence's friend Feisal from Damascus.² In compensation, Great Britain made him King of 'Iraq, which was ultimately recognized as an independent State (1932).

One other Eastern State also achieved independence. *Egypt* had been a British Protectorate, but after the war Britain realized that Egyptians would no longer tolerate this control. She withdrew the protectorate, and Egypt was recognized as an independent sovereign State (1922). Yet, as the Suez Canal is vital to British commerce and forms her connecting link with India, Britain retained control of the

¹ The great pipe-line bringing oil from 'Iraq runs out to Palestine, and the question of its control leads to further difficulty

² Lawrence's bitter disappointment led to his withdrawing from public life.

Canal. The long and close connection of Great Britain and Egypt is interesting in many ways, and not least in this close to a chapter. Britain, and not France, had been the power to influence Egypt, and now she acted in recognition of the principle that this State had a right to its independence.

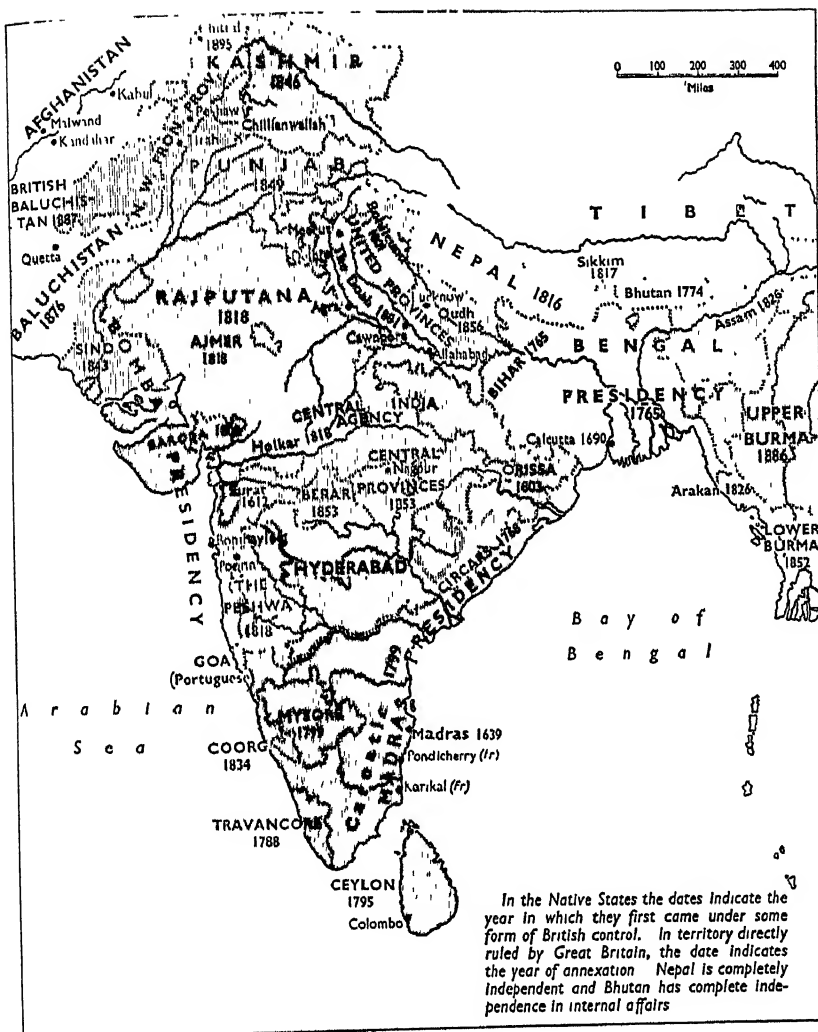
The movement towards independence had thus been shown in various directions. The great Dominions achieved theirs without any friction whatever. Now we must turn to that great member of the Empire, India, which by 1939 had not yet attained "Dominion status", though wishing for it.

India had come to the help of Great Britain in the war of 1914. Her troops had crossed the ocean, had fought in France, and had won the highest military honours. In 1917 the British Government officially promised "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". This was to be made possible through a series of reforms,¹ which were intended to give Indians gradual control of their own affairs. As India progressed, so she wished more for development in two directions. First, she wanted to see Indians employed in larger numbers in the administration, and second, she wished for self-government through elected assemblies.

Here one of the difficulties in Indian affairs showed itself, for the two main religious bodies of the country, Hindus and Mohammedans, often clashed. If complete self-government through assemblies elected on a uniform suffrage were granted, the Mohammedan "minority" would be outvoted. Moreover, India was not considered to be fit for the immediate grant of full self-government. Accordingly, a plan, called *dyarchy*, was adopted; this was to be tried for ten years, and if it was successful, further development was then to follow.

The *Government of India Act* was passed in 1919. This set up a Council of State and an elected Legislative Assembly

¹ These were advocated in the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report* (1917), Lord Chelmsford being then the Viceroy, and Edward Montagu, Secretary of State for India.



representing all India. Each Province was also given its own elected Legislative Council, from which ministers were to be chosen by the Governor. These Councils were to take over the administration of their Provinces, though finance and the maintenance of order were not entrusted to them, but were "reserved" for the Governor and his Executive Council.

The Government of India Act (1919): "Dyarchy"

A large volume of Indian opinion did not think that this measure went far enough, and a most interesting personality, the Mahatma Gandhi, came forward and organized the opposition on "peaceful" lines. He was entirely opposed to violence, and preached that India must win her self-government, but not through force. He and his followers refused to "co-operate" with Great Britain, that is to say they would not work with the British. The strike was to be their weapon and the boycott of British goods. Gandhi himself, when imprisoned, used the hunger-strike as his weapon of defence. National feeling rallied to Gandhi, and his movement swung many in India into line behind him. Himself wishful for reforms, he included in his programme the abolition of caste and full co-operation with Mohammedans. So widespread did the agitation become, that Britain had to recognize the necessity for some effort being made to meet it. As a result of the report made by a Government Commission under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, which went to India in 1928, *Round Table Conferences*, representing both India and Great Britain, were held in 1930 and 1931, and it was decided that the solution of the Indian problem lay in a Federation of All India, with, of course, self-government for the central and provincial assemblies. When the National Government came into power in Great Britain in 1931 it was faced with the task of deciding what steps should be taken to accomplish this. As the Indians themselves were unable to come to any agreement, the British Government took the matter into its own hands and issued a scheme of constitutional reform in 1933. This

Mahatma Gandhi

Non-Co-operation

The Simon Commission (1928)

The scheme was finally embodied in the *Government of India Act, 1935*, which provided for the establishment of an All-India Federation if and when the British Parliament considers that the time is ripe. Certain provisions were also made for the establishment of provincial autonomy, and these came into force in 1937.

The 1935 Act really gave India a new constitution, and in 1937 India started to pass through a transitional period between the old constitution and the establishment of complete Federation. The *Indian National Congress* (the nationalist party led by the Mahatma Gandhi) regarded this transitional period as an unnecessary irritation and never ceased to agitate for immediate independence. There were, too, other and more violent agitators against whom repressive measures had to be used.¹ On the whole, however, reasonably satisfactory progress was being made along the road to self-government,² when the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, brought Britain to one of the gravest hours in her history and caused Congress to abandon temporarily its objections to violence and to give Britain and the Empire every help within its power, though unfortunately this co-operation was not to last.

CHAPTER 80

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, after the close of the Napoleonic wars, Europe first had a period of economic distress,

¹ Thus, in certain provinces, such as Bengal, crimes of violence led to the suspension of trial by jury, and agitators were deported on the order of the Governors.

² In 1947 India received complete independence, and divided herself into the two states of India and Pakistan. Both, so far, have voted to remain members of the British Commonwealth.

followed (in 1830 and in 1848) by a series of political revolutions. The close of the war of 1914-8 was followed by similar events. We have already dealt with the post-war economic distress, and we have now to say something about the series of "revolutions" which followed the peace made at Versailles.

The first Russian revolution of 1917 had meant the overthrow of the Czar and the establishment of a republic. That republic was moderate in character, but was at once opposed by extremists. These were led by *Lenin*, head of the Communist Party,¹ which wished not only for a political but for a social revolution, and for the setting up of rule by the workers, for the workers. When the Great War ended in 1918, civil war continued in Russia. The struggle of the moderates against the Communists was made more difficult by attacks of the "Whites", or reactionary parties, who wished to overthrow the Republic. The Allies, France and Britain, gave help to these "Whites", and invasions were made into Russia at Archangel, and into Siberia. These attacks all failed, but the moderate party in Russia fell, and the Communists formed the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.² This was a major event of the century; one of the world's vastest countries adopted a completely Communist form of government, and organized its whole life and industry on Communist lines. The State took over the ownership of all land and the organization of all production. "Capitalism", meaning production for private profit, was replaced by production for the uses of the State.

Opponents of the regime were ruthlessly exterminated, and, moreover, the Bolsheviks openly declared (as had the earlier French Revolutionaries) that they wished to extend their doctrine over the whole world. This roused the appre-

¹ The Russian Communists are generally known as Bolsheviks, a word derived from *bol'shinstvo*, which means "majority" and was originally applied in 1903 to the majority Radical faction (led by Lenin) of the Russian Social-Democrat Party.

² A union of the various provinces of Russia, organized into republics of which the political units are Soviets or Councils of Workers.

hension of most of Europe, and in various countries violent reactions took place

Italy, like the rest of Europe, suffered from the slump which followed peace, and distress gave rise to a good deal of disorder. The government was feeble and Communism was making advances. Against this, a new party now appeared, the *Fascisti*, led by Signor *Mussolini*. He had himself been originally a Socialist, but he now headed the anti-Communist party. Organizing his followers, he marched on Rome (October, 1921) and set up a government, which developed into a dictatorship. Parliamentary government was abolished, and the rule of the Fascist Party made supreme. No opposition was, or is, allowed. At Versailles Italy had acquired territory, and her population had now risen to over 40 millions. Yet, not being a rich or highly industrialized country, she needed an outlet for the growing population which her own land could not support. Here she was hard hit by the effects of the great "slump" in the U.S.A. When that country found herself suffering to an unparalleled extent from unemployment, she began to limit the number of people allowed to immigrate into her territories. Italians had hitherto flocked in thousands to the U.S.A., but they now found themselves deprived of that outlet. Italy's colonial possessions did not afford much help, and she began to feel restless. Moreover, the tariffs imposed by all European countries after the war, acted as a check to international trade, and all nations began to experience a shrinkage in their foreign trade.

The Fascist Government therefore, in 1935, embarked on the conquest of *Abyssinia*, giving as "pretext" outrages said to have been committed by the Abyssinians, and desiring to acquire a land which was believed to be rich in minerals.¹ Great Britain opposed this act of aggression, and the League of Nations being invoked, "sanctions"

¹ Italy also believed herself justified because in 1880 she had asserted a "protectorate" over Abyssinia, though later compelled to withdraw.

were put into force. This meant that Italian goods were boycotted, no financial loans were made to Italy, and an embargo was placed on the export of certain goods to Italy. This embargo did not apply to oil needed for aeroplanes and the army, since the U.S.A., not being a member of the League, did not apply sanctions, and the League Powers considered it useless for them to refrain when supplies poured in to Italy from the U.S.A.

The results of the war were, first the speedy conquest of Abyssinia, which was entirely annexed to Italy in 1936; second, bitter animosity between Italy and the two "democratic" powers, Great Britain and France, who had led the opposition. Italy now turned away from her former allies, and began the policy of friendship with Germany, which developed into the close alliance known as the *Rome-Berlin Axis*. The
Rome-
Berlin
Axis

This same period which saw Italy become a dictatorship,¹ saw the transformation of Germany in 1933 from a democratic Republic to a *totalitarian* State ruled by an absolute dictator, and saw too the new Germany become once more a great military power, with a policy of expansion based on aggression. Germany

Those who believed in democracy, that is in government by the people through elected representatives, and in freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to hold public meetings, thus had to face a Europe in which more than half the territory was ruled by dictatorships where no democratic institutions and no freedom were allowed to survive.²

In the case of Germany the dictatorship led to the renewal of European war. We have to see how this came about.

Germany, after Versailles, was organized as a Republic.

¹ Turkey too, under Mustapha Kemal (Kamal Atatürk) adopted government through a dictator.

² Stalin (son of a shoemaker), Hitler (son of an Austrian official), Mussolini (son of a blacksmith), all began their political careers as Socialists, and all ended as dictators.

The government had terrible difficulties to contend with, chiefly connected with economic. The payment of reparations was an intolerable burden, and gradually this was recognized by the Allies. In the years immediately after 1918 she suffered from inflation of her currency and from the results of the war. Her financiers borrowed immense sums, chiefly from the U.S.A., and in the years 1927 and 1928 she borrowed more than five times the amount she had to pay out in reparations. Her debt, therefore, rose to over 1200 million Reichsmarks in 1929. By degrees, and in successive years, the reparations were reduced, until in 1931 they were entirely "suspended" by the plan put forward by President Hoover. But the whole world was then on the verge of a "slump", which in the next few months developed until every country was suffering. In Great Britain, as we have seen (p. 959), the Government fell and Britain "went off gold".

The Nazis and the advent of *Adolf Hitler*. This "National-Socialist" party owed its origin firstly to the misery caused by the economic depression, secondly to the humiliation felt by Germans from their defeat. (France had felt the same humiliation after 1870, and it took years before she recovered.) Hitler had appeared as leader of what seemed a totally unimportant party in 1923, when he staged a revolt which was suppressed with great ease.² In 1929 he and his party were so obscure that the German "Director of Political Studies", lecturing in England on "German political parties", never even mentioned Hitler's name.

The distress due to the world slump gave Hitler and his backers their chance, and they began to gain adherents. They pointed out that Germany could not bear the burdens

¹ "Nazi" is an abridgment for the German equivalent of the title "National Socialists" (National Sozialisten).

² The British Ambassador in Berlin wrote. "He was released after six months and bound over for the rest of his sentence, thereafter fading into oblivion." Lord d'Abernon's *Ambassador of Peace* (published, 1929).

of the war settlement, and they promised to win her release. Yet Germany for some further time was not converted to National Socialism. Even at the elections held in November, 1932, the Nazi vote dropped. No one then anticipated trouble, but by a political intrigue, the old and failing President Hindenburg was induced to make Hitler Chancellor of the Republic.

He had only 196 followers in the Reichstag out of a total of 584 members. Fresh elections were due to be held in March, 1933. In February the Reichstag¹ was burnt down, and at once the Nazis declared that this was the work of Communists. This was the signal for a coup d'état. All Communist deputies were promptly arrested, and hundreds of people all through Germany were imprisoned on the Chancellor's orders. But even then at the elections the Nazis held only 288 seats out of 647. They used their power of intimidation, and passed a Bill abolishing parliamentary government and giving dictatorial powers to the Nazi Party and its leader (March, 1933).

The
Reichstag
Fire

From that moment Germany fell under the absolute rule of Hitler. His opponents were utterly suppressed, persecution of the Jews followed, and the doctrine of "racial superiority" was proclaimed.

Hitler:
"Mein
Kampf"

We may trace the subsequent development of German policy to that doctrine, fully set forth, together with all its means, in Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf* (My fight). Briefly, Hitler there laid down his programme: (1) All people of German race must be united into "Great Germany". (2) Further territory must be acquired for the "support of the people". (3) World-power must be attained. In order to win his nation over to that policy, the bitterness over Versailles must be inflamed, so that the nation would acquiesce in rearmament.²

¹ The Parliament House of the Republic.

² "What a use could be made of the Treaty of Versailles! . . . How each one of these points could be branded into this people till a cry was wrung from it 'we will re-arm!'."

Rise of
German
military
power

Hitler was completely successful. Though it was against the terms of the 'Treaty, Germany rearmed at first secretly, then openly. In March, 1935, Hitler reintroduced conscription and announced the building of an air force, both of which had been forbidden by the 'Treaty of Versailles. The rest of Europe did not interfere. All were "war-weary", all were involved in the struggle with their economic difficulties. Germany re fortified the Rhineland and began to rebuild a fleet. She found an ally in Italy, bitterly angry with Britain and France over Abyssinia. Yet British — and French — statesmen still did not take action. A naval pact was made between Germany and Britain in 1935, and continuous efforts were made for peaceful settlement of disputes.

Non-
aggression

A whole series of treaties of "non-aggression" were signed, notably between Germany and Poland, France and the U.S.S.R., the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, the U.S.S.R. and Finland, etc. Germany did not now put forward with any vehemence the demand for the return of her colonies. She could not allege that they were needed to take her surplus population, for previous to 1914 the proportion of Germans emigrating to her colonies was infinitesimal. She did desire the return of these colonies, but chiefly for reasons of "prestige".

Austria
annexed
(1938)

Then, in February, 1938, action came swiftly. Hitler occupied Austria by force of arms, and declared her union with Germany. He then, as summer wore on, threatened Czechoslovakia. Here he still put forward his theories of the German race. Czechoslovakia included a body of Germans some of whom had been settled within Bohemia by the Emperor Ferdinand in the seventeenth century. Hitler declared that these districts and their inhabitants (the

The
Sudeten
Problem
(1938)

Sudeten Germans) must be joined to Germany. By threat of war he obtained his ends. Neville Chamberlain's three famous journeys by air to Berchtesgaden (15th September), Godesburg (22nd September), and Munich (29th September),

ended in the *Munich Agreement* (30th September), by which Britain and France agreed that the *Sudeten* districts should be taken from Czechoslovakia and given to Germany. Actually it was known that Hitler's policy was based on a planned "advance to the east". This had been in part Germany's policy before 1914. France and Britain knew that such an advance might involve Germany in war with Russia. They possibly hoped that Hitler would be satisfied with the annexation of districts with German populations, and that henceforward he would be content with economic development of Germany's connection with Eastern Europe. In any case, whether they clung to these theories or not, events soon proved them to be a fallacy.

Munich
(1938)

In March, 1939, Hitler, breaking every pledge, attacked the remnant of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and annexed it. Now Europe saw the real position. Germany had gone beyond all her theories of "race", and Hitler had proceeded to the second point of his programme, the acquisition of "fresh territory". His excuse was that Czechoslovakia "threatened" Great Germany, and for the safety of her people Germany must remove this danger. Britain and France prepared feverishly for what they began to be convinced lay before them — war. Hitherto they had acquiesced in all Hitler did, for two reasons; everyone dreaded war, and everyone knew that Britain and France were not prepared. They had hoped, too, that Hitler himself would not go too far. The annexation of the Czechoslovak Republic by Germany showed that not only could no reliance whatever be placed on any pledges made or treaties signed by Hitler, but also that there were no limits to his aggression.

Conquest of Czechoslovakia
(1939)

Then, in August, 1939, Hitler demanded the cession of *Danzig* by Poland.¹ Poland, knowing that if she gave up *Danzig* she would henceforth be almost completely cut off

Poland

¹ By the Treaty of Versailles *Danzig* with the surrounding territory was established as a Free City, under the protection of the League of Nations. *Danzig* was, however, a unit in the Polish customs administration.

from the sea, and her commerce and life placed at Germany's mercy, refused. Hitler invaded and conquered Poland, declaring now that she too must be annexed to give Germany "living space". The invasion of Poland meant European war. France and Great Britain had promised Poland that if she were invaded they would come to her assistance. They had made efforts, throughout 1939, to induce the U.S.S.R. to join in resisting Germany, but in August it was announced that Russia and Germany had come to agreement. Hitler may have believed that this agreement would frighten the two democracies into abandoning Poland, or he may always have intended to make war. In any case, whatever he anticipated, Great Britain and France did not abandon their ally, and on 3rd September, 1939, they declared war on Germany.

War
breaks
out,
3rd Sep-
tember,
1939

CHAPTER 81

POST-WAR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN BRITAIN

EDWARD VIII — JANUARY, 1936 — DECEMBER, 1936

GEORGE VI — DECEMBER, 1936—

We should be mistaken if we thought of the years after 1918 as leading on solely to catastrophe, for in many respects they were years of progress; there were an extension of the franchise, a settlement with Ireland, and development in the relations with the Empire.

Progress
after
1918

1. REFORM OF THE FRANCHISE

First, there came various developments in the theory of the democracy. The *franchise* was given to women by the Reform Act of 1918, but not on the same terms as men. It was given to all men over twenty-one, but only to women

The
franchise

over thirty.¹ Women could also be elected to Parliament.² Exactly ten years later, women were enfranchised on the same terms as men, so that Great Britain has now equal and universal suffrage.

This obviously involves the grant of political power to the working-classes, who, being numerically superior, have the control of elections. As men do not think alike, so the workers do not vote alike; they vote as Conservative, Liberal, and Labour.

Labour opposes Conservatism in its ideal for the organization of society. Labour believes that Capitalism is a wrong basis, that the community should control the land (as the source of wealth), the banks and financial system, industry and transport; that private profit should be eliminated and that, instead, the State should use the profits earned for the benefit of the community. The Labour Party differs from Continental Socialism in preferring to work for this ideal through constitutional and not revolutionary methods. Conservatism believes that under Capitalism, industry gains through the encouragement of private enterprise, and that reforms can be made to adapt it to modern conditions.

Different
ideals of
Labour
and Con-
servatism

Communism, which aims at achieving social revolution by revolutionary action, has so far very little footing in Great Britain, though Parliament has had a small group of four or five Communist people.³

Com-
munism

2. IRELAND

One great problem with which the British Government had to deal after the war of 1914-18 was Ireland. At the outset of war in 1914, it had been mutually agreed that

Ireland

¹ 13 million men were enfranchised by this measure, and 9 million women.

² The first woman elected was the Irishwoman, Countess Markievicz, but she would not take her seat. The first woman to sit in the House was Lady Astor.

³ In the coalition of parties made during the war, in the summer of 1940, one solitary Communist formed the official Opposition.

"Home Rule" should wait till the war ended. This had been accepted by the Irish Party in the House of Commons, and many Irishmen enlisted as volunteers in the war. But the decision was not accepted by all Ireland, and in 1916 what is called the *Easter Rising* broke out. A body of Irish-

Easter
Rising
(1916)

men, wishing for an independent Ireland, rose in revolt. They were prepared to accept German help, and *Sir Roger Casement*'s story is a dramatic illustration of the state of affairs. Casement had been a British official and had gained honour through the work he did in exposing the Congo atrocities. But he believed intensely in Irish independence, and turned against Great Britain. He was in Germany when war broke out, and in 1916 came in a German submarine and landed in Ireland. He was caught by the British, taken to London, tried, and hanged. The other leaders were captured in Dublin and executed there. Great bitterness was aroused, and the vast majority of Irishmen became supporters of the new party of *Sinn Féin* ("ourselves alone") which demanded complete independence.

Casement

Sinn Féin

In the elections of 1918, this party was completely triumphant, carrying all before it. Its members refused to recognize the British Parliament or to take their seats. Violence broke out, and individuals on both sides were murdered.

Now began a struggle which was really "civil war". The Sinn Feiners attacked British soldiers and officials. The British Government retaliated and sent troops.¹ For two years bloodshed went on, ruthlessness being shown by both sides. The world was horrified and British public opinion was disturbed. A "Home Rule" Bill was passed (1920), dividing Ireland into two. Ulster was to be allowed to remain part of the United Kingdom, but the rest of Ireland was to be united into one "Free" State, with its own Parliament in Dublin. The years of struggle, however,

Ulster
declared
for union
with
Britain

¹ This force was composed of men who had fought in the Great War, but it was not part of the British army; it was specially recruited for this Irish war. Its members had no regular uniform at first, and from their motley appearance were nicknamed "Black-and-Tans".

had proved fatal. Irishmen would not accept the measure. Ulster wished to have her own local Parliament and also representatives in the British Parliament. She elected her own Parliament and King George V went to open it, but the rest of Ireland remained absolutely determined. Matters went from bad to worse, with reprisals on both sides. At last the British Government decided to try to come to terms, and in 1921 the Irish leaders negotiated a treaty with Great Britain. The Treaty of 1921

The *Irish Free State* was set up, consisting of the three provinces, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, with her own Parliament at Dublin, and the status of a Dominion in the British Empire. Ulster (six counties) was left separate, for she refused to join the Free State, preferring to have her own local Parliament, and to retain her closer connection with Great Britain. She took the name of Northern Ireland. The Irish Free State (1921)

Many of the Irish, however, were now far too hostile to accept even "Dominion Status"; they wished for an Irish Republic, completely severed from Britain. The Treaty was not accepted by these extremists, and Ireland was desolated by another civil war, fought this time between these two Irish parties.¹ The contest ended in the defeat of the republicans, and the Irish Free State began to function. Republicans refuse to accept Treaty

The whole chapter was a sad one, and Irish feeling could not forget the episodes of "reprisal". Though the first Free State Government carried on for nine years, it was consistently opposed by the Republicans. Gradually these gained more support, and in 1930 *Mr. de Valera* won the election and became the head of a Republican government. Great Britain, however, was resolved that strife should not be renewed. She therefore accepted the Irish position. Victory of Republicans

Mr. de Valera at once took action over another cause of friction. The Land Acts of 1891 and 1909 had provided for money being advanced by Great Britain for the purchase Land Annuities

¹ Michael Collins, who had fought hard against the English, but who negotiated the Treaty, was killed by the Republicans in this struggle.

of land by tenants (see p. 869), and payments of interest on this loan, called the *Land Annuities*, was now refused by Mr. de Valera. Great Britain, in retaliation, put a customs duty on Irish cattle entering the country, to make up the equivalent of the amount due. This led to unforeseen difficulties, but English farmers lost through no longer importing Irish stock, and trade as a whole between the two countries was checked. Both countries suffered from this, and finally Great Britain gave up her "retaliatory" measures. A policy of conciliation would, it was hoped, at length allow old wounds to heal, and the revival of trade bind the countries by economic ties, though political ones had gone.

Mr. de Valera and his party were, however, resolved to sever as far as possible all political connection with Britain, and accordingly in 1932 the oath of allegiance, formerly demanded (in the Treaty of 1921) to be taken by all members of the Irish Parliament, was abolished. In 1933, appeals to the Privy Council were forbidden. In 1936 the office of Governor-General was abolished, and a High Commissioner now represents the United Kingdom in Dublin, his position being the same as the High Commissioners to the other Dominions. At the same time the Senate was done away with as part of the legislature.

Then, at the close of 1936 came the abdication of King Edward VIII, and it became necessary for the Irish to decide what they should do. Mr. de Valera's government decided to bring in a new Act amending the Constitution, and this was passed early in 1937. By this Act a republican government was declared established, "sovereign, independent, and democratic". The new State was to be called "Eire" (or in the English language Ireland). It was to have its own national flag, a tricolour of green, white, and orange. Irish was to be the official language. New stamps and new coins, the latter with beautiful Celtic designs, were issued. A President was to be the head of the State,

and he was to appoint the Prime Minister on the nomination of the Dail (Chamber of Deputies). Eire was to have complete control of its internal and external policy.¹ She was, however, to remain in one sense connected with the British Empire. She was, as long as she chose to do so, to be "associated with the following nations, that is to say, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, and South Africa". So long as these countries allowed the King "to act on their behalf in appointing diplomatic and consular representatives", Eire would agree that he should do the like for her.

It remains vague as to how far this connection through the Crown has any definite meaning.

Eire was to have her own army, and could, if she chose, build herself a navy,² and she gave a solemn assurance that her territory would never be permitted to be used as a base for attack upon Great Britain.

The constitution set forth by the Irish themselves stated that it was to apply to "the whole of Ireland". Northern Ireland, however, refused to be included, and Great Britain, when she recognized the new constitution in June, 1937, while acknowledging the new State did so with the reservation that it did not involve jurisdiction over Northern Ireland, "or in any way affected the position of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom". In other words, Eire was recognized as that area formerly known as the Irish Free State.³

Position
of
Northern
Ireland

3. OTTAWA CONFERENCE

When the National Government returned to power, after the election of 1931, one of the steps it took was to

¹ Thus when Great Britain went to war against Germany in 1939, Eire remained neutral.

² The naval ports and Admiralty property at Cork Harbour, Lough Swilly, and Berehaven were handed over to Eire in April, 1938

³ The total population of Ireland is 4,300,000; of this, 2,930,000 are inhabitants of the former Free State, 1,370,000 of Northern Ireland

Tariffs
within the
Empire introduce a *general tariff*, the aim being partly to reduce our purchases of goods from abroad, and so restore the "balance of trade". Great Britain abandoned Free Trade, duties were put on most goods coming into the country, with a lower rate on goods from within the Empire. Gradually these taxes have been extended to practically all articles except bread.

Ottawa
confer-
ence. In 1933 an Imperial conference was held at *Ottawa*, in an attempt to settle an economic policy for the Empire. The chief difficulty lay in the fact that the different Dominions all had their own tariffs, protecting their own industries. The conference granted to all the Dominions "equal privileges in the United Kingdom market", and it attempted to pave the way for a policy whereby each Dominion should "specialize" in its best products,¹ though this proved very hard to apply in practice.

King
Edward
VIII then reigned for twenty-five years. In the following year (January, 1936) he died, and was succeeded by King Edward VIII, who as Prince of Wales had travelled in all parts of the Empire. King Edward VIII, however, abdicated after only a few months, and was created Duke of Windsor. He was succeeded by his brother, who became King George VI and who was crowned in 1937.

George
VI The early years of the reign of George VI saw the change in the status of Ireland, noted above. They also saw some social reforms. In 1936 pensions were granted at the age of 65 to men who had been insured, and their wives could also obtain a pension on reaching the age of 60. Widows and children of insured men were also granted pensions, and spinsters who were themselves insured. Blind persons over 40 who were not insured were given pensions, and, of course, any person over 70 still received a non-contributory pension. A campaign was to be launched for better housing; the

¹ The difficulty here lay in the fact that some Dominions, e.g. India, wished to increase their own "self-sufficiency" and produce goods in which they were inferior to others.

school age was to be raised; and further social advances might have been expected but the outset of his reign was soon clouded by the approach of European war.

CHAPTER 82

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY — SOCIAL CHANGES

The fact that the first half of the twentieth century has seen two great European wars, may at first seem to stamp the period as one of re-action. Yet the failure in the sphere of international politics cannot wipe out the advances made by mankind as a whole. For it is clear that the way of life of the bulk of mankind has changed, and changed in many ways for the better.

1. TRANSPORT

The most striking change probably is due to the invention of the motor-car, which has brought about a positive revolution in the habits of the people. This was first made possible when Daimler, a German, invented the petrol engine in 1885, but real progress was not made till later. The first cars went very slowly; they could only achieve a speed of four miles an hour, and even then they were considered highly dangerous vehicles to be let loose on the roads, and it was laid down that a man must walk ahead of them carrying a red flag. Fairly soon cars were improved, and people became used to them, King Edward VII helping to popularize them by his instant adoption of a "Daimler". In 1896 the 4-mile speed limit was abolished, and the "flag-man" was also done away with. At first the new and speedier cars raised vast clouds of dust along the roads, which was inconvenient to motorists, to pedestrians, and also to all those whose houses or cottages bordered the high-ways. This was remedied by the improvement of road surfaces, and soon "Tarmac" trans-

Trans-
port: the
motor-car

formed the "white roads" which had characterized Britain since the earliest days, into shining black tracks.

Cars were at first expensive, and were therefore the luxury of the few, but new methods led manufacturers to take up "mass production" and standardization, and thus produce small cheap cars. The principle was originally applied by Ford, in the U.S.A., and there the worker now usually has his own car, bought on the instalment plan. In Great Britain the idea was taken up by Austin and Morris (Lord Nuffield), two men who have both built up huge businesses and brought the cheap car (often bought on the "hire-purchase" system) within the range of many.

More influential perhaps on the lives of the working-classes has been the development of the motor omnibus and the char-a-banc. As regards the towns, the buses have enabled thousands to move out from the crowded areas and densely packed streets to live in the suburbs or even in the country districts. Where formerly people travelled comparatively little, and holidays away from home were denied to the majority, now they travel frequently, and the town dweller is no longer cooped up, but can get out into the countryside and to the sea.

The villager, too, has gained. Where before he could go only as far as his legs would carry him, now he can go far afield, and the country-woman can go in to shop at her neighbouring town, and buy many things she could not get at home. Country people as a whole have lost what to them was usually a burden, the sense of isolation, and can, if they choose, have something they never had before, namely, the power to leave their villages and see and share in the advantages of the town. To all alike, in both country and town, the motor-car has brought the possibility of recreation, of change of scene, and the pleasure of visiting the too often unknown beauties of their native land.

We must also note that the revival of road traffic has brought fresh life and prosperity to the country districts,

and many towns and places which had lost all vitality with the growth of the industrial cities, have sprung into fresh vigour with the advent of the touring motor-bus. The vast increase in motoring has involved the reorganization of our road system and the expenditure of millions of pounds yearly on the improvement of services and the laying out of new traffic routes, thus creating a vast mass of employment. A *Ministry of Transport* has been set up, with a special department to deal with and administer these problems of roads.

Revival of
rural
prosperity

Ministry
of
Transport

The development of the motor-car and consequent increase in road transport had a serious adverse effect on the railways which, after a period of Government control during the War, were grouped into four great systems in 1921 (see map on p. 748).

The next striking development in transport has been aviation. Man has long dreamt of the conquest of the air, and as far back as the late fifteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci made elaborate drawings of a flying machine. In the Victorian period men were interested in "lighter-than-air" balloons, and in 1870 Gambetta escaped from besieged Paris in a balloon filled with gas. No great progress, however, was achieved in this direction, and men therefore concentrated on efforts to produce a "heavier-than-air" machine which would fly. This was made possible by the discovery of the internal-combustion engine, and the use of petrol. Once those principles had been combined, flying became practicable. Two American brothers, *Orville* and *Wilbur Wright*, were the first men to fly in one of these machines, in the year 1903. Six years later, *Blériot*, a Frenchman, flew across the Channel. In 1919 came the first flight across the Atlantic, by *Alcock* and *Brown*, both British. *Lindbergh*, an American, was the first to cross alone. *Amy Johnson*, an Englishwoman, was the first woman to make a solo flight to Australia.¹

Transport
aviation

Earlier
balloons

Internal-
combustion
engine

Petrol

The
pioneers
of
aviation

¹ Graham White and Rolls (of the Rolls-Royce firm) were also amongst the British pioneers of the early days.

Now we have become familiar with the use of the aeroplane in both civil and military life. Air-routes traverse every country and link every continent. Men fly from city to city, crossing seas and deserts, without difficulty. Trans-Atlantic services have become a commonplace. Remote parts of Africa, Australia, South America, and the ice-bound North have all been opened up. Here again, it is the most isolated parts of the world which have received much-needed help. In such places as the jungles of the Amazon basin, or the remote parts of northern Canada, or the great desert areas of Africa and Australia, lie scattered little communities which cannot be reached by rail or road. To them the aeroplane (and the air ambulance) can bring help in emergency, can act as a link in bringing mails or supplies, and may develop trade, as it has already done in the case of the gold-mines buried deep in the bush of the New Guinea mountains. This beneficial side of aviation needs to be stressed, for it will develop further, and there is a tendency to lose sight of it in the more terrible use to which air-power has been put in war.

The *auto-gyro*, perfected by a Spaniard, *Cierva*, now makes it possible for an aeroplane to rise and descend vertically. This obviously extends the possible uses of aeroplanes enormously, for it makes landing in a small space practicable.

2. ELECTRICITY, GAS, OIL

We turn now to another great development of modern times, the use of electricity, and gas, and oil. These three have come to be used enormously, displacing to a large extent the use of coal. Thus factories are worked by electric power, streets and houses are lit by it, and, except in the remote country, cooking is now done by gas or electricity. Petrol has become largely used in land transport, and fuel oil in shipping. A very large proportion of ships, including most of the navy, are now driven by oil (Diesel engines) or

burn oil in place of coal. This has had a two-fold effect. The mining industry has suffered, and Great Britain has to a certain extent suffered too, in losing one of the factors which gave her such predominance in the first industrial revolution. But on the other hand, new industries have sprung up in the place of the old, and labour has shifted from the decaying mining industry to the newer trades created by the use of electricity and oil.¹ Nor can anyone doubt the immense gain of these new developments.

Their
effect on
employ-
ment

Perhaps one of the most widely appreciated changes is that which has been made in the home. The laying on of electricity and gas has become possible even in country cottages, and houses have become cleaner and lighter as well as easier to run. "Labour saving" has enormously lightened the work of the woman in running her home, and as gas and electricity become cheaper, and are applied to more devices, so the "housewife" gains, and her family too.

"Labour
saving"

So vital are these new services that, whereas at first gas was provided by private companies run for profit, by the time electricity came to be developed, it was realized that it should (like the water-supply of a community) be in the hands of public authorities. Thus in very many parts of the country now, electricity is provided by the municipality and profits go back into the revenue of the community.²

Control
by public
authorities

One other point concerned with household life may be noted. The development of refrigeration has made it possible to import meat, butter, and fruit. This has not only cheapened these commodities, but has allowed of greater variety. (The introduction of the banana and the grape fruit are instances of this.) In the same way improvements in canning have led to an increase in the use of canned food, and here again besides saving of labour a more important result is an increased variety of diet.

Refrige-
ration

¹ e.g. the whole industry connected with the cinema, wireless, motoring.

² In this way too, privately owned undertakings, such as gas companies, cannot raise their prices beyond those of the publicly owned works, for the consumers would then simply transfer from the one to the other.

3. HOUSING: SLUMS, FLATS, ARCHITECTURE

Housing As the standard of "amenities" in household life has risen, so the standard of housing itself has improved. The "slums" have for long been a thorn in the national conscience, and efforts have been made under "slum clearance" schemes to remove them. The movement has been reinforced by new ideas in architecture, for with the appearance of "flats", which have been adopted by all classes in place of "houses", it has become easier to plan and build blocks of dwellings for the workers.

Modern "clearance" schemes now often transform an area where formerly squalid rows of miserable little houses were huddled together, into places with well-planned blocks of flats supplied with space for play-grounds, balconies, roof-gardens, and, above all, ample windows, for the twentieth century reckons amongst its discoveries, the use of sunlight. Light, air, space for recreation, and labour-saving devices, these are the characteristics of the new buildings, whether flats or "council" houses, which both private and municipal effort have given as their contribution to modern housing.

Architecture In this connection, we may note that the twentieth century has seen the adoption of new styles of architecture. The rise in land values has led in the cities, and especially in London, to the pulling down of older buildings to make room for larger erections. Modern use of steel framework and ferro-concrete has produced blocks of flats and of shops which rise to greater heights than were formerly possible.¹ Thus such beautiful streets as Regent Street in London, built in the classical style of the early eighteenth century, have disappeared.

¹ The building regulations of such bodies as the L.C.C. have had to be altered to permit of these higher buildings.

4. HEALTH PUBLIC HEALTH. MEDICINE

Improvement in housing conditions may be considered as a movement which goes hand in hand with another advance, that is the increased importance attached to the health of the nation. King Edward VII is said to have remarked, when told of the incidence of "preventable" illness amongst the population of Great Britain, "If preventable, why not prevented?" The modern community, whether in town or country, does now make greater efforts than ever before to "prevent" illness, by rearing a healthier race of children. School medical inspection is compulsory; school clinics deal with ailments, and with dental cases; mothers now in most areas can attend "baby welfare" clinics, and also receive treatment themselves; great efforts have been made to improve the milk supply and milk is supplied to school-children, either at cost price, or, in necessitous cases, free. In all these ways efforts are made by the State to give its young citizens a healthy start in life.

Side by side with this development of preventive treatment has gone a great advance in medicine. Here again, the new force, electricity, has been used to help mankind. X-rays have been brought into universal use both in hospital and in private practice. The *Curies* by their discovery of radium (in December, 1898) gave a new weapon to be used against disease.

Sir Ronald Ross by his discovery of the part played by the mosquito in infecting man with the germ of malaria made possible the treatment and cure of what has been one of the greatest scourges of millions of men in tropical countries. Snake-venom, too, has been found to cure the disease known as "bleeding". *Sir Frederick Hopkins*, by his discovery of Vitamins, added to the health of the world by helping to correct deficiency-diseases, through diet. The discovery of *insulin* has meant life, instead of death,

to thousands. In every direction science has come forward with new remedies to help suffering mankind in its struggle against disease. This is a field where the record is one of unmatched progress.

6. ART AND LITERATURE

If now we turn from material things to those of the mind, we find that here also the twentieth century has shown change. The mental side of man's life has altered, as it alters in every age.

Some of the products of modern art show a great departure from the Victorian concept. The "Victorian" painter often concentrated either on efforts to reproduce faithfully the objects he was studying, or to give "interest" to his picture by its "story". With the opening of the twentieth century a new school of painting made its influence felt. This originally was inspired by the painters of France, and England was slow to accept its ideas. These artists called themselves *Post-Impressionists* and among the characteristics of their work were the painting of light, the use of pure colour, and the aim of producing the impression left on the mind by any subject rather than its outward appearance. The extent or permanency of their influence cannot be judged when we stand so near in time to the artists, nor can names of individual painters be singled out. But, of the older artists of the twentieth century, *Brangwyn*, *Sickert*, *Augustus John*, and *Sargent* are all recognized as pre-eminent.

Sculpture, too, has shown a radical departure from previous standards. *Epstein* has had a profound influence. *Eric Kennington* is another exponent of modern ideas, while *Sir Edward Lutyens* has represented in his "Cenotaph" an aspect of modern sculpture which has won ready acceptance and admiration.

Just as some painters have tried to break away from the old styles, and to use greater freedom in their treatment of

their subjects, so too have many writers of both poetry and prose tended to adopt new forms. Literature

Modern verse perhaps has shown a greater change in technique. It is obviously more "free" in its structure and rhythm, though here we must differentiate between two streams. *W. B. Yeats*, the Irish poet, wrote his beautiful verse more strictly in the older tradition, and so did *Robert Bridges*, though his *Testament of Beauty* in some respects showed the new ideas which were making themselves felt. *A. E. Housman*, in his *Shropshire Lad*, also retained more of the "classical" tradition, as did the young poet *Rupert Brooke*, who died in the war of 1914 before he had developed his full gifts. *T. S. Eliot* is one of the most notable and influential of modern exponents of the "new" verse. Poetry

The Georgian poets:
Yeats, Bridges, Housman

Dramatic writers of the period are outshone by one man, *George Bernard Shaw*. Shaw, an Irishman, is an outstanding example of the man who satirizes English conduct, English standards, and English "romanticism", but who does so by entertaining and amusing the people he satirizes. His plays do what he, through one of his characters, declares to be highly beneficial — they administer a stimulus by providing a shock. Drama

G. B. Shaw

Shaw's realism and satire had their counterblast in the works of *J. M. Barrie*, whose fantasies (such as *Peter Pan*, and *Mary Rose*) represent the opposite extreme, and deal with a world of escape from reality. Barrie

One other point may be noted. The twentieth century saw a great interest in continental drama (in the plays of Ibsen, for example), and many plays translated from foreign languages won widespread recognition, especially in many provincial cities where *Repertory* theatres sprang to life and success. Interest in foreign drama

The visit of the Russian Imperial Ballet in 1913 also led to an immense revival of the art of the ballet in England, and to the reopening of the Sadler's Wells Theatre, for the Ballet

performance of ballets, largely composed and danced by English people, trained in English schools of dancing.

As regards the "general reader", all other literary competitors have really been outdistanced by the novel, which has become the chief food of the new population of readers. A whole host of writers have won their way. Just as Thackeray was the great satirical writer of the Victorians, Hardy so *Thomas Hardy* attained supremacy as the ironical writer of the Edwardians. His "Wessex" novels, with their beautiful pictures of country life and country landscapes, give, however, something Thackeray never gave to his description of life in towns, and at the same time, because they deal with the slow-changing countryside, they seem to go back and reflect an earlier period. More characteristic of the modern scene are the scientific romances of *H. G. Wells*, with his almost prophetic descriptions of new machines. *John Galsworthy* gave in his series known as the *Forsyte Saga* a wonderful reproduction of English upper-middle-class life, which won him recognition not only amongst his fellow countrymen, but abroad, where foreigners read with delight books which gave a portrait of a class, and a way of life, held to be unique to Great Britain.

In a lighter vein, one English writer of the period won world-wide fame, and may be said to have founded a new school of fiction. *Conan Doyle*, when he wrote the Sherlock Holmes stories, which have been translated into almost every living language, including Chinese, began the stream of detective fiction which has developed into such amazing proportions.

6. AMUSEMENT -- CINEMA, RADIO, SPORT

While the twentieth century has shown its own style of progress in the arts, we have also to realize that if art provides culture, there is another side to life which has received even greater stimulus. All human beings need amusement,

but in the past, opportunities have been more closely limited to what were called the leisured classes. Now a most striking change has taken place, due primarily to the invention of the cinema and the wireless. Here again we have the coming together of certain scientific discoveries, each supplementary to the other. Electricity, petrol, and machinery, have combined to revolutionize not only work, but play.

The cinema has proved one of the most universal sources of amusement and pleasure yet found by mankind. Beginning with the "silent moving-pictures", it has, since 1918, moved on into the "talkies" and the coloured film. No one can deny the improvements both in technique and in the artistic presentation of the stories portrayed. The social results of the invention may be noted in the very marked decrease in convictions for drunkenness, for now the public house is no longer the chief place of amusement in most districts. The cinema

In much the same way the development of wireless has opened a whole new field of possible happiness. To *Marconi*, an Italian who carried out his researches in Great Britain, must be ascribed the immense step forward taken when in 1902 he sent the first wireless message from Cornwall to Newfoundland. Companies were speedily founded to develop this new invention, under Government control, for clearly here was a new and very important means of communication. To-day wireless is of the utmost value for sending messages and for holding telephone conversations over long distances. Wireless
Com-
muni-
cation

One of its most obvious benefits has been its use at sea, where the famous S.O.S. signal has in countless instances brought help to ships in distress.¹

From the sending of messages, wireless has gone on to be used as a means of entertainment. "Radio", or broad-

¹ So marked is this, that marine insurance has been greatly affected, for fewer ships are now lost at sea.

Broad-casting cast wireless, has brought music and entertainment into almost every home, and again the greatest benefit is perhaps felt by lonely places and by people isolated from ordinary life by such misfortunes as blindness or illness.

Radio in the home One other aspect, besides that of amusement, is less marked. Education does now make more use of the wireless for lectures, talks, and concerts. This side of broadcasting is found to be specially useful in dealing with very poor and primitive communities, such as are found in many parts of the Empire.

In Education Another aspect of the influence of wireless lies in the link it provides between parts of the Empire. We have grown accustomed to Empire broadcasts where men, women, and children all speak and are heard from the most distant corners of the world, and the fact that the King and the various Prime Ministers speak to the whole Commonwealth at special times, has proved a valuable bond of union.

A link with the Empire We may turn from indoor occupation to another sphere where we find obvious improvement. Outdoor sport and exercise have become common to all classes. Town councils build swimming baths and provide tennis-courts and playing-fields; youth hostels enable men and girls to go for walking tours; organized games are provided by the State schools. The better health of the nation is a tribute, not only to medical inspection and treatment in the schools, but to the widespread recognition that the young need outdoor recreations.

Outdoor sport In a different direction, large sections of the people now derive amusement and interest from a new source. The "picture papers" though condemned by some as being too sensational, yet do bring news and interest into houses where the more sedate press would never have entered. They owe their existence partly to the improvement in the art of photography and printed reproduction, partly to the influence of the U.S.A., where the "popular" press showed

the way to present news in a brief and perhaps too striking way. The first popular paper in Great Britain was the famous weekly, *Tit-Bits*, and it was in its office that Alfred Harmsworth learnt his trade. Harmsworth really founded the popular press in Britain with his *Daily Mail*, started in 1896, and he and his brother went on to create a whole chain of newspapers, their example being followed by other groups.

7. POSITION OF WOMEN

Another change that has become more marked in the twentieth century is that in the position of women. In the political sphere, as has already been noted, they have been granted full citizenship. In the social life of the nation, however, there has also been advance. Girls and boys all receive equal education from the State. Women can enter many professions formerly closed to them, such as medicine, law, and the civil service. Moreover, science always makes strength of less importance than skill, so women now have not the inferiority which their lesser physical strength formerly imposed. A woman can drive a car, or fly an aeroplane, or work a machine, besides using the typewriter and operating the telephone. Thus, with more openings available, woman's wages have risen and woman's status improved. Even in smaller matters, women may reckon themselves happier. Their dress has altered with their way of living, and where the Victorian wore long, heavy, tight dresses and took little exercise, the modern woman can wear short comfortable clothes and join in any form of sport or exercise she likes.

Position
of
Women

8. SUMMARY

Thus, if we contrast the life of the people to-day with what it was at the beginning of the century, we can see how changes have made for an increase in human

happiness. To those who most needed help, we may hope that most help has been given. The chief evils of poverty are perhaps the insecurity and suffering caused by illness, loss of work, old age. Against these, the State in the twentieth century has afforded some protection. The man or woman out of employment receives unemployment pay; those who are ill receive sick-pay; the old and widowed receive pensions. The young receive education for a longer period, and increased attention is given to technical training. Slum clearance is recognized as a policy to be pursued. Though in many respects we have not advanced very far along these roads, still we have made a beginning, and we can be sure that there will be no turning back. Science and invention have given us new powers. Man has shown once more that he holds in his hands the possibility of making further progress.

NOTES ON PERIOD TWELVE (1914-1939)

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS

GEORGE V (1910-1936)

EDWARD VIII (1936-abdicated)

GEORGE VI (1936-)

IMPORTANT FOREIGN RULERS

FRANCE: THIRD REPUBLIC

ITALY: KING VICTOR EMMANUEL

BENITO MUSSOLINI (1921)

GERMANY: THE THIRD REICH

ADOLF HITLER (1933)

RUSSIA: CZAR NICHOLAS II (1892-1917)

UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (1917-)

SPAIN: ALFONSO XIII (1886-1931)

REPUBLIC (1931-)

BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS

ASQUITH: (1908-1916)

(Coalition of three Parties, Liberal, Conservative, Labour.
from 1915 to 1922.)

LOYD GEORGE: (1916-1922)

BONAR LAW: (1922-1923)

BALDWIN: (1923-1924)

MACDONALD: (1924)

BALDWIN: (1924-1929)

MACDONALD: (1929-1935)

(National Government from 1931.)

BALDWIN: (1935-1937)

CHAMBERLAIN: (1937-1940)

CHURCHILL: (1940-)

NOTE 155 — CAUSES OF WAR (1914-1918)

1. **Germany** rose to great power, built great navy.
2. **Austria** wished to gain expansion in the Balkans, and hence came into conflict with Russia. After *Balkan wars* (1912-13) saw her opportunity passing. Balkans free from Turkey.
3. **France**, having been humiliated by Germany in various incidents, (1906, Delfosse retired, 1911, "Agadir"), wished for alliance with *Russia*.
4. **Great Britain**, which had kept in "isolation" began to fear Germany's naval power, so sought for allies. *Entente* with France followed (1903-4) and thus indirectly meant alliance with Russia (1907).

Hence gradually two armed camps — Germany and Austria (Italy formed an alliance with them, but when war broke out repudiated it) against France and Russia, which were allies, with Great Britain connected by vague entente.

Germany declared herself encircled by French policy.

5. Occasion for War.

- (a) Austrian Archduke assassinated (June, 1914) (in Croatia, a part of Bosnia annexed by Austria) and *Austria* declared Serbia had instigated crime. Ultimatum to Serbia by Austria (July)
- (b) *Serbia* appealed for help to *Russia*, who mobilized. This brought in *France*, her ally.
- (c) *Germany*, in order to attack *France*, invaded *Belgium*, whose neutrality had been guaranteed by France, Germany, and Britain. This brought in *Great Britain* (August).

NOTE 156. — COURSE OF THE WAR (1914-1918)

1. Period of Attacks by Allies; Failure.

(a) 1914.

- (i) Germany invaded *Belgium*. Great Britain entered the war. Her task then to prevent Germany reaching the sea. Retreat from Mons. Stand by British and French from Rhine to Vosges. This line roughly held throughout war.
- (ii) Russians invaded Germany, but were themselves overwhelmed at *Tannenberg*.

(b) 1915.

Russians attacked Austria, Germany sent troops. Russians defeated, and Russian Poland occupied by Germans.

- (i) Britain to help Russia, attacked Turkey at *Gallipoli*. Failed
- (ii) *Bulgaria* joined Germany and *Serbia* overwhelmed.

(c) 1916

(i) French beat off great German attack on *Verdun*, and in July Anglo-British attack on the *Somme*. Small progress made. Italians attacked Austrians. *Rumania* joined Allies and was totally defeated and overwhelmed.

(ii) Expedition to attack Turks in *Mesopotamia* failed. Surrender at *Kut*.

2. Sea Warfare.

(a) German ships in Pacific at outset of war defeated British at *Coronel* (1914); were themselves defeated at *Falkland Islands* (1914).

(b) Submarine warfare meant that battle fleet did not keep at sea, or blockade ports. In May, 1916, German battle fleet came out. *Battle of Jutland*, German fleet retreated to port and stayed there.

(c) In 1917 the Germans fell back on *unrestricted submarine warfare*, and sank ships of every nature. This ended by causing *United States to join allies* (April, 1917).

3. Crisis of the War, 1917.

(a) Submarine warfare very deadly, but gradually overcome.

(b) *Russian Revolution*, Russia made peace with Germany at *Brest-Litovsk*.

(c) U.S.A. enters War (April)

(d) *French offensive* failed and mutiny followed. *British attacks* on German front; battles of *Vimy Ridge*; *Messines Ridge*, *Flanders*. General failure to make ground; offensive with tanks at *Cambrai* also failed.

(e) Italians defeated by Austrians at *Caporetto*.

But, in March, allies took *Baghdad* and in December, *Jerusalem*.

4. German Final Offensive, 1918.

(a) Germans saw submarine attack had failed, so general attack in France, at *Amiens* and *Ypres* on British who lost much ground; at *Soissons* against French, who were driven back to the *Marne*.

b) July, 1918, Allied advance began in France. Aided by

(i) Unity of command under Foch

(ii) Arrival of Americans.

(iii) Exhaustion of Germany's supplies owing to blockade. General advance through July and August.

(c) *Bulgaria* defeated by Allies. *Palestine* conquered by British; *Turkey* made peace; *Austria* defeated by Italians at *Vittorio Veneto*, made peace.

(d) Mutinies in German fleet and revolution in Berlin.

(e) *Collapse of Germany*.

NOTE 157.—PEACE OF VERSAILLES

Germans asked for armistice in November, 1918. Peace Conference met at Versailles three months later, Jan., 1919. (A series of treaties really, Treaty of Versailles with Germany in June, Treaty of St. Germain with Austria; Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria; Treaty of Trianon (1920) with Hungary; Treaty of Lausanne (1923) with Turkey).

Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Peace was to be made on basis of *Wilson's Fourteen Points*. The majority of these were accepted by both sides and were:

1. No more secret diplomacy
2. Freedom of the seas (to check Britain from seizing neutral cargoes useful to the enemy. Britain never accepted this).
3. No tariff barriers (this was never carried out by any one)
4. Armaments to be reduced to a minimum.
5. Colonial claims to be settled according to the interests of the populations (resulted in "mandate" system, but Germany lost all her colonies).
6. Unhampered development for Russian Republic, "under institutions of her own choosing, with cordial assistance from other nations". Meant to help establishment of Republican rule, as contrasted with Czar's autocracy (But Allies made war on Russia from fear of extremists after 1918)
7. Belgium to be evacuated and restored.
8. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France. (Germany had annexed it in 1871.)
9. Italian frontier to be "readjusted" (Italy was given Trentino provinces and part of Tirol, which was formerly Austrian)
10. "Subject" races of Austro-Hungarian Empire to be given independence.
11. Balkan frontiers to be "readjusted".
12. Ottoman Empire to give its non-Turkish subjects home rule.
13. Independent Polish State to be set up "with secure access to the sea".
14. "A general association of nations" to be formed for "neutral guarantors of political independence".

Terms of Treaty.

1. *Alsace-Lorraine* ceded by Germany to France.
2. *Poland* restored as a Republic, with her former territories which at end of eighteenth century had been divided up by Austria, Germany,

and Russia. She was given "secure access to sea" by a corridor. This cut off East Prussia from rest of Germany. *Danzig* to be a free port.

Austrian Empire broken up Separate republics formed *Czechoslovakia* (Bohemia and Slovakia), *Hungary*; *Austria*

Serbia joined with former Austrian territories and formed Republic of *Yugoslavia*

Rumania received Transylvania and Bukovina (parts of Austria, Hungarian Empire) and Bessarabia (from Russia).

Republics of *Finland*, *Latvia*, *Lithuania*, and *Estonia* created. Formerly Russian conquests.

Italy gained Trentino and part of Austrian Tirol.

Thus the peace treaties fulfilled some of Wilson's 14 points, but not all. The "general association of nations" was first part of the Treaty, but the United States withdrew and refused to join the League.

NOTE 158. — THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations was set up in accordance with Wilson's fourteenth point, "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war" To this every party to the Treaties agreed.

1 Constitution of the League.

- (a) Council and Assembly to be set up. France, Britain, Italy, Japan, and originally the United States, were always to have seats on the Council (Germany allowed to join in 1925. She withdrew in 1933)
- (b) Four other members of Council to be elected by the Assembly.
- (c) Decisions by the League must be unanimous (this proved a source of weakness, as any one or two small nations could hold up entire League).

2 Measures to Avoid War.

- (a) Members "undertake to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League"
- (b) Any dispute to be submitted to arbitrators and "in no case is resort to be made to war until three months after award by arbitrators".

(This was meant to afford chance of settling a dispute and of giving time for peace efforts to prevail).

- (c) Any member resorting to war to "be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League", who were bound "to sever all trade and financial relations".

(d) In event of such war, the Council to settle what forces each member should contribute to "protect the covenant of the League".

Note: It was this obligation for joint action which was seized on by the American opponents of the scheme, as both likely to involve U.S.A. in Europe and (which they feared even more, unlikely as it seemed) interference of Europe in the U.S.A.

The American Senate rejected the Covenant, rejected the Treaty, and U.S.A. made a separate peace with Germany later on.

3. Colonial Settlement.

Colonies which had been taken from Germany and which were "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves", were to be considered as a "Trust".

This was interpreted in the *Mandate* system, under which countries receiving mandates had to render account of their rule to the League.

(France had mandate for Syria, Britain for Palestine, Iraq (later given up), Tanganyika, South West Africa (mandate to Union of S. Africa), and part of New Guinea (mandate to Australia).)

4. Disarmament.

Council to draw up plans for general disarmament to be revised every ten years.

NOTE 159. — THE PERIOD AFTER THE WAR OF 1914-1918

1. Changes in Great Britain.

(a) *Franchise.*

(i) 1918 *Reform Act* gave the vote to all men over 21 and all women over 30 (i.e. no property qualification). Women could sit in Parliament, first woman M.P., Lady Astor (by birth an American) who was elected for the constituency represented by her husband before he became a Peer. (An Irish woman had been previously elected, but never took her seat.)

(ii) 1928. *Equal Franchise Act.* Women given the vote on the same terms as men, i.e. all men and women over 21, who have resided for 6 months in one place. Electorate thus became 15 million women and 13 million men. Compare with the Reform Act of 1832, a hundred years before, when the total electorate was 1 million.

(b) *Trade Disputes Act* (1927) made "sympathetic" strikes illegal, i.e. one Union cannot strike merely in support of another. (This was passed after the General Strike (1926) and was meant to protect community against joint action in vital industries.)

Change Abroad The British Empire since the War.

(a) The Dominions.

- (i) The Dominions became members of the League of Nations as separate nations
- (ii) They had always disliked idea of closer federation, and in 1921 the Imperial Conference decided against it.
- (iii) Independent foreign policy for Dominions after the war.
 - (a) Canada made her own treaty with U.S.A. over the Fisheries dispute (1923)
 - (b) Canada and South Africa refused to join in attacks on Turkey (1922).
- (iv) *Statute of Westminster*, 1931, declared that:
 - (a) Dominions were completely self-governing, equal in status, "in no way subordinate in any respect of their domestic or external affairs"
 - (b) Bond of Union to be only "common allegiance to the Crown" and "free association as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations".

The Dominions include Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

(b) The Colonies

The Colonial Empire consists of territories which are more closely connected with Great Britain; they have not control of their foreign policy, and the Crown has an element of control in their government. This varies very much from place to place.

Chief colonies include Kenya, Uganda, West Indies, etc., etc.

NOTE 160. — CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE

1. Britain.

- (a) "Reparations" and deflation added to cessation of munition work and return of troops, led to *general dislocation of trade and great unemployment*.
- (b) Conservatives wished to introduce general tariff on goods. Defeated at election, and *first Labour Government* (1924). Conservatives returned to power nine months later.
- (c) *General Strike* failed, 1926. Unionist Government passed Trade Disputes Act (1927)
- (d) *Financial Slump* (1931). "National" Government formed (1931). Strict economy, and tariffs, Britain abandoned free trade.
- (e) *Irish Free State* set up (1921).

2. In the Empire.

- (a) "Dominions" recognized as independent. *Statute of Westminster* (1931). (See Note 159)

- (b) Increased self-government in the colonies
- (c) Movement for "Dominion Status" in India (see note, p 936).
- (d) "Mandated" territories Iraq given independence (1932).
- (e) In *Egypt* British Government withdrew, and Egypt became completely independent (1922)

3 In Europe.

- (a) In *Russia* the moderate revolutionaries replaced by the *Bolsheviks*, who set up a complete Soviet Republic (State ownership and control of production) (1919).

- (b) In *Italy*, the *Fascist* party seized power (1921), and Signor *Mussolini*, after his "March on Rome", became Dictator

Italy not highly industrialized. Large population, which owing to the "slump" in America found emigration stopped. This in part led to the *Abyssinian War* (1935). Italy and Abyssinia were both members of the League of Nations, Italy therefore broke the Covenant. The League imposed partial break-off of economic relations. But action was weakened as U.S.A. not being a member of the League, sold war materials, notably oil, to Italy. Hence the other powers refused to put an embargo on oil.

Result: Conquest of Abyssinia and shattering of prestige and influence of the League

(Prestige had previously been weakened when in 1932 League failed to take effective action against *Japan* when she invaded Manchuria)

- (c) In *Germany*, the First (Weimar) Republic contended against payment of overwhelming reparations. These gradually abandoned. "Dawes" plan reduced them. "Hoover" plan suspended them. Up to 1932 the Republic was settling down, and payment of reparations had ceased. Germany had been accepted as a member of the League of Nations

After the world slump of 1931, rise of the *Nazis* to power under *Hitler*.

- (i) In March, 1935, Hitler re-introduced conscription.
- (ii) In 1935 re fortified the Rhineland, and made pact with Italy (embittered over Abyssinian war).
- (iii) In 1938 Hitler occupied Austria (February)
- (iv) In 1938 (autumn) he at *Munich* obtained cession of part of Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland).
- (v) In 1939 (March) he occupied all Czechoslovakia.
- (vi) In 1939 (August) he attacked Poland
- (vii) On 3rd September, 1939, war declared by Great Britain and France who had guaranteed Poland.

TIME CHART FOR PERIOD TWELVE (1914-1939)

Sovereign	Prime Minister.	Great and Greater Britain	Dates	Other Powers	Dates
George V (1910-1936)	1908-16 ASQUITH	Britain declares War on Germany. Coalition Government.	1914 1915	Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand; Germany declares War on Russia and France. Germany enters Belgium	1914 1915
		GREAT		Italy declares War on Austria	
		Armistice Representation of People and Education Acts Treaty of Versailles; Government of India Act. Peace Treaty ratified; Irish Home Rule Act Great Coal Strike Irish Free State constituted; Egypt independent.	1915 1919 1920 1921 1922	War United States of America declares War on Germany, Russian Revolution	1917
	1922-23 BONAR LAW		1923	Treaty of Lausanne	1923
	1923-24 BALDWIN.				
	1924 MACDONALD	First Labour Government in United Kingdom	1924		
	1924-29 BALDWIN	Locarno Pact signed General Strike.	1925 1926	Germany admitted to League of Nations.	1926
	1929-31 MACDONALD.	Representation of the People Act Church Union in Scotland India Round Table Conference (First Session), National Government formed; Statute of Westminster. Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa.	1928 1929 1930 1931 1932	Kellogg Pact signed Rhine land evacuated Spain becomes a Republic; World Economic Crisis World Economic Conference Hitler seizes power Italo-Abyssinian War.	1928 1929 1931 1933 1933 1935
	1931-35 MACDONALD	Government of India Act.	1935		
	1935-37 BALDWIN				
George VIII (1936-)	1937-40 CHAMBERLAIN	Britain declares war on Germany.	1939	Hitler seizes Austria, Sudetenland ceded Czechoslovakia seized, Russo-German agreement, Poland invaded	1938 1939

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS ON PERIOD TWELVE (1914-1939)

1. Describe the reforms achieved or attempted by the Liberal party between 1906 and 1914. (NUJB 1938)
2. Do you think colonial rivalries were the main cause of the Great War (1914-18)? Give your reasons. (NUJB 1937)
3. Why did Britain go to war in 1914? (LGS 1937)
4. State the main facts in British foreign policy between 1902 and 1914. (NUJB 1936)
5. What effect did sea power have on the World War? (OC 1931, LGS 1940)
6. Is (a) the country labourer, (b) the town artisan, better off now than he was in 1900? (OC 1929)
7. What were the chief changes made in the map of Europe by the Treaty of Versailles? (LGS 1940)
8. What is "Dominion Status"? How has the connotation of the phrase been enlarged since 1914?
9. How far were the Fourteen Points embodied in the Peace Treaties? (LGS 1939)
10. Describe the constitution of the League of Nations. What part did the League play in European politics between 1919 and 1931? (LGS 1940)
11. *Either* (a) Give some account of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its results; *or*
(b) What led to the Fascist Revolution in Italy? On what lines did the Fascists reconstruct the government of the country? (LGS 1940)
12. Explain the part played by the Labour Party in politics between 1919-1931. (LGS 1940)

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